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"CHILDREN OF THE NIGHT" – VAMPIRES IN LITERATURE, FILM, AND FOLKLORE

Edited by

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Hans C. DE ROOS
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Editors' Note.
"Children of the Night" – Vampires in Literature, Film, and Folklore

Magdalena GRABIAS[1], Hans C. DE ROOS[2], Cristian PRALEA[3], Florin NECHITA[4]

The present issue of Transilvania University's Bulletin (Series IV) has two major sections accompanied by a review one. While the Literature section is shorter and uses German for the articles' language, with Robert G. Elekes discussing German Romanian literature as a minor literature, and Alexandru Popa theorizing the terminology related to the concept of fiction, the Cultural Studies section is devoted to what we may call "Dracula studies" – rather an umbrella term that signifies research related to the theme of vampires and vampirism in fiction and folklore. The articles brought together in this section are the result of the last "Children of the Night" International Dracula Congress series hosted by Transilvania University of Brasov's Faculty of Letters and Faculty of Sociology, together with the Institute of Cultural Studies at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Poland. It combines the work of scholars holding academic positions with insights provided by independent researchers – a concept that has always been central to this particular conference.

The Cultural Studies section begins with Niels K. Petersen from Denmark presenting his inquiries into one of the earliest descriptions of vampire beliefs, *Magia Posthuma* by Karl Ferdinand von Schertz (1706). Petersen demonstrates to what (limited) extent *Magia Posthuma* has influenced the West-European understanding of this phenomenon, especially via the writings of Augustin Calmet, who selectively quoted Schertz. The rare book specialist Simone Berni from Italy gives us an overview of the translated *Dracula* editions that appeared in Russia as early as 1902, and later in the Soviet Union and the countries formerly belonging to its sphere of influence. His article points to a rather bizarre confusion: While

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Dracula was time and again falsely attributed to the English novelist Marie Corelli, works by Corelli appeared under Stoker's name. The many illustrations gathered by Berni add an important visual dimension to his timeline and analysis. Hans Corneel de Roos, the initiator of the "Children of the Night" conference series, a Dutchman now based in the Philippines, drafted a fresh research paper on "*Mörkrets Makter*'s Mini-Mysteries," addressing a series of intriguing and hitherto unanswered questions related to the Swedish modifications of *Dracula* that were serialized in the newspaper *Dagen,* and the magazine *Aftonbladet's Halfvecko-upplaga,* during the years 1899-1900. His essay can be seen as a part of a trilogy that also includes a book with restored illustrations from these serializations, and a longer e-book discussing further trends and topics in *Mörkrets Makter.* Prodosh Bhattacharya and Abhirup Mascharak of Jadavpur University, Kolkata, contribute a chapter about still another foreign adaptation of *Dracula*: the Bengali versions that were published in 1949 and 1967 respectively. They demonstrate how Stoker's story was "Bengalized" by Hemendra Kumar Roy to address the topic of England's colonization of India; more clearly than *Dracula*, his version also reveals the homo-erotic tension between the vampire and his (male) victim, and the apparent queerness of all his male protagonists. In Sunil Kumar Gangopadhyay's version, by contrast, homosexuality is portrayed as undesirable and even dangerous.

Yuri Garcia from Universidade Anhembi Morumbi in São Paulo, Brazil, discusses the construction of the vampire myth in cinema based on three timeless classics: Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau's *Nosferatu* (1922), Tod Browning's *Dracula* (1931) and the post-war *Dracula* (1958) directed by Terence Fisher. Garcia's insightful analysis of the three movies and their evolving protagonist concludes with the claim that it is thanks to these numerous cinematic transpositions of the literary *Dracula* that we can talk about a "vampire pattern" and "vampire mythology" at all. Peter Gölz from the University of Victoria, Canada, draws attention to an often ignored aspect of Murnau's *Nosferatu* movie: the role of rats and cats. While the former embodied the plague and doom that soon would destroy civil life in Germany in the form of Hitlerism, the scene in which Ellen plays with her cat serves to introduce her interaction with the animalistic world. Gölz traces the depictions of pestilence and bestiality through the later movies by Werner Herzog (1978) and E. Elias Merhige (2000), analysing the different ways in which they refer to and deviate from Murnau's original. A further movie analysis is provided by Roberto C. Rodrigues of Federal University of São Paulo, who looks into the inspiration and historical research that went into the making of costumes for Francis Ford Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (1992) - an aspect of horror productions that is rarely discussed. Rodrigues examines the cross-links between

"haute couture" and film costumes, and illuminates Ishioka's aspiration to tell a story through her creations alone. Like in Berni's article, the well-chosen illustrations play a major role in building Rodrigues' argument.

Yağmur Tatar of Yeditepe University in Istanbul, dives still deeper into the characterization of evil by discussing Elizabeth Kostova's novel *The Historian* (2005) that lends a voice to "one of the greatest torturers in history stating his belief that humanity carries an evil core inside." Tatar's study of evil is enhanced by the theoretical background found in Jacques Derrida's concept of hauntology. In the next article, Marius Crişan, from West University of Timişoara, together with his colleague Aba-Carina Pârlog, working from an interdisciplinary perspective that incorporates both literary studies, literary perception, language and literature teaching, as well as translation and interpreting studies, set out to circumscribe the many parallels between Stoker's *Dracula* and Golding's *Lord of the Flies*: the dichotomy of civilisation and barbarism, the gradual transformation of seemingly innocent subjects into hunters and hunted, the erosion of Christian values and reason when tested under extreme circumstances. Their contribution concludes with an evaluation of the digital feedback tool EVOLI — a means to measure how much of the novel has been understood by students. Georgeta Moarcăs, from Transilvania University of Braşov, brings in an interesting twist by looking at three vampire novels written by women authors (Elizabeth Kostova's *The Historian*, Ruxandra Ivăncescu's *Eye of the Dragon*, and Doina Ruşti's *Zogru*) focusing on their treatment of the "metaphysical" vampire. Perhaps a key for such hermeneutics lies not in their monstrous otherness but rather in their timeless existence. If humans define themselves in relation to their own mortality, maybe we should look at how vampires define themselves in relation to their own immortality.

Discussing Bram Stoker's supposed and possible connections to folklore, Ruxandra Ivăncescu's article (also from Transilvania University of Braşov and herself an author of vampire novels) looks at *Dracula* as a shaman ("solomonar" in ancient Romanian folklore) and reads the novel as a two-fold initiation story. On the one hand, it is a story of a failed initiation (that of Jonathan Harker), yet on the other hand it seems to be indeed a successful initiation of its readers – albeit one that, being tightly connected to generational readings, looks different in different ages. Tanja Jurković, a Croatian scholar affiliated with the University of East Anglia, Norwich, explores how the traditional Balkan myths around vampires (especially Jure Grando, Sava Savanović and Petar Blagojević) not only informed one of the first Serbian horror movies, but today also plays a key role in promoting a so-called Dark Tourism. Aggeliki Velissariou, finally, presents a number of traditional Greek

vampire stories, that are either related to to death and burial customs, to sin and the Orthodox religion, or, alternatively, to magic folktales: she builds a case study on *Gelloudi* and *The Lamia Bride.*

The issue concludes with a review section, although the books reviewed by Magdalena Grabias and Cristian Pralea are also connected to the themes addressed in the Cultural Studies section. *Dracula: An International Perspective*, a book edited by Marius-Mircea Crișan, explores the field of Gothic studies with a focus on the development of the myth of Dracula, while *Postmodern Vampires. Film, Fiction, and Popular Culture* by Sorcha Ní Fhlainn tells a particular history of vampires as symbols and characters throughout recent American history.

LITERATURE

Die rumäniendeutschen Literatur als kleine Literatur

Robert Gabriel ELEKES[1]

The following paper sets out to reevaluate the often misunderstood and underestimated German-language literature in Romania as a "minor literature" (Deleuze, 1976), that is, as a literature that utilized its minority to achieve an authentic, subversive and innovative literary expression, that transcended the boundaries of ideologies and cultural and literary paradigms. The goal is to analyze this cultural phenomenon through Deleuze and Guattari's theory, in order to explicate its marginal and authentic way of being in contrast to the tradition of western modernity and to the absolutist communist regime, which tried to obsessively snuff it out.

Keywords: *Romania, Communism, German minority in Romania, Emancipation through literature, strategies of literary subversion, minor literature.*

1. Zugänge zur kleinen Literatur

Die „kleine oder mindere Literatur" d.h. „die Literatur einer Minderheit, die sich einer großen Sprache bedient" weist laut Deleuze und Guattari drei wesentliche Merkmale auf. Das erste Merkmal ist ein „starker Deterritorialisierungskoeffizient, der ihre Sprache erfasst" (Deleuze 1976, 24).

Das Schicksal der kleinen Literatur ist somit die des Nomaden; sie gehört keinem Territorium, keinem Zentrum an, sie kann sich nirgends niederlassen und sich einer bestimmten Identität hingeben, muss aber stets innerhalb bestimmter Territorien leben, sich von diesen ernähren. Es ist eine Literatur, die ständig auf der Reise ist, auf neuen Wegen wandeln muss. Diese deterritorialisierte Existenz muss ihre kleine Literatur so Deleuze und Guattari „weiter vorantreiben, in aller Nüchternheit; den ausgetrockneten Wortschatz in der Intensität vibrieren lassen"

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(Deleuze 1976, 28), damit sie sich der Reterritorialisierung widersetzt, d.h. der Versuchung ihre Nicht-Identität auf eine Identität zu reduzieren.

Das zweite Merkmal kleiner Literaturen ist, dass „in ihnen […] alles politisch" ist (Deleuze 1976, 25). Die Strukturen des Selbst, die Machtbeziehungen, in die der Einzelne verwickelt ist, verwandeln sich in den kleinen Literaturen in eine Art alles übergreifende Geografie der Machtverhältnisse. Das Private wird „angesteckt" vom Politischen, jede Handlung, jeder Gedanke drückt eine Mikropolitik der Macht oder die Subversion derselben aus (Deleuze 1976, 26).

Dies veranschaulichen Deleuze und Guattari am Beispiel der Beziehung zwischen dem familiären Milieu und den gesellschaftlichen Machtstrukturen in Kafkas Werken.

> So verbindet sich das ödipale Dreieck der Familie mit anderen, mit den geschäftlichen, ökonomischen, bürokratischen, justiziären Dreiecken, die seine Werte bestimmen. (Deleuze 1976, 25).

Der literarische Ausdruck verwandelt sich dadurch in eine direkte Auseinandersetzung mit den gesellschaftlichen und politischen Verhältnissen einer Zeit, die Anomien entlarven und sie dadurch bekämpfen kann.

Das dritte Merkmal ist, dass in der kleinen Literatur der Ausdruck des Einzelnen ein „gemeinsames Handeln" darstellt (Deleuze 1976, 26). In Anspielung auf Hannah Arendt kann man sagen, dass sich die literarische Aussage in den kleinen Literaturen in ein gemeinschaftliches schöpferisches Handeln verwandelt und dadurch stets die „Gabe" ausdrückt, gemeinsam „etwas Neues zu beginnen" (Arendt 2003, 81).

> Die Literatur produziert aktive Solidarität, trotz ihres Skeptizismus; und wenn sich der Schreibende am Rande oder außerhalb seiner Gemeinschaft befindet, so setzt ihn das um so mehr in die Lage, eine mögliche andere Gemeinschaft auszudrücken, die Mittel für ein anderes Bewusstsein und eine andere Sensibilität zu schaffen […]. Die literarische Maschine bereitet den Boden für eine kommende revolutionäre Maschine, nicht als vorauslaufende »Ideologie«, sondern weil sie als einzige dazu berufen ist, die ansonsten überall fehlenden Vorrausetzungen einer kollektiven Aussage zu erfüllen. (Deleuze 1976, 26)

Wie schon aus diesem Fragment deutlich wird, bezeichnet die kleine Literatur für Deleuze und Guattari die emanzipatorische Dimension des Schreibens im Allgemeinen:

> Der Glanz einer solchen Literatur ist gerade, daß sie »klein« ist, d.h. revolutionär für jede Literatur überhaupt. […] Gross und revolutionär ist nur das Kleine, das »Mindere«. Haß gegen alle Literatur der Herren. Hinwendung zu den Knechten […].(Deleuze 1976, 26)

Jede Literatur, auch die Große, muss versuchen, diesen „Ort der eigenen Unterentwicklung, zu finden, das eigene Kauderwelsch, die eigenen Dritte Welt, die eigene Wüste" (Deleuze 1976, 27), um von dort von neuem anzufangen und neue Wege beschreiten zu können. Desweiteren soll analysiert werden inwieweit die rumäniendeutsche Literatur als kleine Literatur verstanden werden kann und inwieweit dieses Verständnis neue Einblicke über die Entwicklungsgeschichte dieser Literatur, über ihre Strategien und Praktiken, ihre Obsessionen und Vorlieben und über ihre Ausrichtung und Verbundenheit zu verschiedenen Paradigmen des Denkens und des künstlerischen Schaffens liefern kann.

2. Auf-der-Grenze-gehen. Die rumäniendeutsche Literatur als kleine Literatur

„Der kleindichter hat den grossdichter gekillt"
(Wagner et al. 1999, 136)

Am Anfang ihrer Abhandlung über Kafka stellen sich Deleuze und Guattari die Frage, wie man einen Zugang zu der kleinen Literatur Kafkas finden könne. Da sie Kafkas Literatur als ‚Rhizom' (Deleuze 1976, 7) verstehen, d.h. als ein labyrinthisches Netzwerk von gleichwertigen Sinnverwurzelungen und Bedeutungswegen, nehmen sie sich vor, einfach irgendwo in diesen Irrgang einzusteigen:

> Also steigen wir einfach irgendwo ein, kein Einstieg ist besser als ein anderer, keiner hat Vorgang, jeder ist uns recht, auch wenn er eine Sackgasse, ein enger Schlauch ein Flaschenhals ist. Wir müssen nur darauf achten, wohin er uns führt, über welche Verzweigungen und durch welche Gänge wir von einem Punkt gelangen, wie die Karte des Rhizoms aussieht und wie sie sich ändert, sobald man anderswo einsteigt. (Deleuze 1976, 7)

Was Deleuze und Guattari hier skizzieren, ist eine wahre Methodologie der analytischen Zerlegung einer kleinen Literatur, die aus einer Vielzahl von Deterritorialisierungsströmen, Stimmverknüpfungen und Ideologiegefügen, aus kollektiven Aussagen und nicht aus Meisterwerken (Deleuze 1976, 26) aufgebaut ist, in der jede Offenbarung des Absoluten sofort relativiert wird.

Als Einstieg in das Rhizom der rumäniendeutschen Literatur als kleine Literatur soll uns die literarische Praxis des Lachens dienen. Bevor wir aber erläutern, warum sich diese als Einstieg anbietet und was wir darunter verstehen, soll veranschaulicht werden, wie andere versucht haben einen Einstieg in diese Literatur zu finden.

Deleuze und Guattaris Theorie der kleinen Literatur taucht in einer Vielzahl von Abhandlungen und Essays über die rumäniendeutsche Literatur auf, meist handelt es sich aber um kurze Hinweise oder Anspielungen und nicht um eine tiefgründige Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Theorie, ihrer Terminologie und ihrer Anwendbarkeit im Kontext der rumäniendeutschen Literatur.

In seinem Essay „Sieben schillernde Jahre. Rumäniendeutsche Lyrik in der Zeitschrift ‚Neue Literatur‘, Bukarest (1965-1971)" bezieht sich Peter Motzan nur sehr kurz auf Deleuze und Guattaris Theorie. Seine Anspielung weist aber auf eine wichtige Wesenheit des ‚Deterritorialisierungskoeffizienten‘ (Deleuze 1976, 24) der rumäniendeutschen Literatur:

> Die nun zugänglich gewordene, nicht mehr als dekadent und elitär verteufelte westeuropäische Literatur, die von ihr inszenierten Sprachkrisen sowie deren formale Kühnheiten wirkten sich in zwei Richtungen aus. Einerseits verlockten sie zur Angleichung zur Imitation; der Überdruss an dem sozialpädagogischen Anliegen, das den „Sozialistischen Realismus" und die Heimatkunst auf merkwürdige Weise miteinander verband, sowie der plötzliche Einbruch der Moderne förderten gleichermaßen den Nachahmungszwang. Andererseits wurde den rumäniendeutschen Autoren angesichts der sprachschöpferischen, spracherneuernden Kraft der Vorbilder die Kargheit des verfügbaren ‚Minderheitendeutsch‘ bewußt, dessen ‚Deterritorialisierung‘ unter kommunistischen Lebensbedingungen rapide vorangeschritten war. (Motzan 1994, 187)

Zwei wichtige theoretische Synapsen können in diesem Text identifiziert werden. Erstens deutet Motzan darauf, dass für die rumäniendeutschen Lyriker am Ende

der 60er und Anfang der 70er die Rezeption der westeuropäischen Sprachkrise als Katalysator gewirkt hat im Bewusstwerden ihrer Minderheit. Dies erklärt, warum die rumäniendeutsche Literatur erst in diesem Zeitraum, nach der Rezeption einer im Deleuze und Guattarischem Sinne revolutionären Literatur (Deleuze 1976, 37), begonnen hat das Potential ihrer Minderheit auszunützen.

Die zweite wichtige Synapse ist zwischen der deterritorialisierten Sprache, der sich die rumäniendeutsche Literatur bediente und den Eingriffen der Macht. Auch bei Deleuze und Guattari ist der Deterritorialisierungskoeffizient der Sprache stets von ihrer Beziehung zur Macht, zu den Strukturen der politischen und gesellschaftlichen Ordnung gegeben. Eben durch diesen Zusammenhang kann eine vorangetriebene Deterritorialisierung eine emanzipatorische Wirkung erlangen.

Eine ausführlichere Problematisierung der rumäniendeutschen Literatur als kleine Literatur findet man in Andrei Corbea-Hoişies Essay „Die kanonische Chance. Zum Verhältnis der deutschsprachigen Literatur Rumäniens zur binnendeutschen Literatur." In einer eindringlichen Kritik der 2006 erschienenen *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von 1945 bis zur Gegenwart*, bzw. deren Aufarbeitung der rumäniendeutschen Literatur erläutert Hoişie, in Anlehnung an Deleuze und Guattaris Terminologie, wie der deutsche Kanon die rumäniendeutsche Literatur willkürlich reterritorialisiert, d.h. wieder mit einem Zentrum, und zwar dem der deutschen und österreichischen Literatur, vereinbart und ihr dadurch die spezifischen politischen und kollektiven Eigenschaften und ihre Wirkung diesbezüglich vernachlässigt (Corbea-Hoişie 2008, 291).

Wie auch Motzan, versteht Hoişie die rumäniendeutsche Literatur nach 1970 als eine authentische Weiterführung der revolutionären literarischen Tendenzen der binnendeutschen Literatur der Nachkriegszeit, die eben durch die Randposition der rumäniendeutschen Literatur weiterentwickelt und vertieft werden konnten. In dieser weiter geführten revolutionären Linie besteht für Hoişie der Wert der rumäniendeutschen Literatur innerhalb des deutschen Literaturkanons. Als Kommentar zu einer Äußerung Richard Wagners schreibt Hoişie:

> Diese ausdrückliche Option für ein modernes, demokratisches, offenes und kosmopolitisches Modell der Literatur, das zu dem von der Vergangenen nationalen Befangenheit befreienden Kanon der deutschsprachigen Nachkriegsliteratur durchaus passte, ihn von ‚außen' her bestätigte und bereicherte, bahnte die Wanderung ‚rumäniendeutscher' Autoren, von der, Mitte des Randes' zum ‚Rand der Mitte' endgültig an. (Corbea-Hoişie 2008, 299).

Wenn Hoişie sich auf die Linie von der „Mitte des Randes" zum „Rand der Mitte"
bezieht, dann spielt er auf Gerhardt Csejkas Essay „Der Weg zu den Rändern,
der Weg der Minderheitenliterlatur zu sich selbst" an. In dieser Arbeit stellt
Csejka die Frage, ob die rumäniendeutsche Literatur zu sich selbst gefunden habe,
d.h. ob es ihr gelungen sei, aus ihrem Minderwertigkeitskomplex ein
‚minderes' Selbstbewusstsein und aus ihrer Minderheitenliteratur eine im
Deleuze- und Guattarischen Sinne kleine Literatur zu schaffen (Csejka 1993, 51-68).

Csejkas Antwort ist doppelbödig. Einerseits deutet er auf rumäniendeutsche
Schriftsteller wie Paul Celan, Oskar Pastior, Bernd Kolf, Anemone Latzina, Rolf
Bossert, Richard Wagner und Herta Müller hin, deren „mehr oder weniger
geglückten Expeditionen in die Wüste der Intensitäten" (Csejka 1993, 51-67). auf
eine Praxis des Vorantreibens der Deterritorialisierung schließen lassen,
andererseits spricht er eine wichtige Problematik der Anwendbarkeit von Deleuze
und Guattaris Theorien auf die rumäniendeutsche Literatur an. In Bezug auf den
revolutionären Charakter der *kleinen Literatur* schreibt Csejka:

> Da wird, von Kafka ausgehend, ein sehr hoher [revolutionärer] Anspruch
> formuliert, den einzulösen in den ‚kleinen' Literaturen sicher nicht viele
> ‚Kafkas' geboren werden. In der Regel drängt es die Literaten ethnischer
> Minderheiten nämlich genau in die entgegengesetzte Richtung – zur
> eigenen ‚Ersten Welt', zur Norm der ‚Hochsprache, zur Aufgehobenheit in
> der großen Tradition der Nationalkultur: der Rand träumt davon, sich selbst
> als Rand aufzugeben, mit der ‚Mitte' in eins zu fallen. (Csejka 1993, 64).

Csejkas Kritik geht von einer Reterritorialisierung Kafkas als Meister der
Deterritorialisierung aus und deutet an, dass es nur wenigen Genies gegönnt ist
eine wahre kleine Literatur zu schreiben und dass alle anderen, in den Bann der
Mitte gezogen, ihr Nomadendasein aufgeben und sich dort beheimaten. In Deleuze
und Guattaris Theorie ist aber Kafkas Literatur nicht klein und revolutionär weil sie
sich von der Mitte befreit, sondern weil sie durch die Mitte hindurch schreitend auf
neue, noch unbeschrittene Wege kommt:

> Es geht ja, wie Kafka sagt, nicht um die Freiheit, sondern um einen Ausweg.
> Die Vaterfrage heißt nicht, wie man sich vom Vater befreien kann
> (Ödipusfrage), sondern wie man dort einen Weg findet, wo er keinen
> gefunden hat. (Deleuze 1976, 16)

Kafka ist nicht revolutionär, weil er sich aufgelehnt hat, sondern weil ihm die Flucht gelungen ist. Ihm ist es gelungen seine Wächter auszutricksen, „[…] eine Funktion gegen die andere auszuspielen, die Koeffizienten der Territorialität und der Deterritorialisierung spielen zu lassen" (Deleuze 1976, 38). Die „Fluchtlinie" (ligne de fuite) ist ein Konzept der bei Deleuze u. Guattari die Trajektorie der Deterritorialisierung bezeichnet:

> Die Fluchtlinie ist selber ein Teil der Maschine. Das Tier, gleich ob drinnen oder draußen, gehört selbst zur Maschine seines Baus. Das Problem ist nicht, wie man Frei wird, sondern wie man einen Ausweg findet oder einen Eingang, einen Seitenweg, einen Korridor unsw. Man muß mehrere Faktoren berücksichtigen: die scheinbare Einheit der Maschine, die Art, wie die Menschen selber Maschinenteile sind, die jeweilige Stellung des Wunsches (Mensch oder Tier) zur Maschine. (Deleuze 1976, 13)

Die Fluchtlinie ist also selber ein Teil der Maschine, d.h., dass das Zentrum nie verschwindet, im Gegenteil, durch seine ironische Vergrößerung wie bei Anemone Latzina, der Aktionsgruppe Banat oder Herta Müller werden neue Fluchtwege gefunden. Wir haben es hier nicht mit einer dialektischen Gegenüberstellung von Rand und Mitte zu tun. Wie auch Motzan und Hoişie bemerkten, war die Annäherung zum Zentrum ein Katalysator für das vorantreiben der Deterritorialisierung der deutschen Literatur in Rumänien.

Die rumäniendeutsche Literatur als *kleine Literatur* hat sich nicht vor oder nach der Wanderung von der „Mitte des Randes" zum „Rand der Mitte" (Corbea-Hoişie 2008, 299) ereignet, sondern dort, wo sie Wanderung geblieben ist, egal ob es sich um eine Reise vom Rand zum Zentrum, von der Diktatur zur Demokratie, vom Sozialismus zum Kapitalismus, von der Moderne zur Postmoderne handelte.

In ihrem 1968 in der *Neuen Literatur* erschienenen Selbstinterview antwortete die rumäniendeutsche Dichterin Anemone Latzina auf die selbstgestellte Frage nach den bevorteilenden oder benachteiligenden Bedingungen der rumäniendeutschen Literatur wie folgt:

> Ich glaube, sie hat dadurch mehr Vor- als Nachteile. Die Literaturen in einem solchen Lande – ich denke dabei zum Beispiel an die deutsche Literatur, die in Prag zwischen den zwei Weltkriegen entstanden ist – haben immer schon die interessantesten Erscheinungen hervorgebracht […]. Eine Distanzierung zu den aktuellen Fragen der unmittelbaren Umgebung, ein weiterer, ein

umfassender Blick für die großen Probleme der Zeit – das sind die Chancen, die eine solche spezifische Lage in sich trägt. Ob diese Möglichkeiten dann auch zu Wirklichkeit werden, ist eine andere Frage. (Latzina 1968, 18)

Die Perspektive, die Latzina hier anspricht, ist eben die des Kleinen, des Minderen, des Unwichtigen, dem es nicht erlaubt ist von der einen oder von der anderen Seite in den Streit über die Probleme der Zeit einzusteigen, der fern bleiben muss und genau aus dieser Ferne die Phänomene besser beurteilen kann. Deswegen konnten auch Deleuze und Guattari behaupten, dass Kafka ein „Künder der kommenden Welt" (Deleuze 1976, 58) war, weil er zugleich Bürokrat und Anarchist, Beheimateter und Nomade war. Seine Position war unrein, undogmatisch, unparteiisch, die eines skeptischen Bastards und nicht die eines treuen Sohnes.

Das ist zugleich das Schicksal und die Chance der kleinen Literaturen, ihre Unreinheit, ihre Hybridität. Die kleine Literatur besteht aus einer Vielzahl von unterentwickelten Mitten, von Machtdiskursen ohne Macht, von denen man neu anfangen, auf neue Wege kommen kann und in dieser Bewegung die herrschenden Formen der Mitte mit sich mitreißen und dadurch entkräften kann. Die Frage ist aber, wie auch Latzina bemerkte, wie sich dieses Potenzial verwirklichen kann, welche Triebkraft ein Vorantreiben der Deterritorialisierung und ein Sich-Widersetzen gegen den Wunsch der Reterritorialisierung bewirken kann. Bei Kafka ist es laut Deleuze und Guattari das Lachen als politische und gesellschaftliche Aktion:

Jawohl, es gibt in der Tat ein Lachen Kafkas, ein recht fröhliches Gelächter, das man zumeist aus denselben Gründen […] mißversteht, aus denen man Kafkas Literatur als eine Zuflucht weit außerhalb seines Lebens zu betrachten Pflegt […] Er ist ein *lachender* Autor, erfüllt von einer tiefen Fröhlichkeit, trotz oder gerade wegen seiner Clownerien, die er wie eine Falle aufbaut oder wie ein Zirkus vorführt. Und er ist von A bis Z ein *politischer* Autor. (Deleuze 1976, 58)

Kafkas Lachen ist ein Abyssus von Travestie, Parodie, Persiflage und Ironie, durch den sich das deterritorialisierte Sein, der Nomade, seinen Fluchtweg aus der Macht bahnt. Auch in der rumäniendeutschen Literatur kann man unserer Meinung nach dieselbe Triebkraft erkennen. Dies erklärt, warum die rumäniendeutsche Literatur erst Ende der 1960er Jahre und Anfang der 1970er Jahre nach der intensiven Rezeption der westlichen Avantgarde angefangen hat ihre Deterritorialisierung

voranzutreiben, ihre Minderheit als Chance wahrzunehmen und aus ihr ein politisch-subversives Instrument zu machen.

Das Lachen spielte in der westlichen Avantgarde eine autoreferenzielle Rolle. Die Literatur lachte sich selbst aus um dadurch die Autorität der hohen und elitären modernen Vorstellung der Literatur zu untergraben. Dieses Lachen hat die rumäniendeutsche Literatur der 70er Jahre, in kafkaesker Manier, nach außen, der politischen und gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit entgegen gerichtet. Ein Gedicht, das aus dieser Perspektive gelesen und interpretiert werden kann, ist Rolf Bosserts folgendes titelloses Gedicht:

> das ist ein gequältes lächeln
> stelle ich nüchtern fest
>
> das ist eine gequälte nüchternheit
> behauptet mein nachbar von links
>
> das ist eine gequälte behauptung
> spricht sein nebenmann
>
> das ist eine gequälte sprache
> lächelt mein freund (Bossert 1992, 221)

In diesem Gedicht offenbaren sich dem Leser alle drei Hauptmerkmale der kleinen Literatur. Der kollektive Ausdruck wird dem Gedicht durch die Anwendung von Dialogizität (Bakhtin 1981, 111-112) und Mehrstimmigkeit gegeben. Es ist nicht nur eine einzelne poetische Instanz, die etwas vermitteln will, sondern ein Konglomerat von gesellschaftlich verzweigten Stimmen" „ich", „mein nachbar von links", „sein nebenmann", „mein freund" (Bossert 1992, 221). Dieses Gedicht ist von Grund auf politisch. Die gequälten Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten deuten auf das Leben in der Druckkammer des totalitären Regimes und die Struktur des Gedichtes ahmt die dialektische Methode der Kritik nach, die wiederum auf eine marxistische Ausrichtung schließen lässt. Auch die Deterritorialisiertheit der Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten wird auf einer „nüchtern-revolutionäre[n] Linie" (Deleuze 1976, 28) vorangetrieben, vertieft durch den Abyssus der gequälten Stimmen. So verwandelt sich das „gequälte[…] lächeln" (Bossert 1992, 221) – eine Anspielung auf die von der Macht unterdrückte Ausdrucksfreiheit – in ein Lachen, das sich mit

der „gequälte[n] Sprache" (Bossert 1992, 221) verbündet und gemeinsame Sache macht. Eben durch diese Durchdringung der von der Macht „gequälten" Minderheitensprache kann diese zum „Freund" (Bossert 1992, 221), zum Komplizen gemacht werden und kann somit subversiv, revolutionär aufklingen.

Bossert war ebenso wenig wie Kafka ein melancholischer, zurückgezogener Autor, in seinen Texten klingt wie in denen von Kafka ein subversives Lachen auf, das zugleich ein politischer Aufschrei ist. Im Gedicht *Gelegenheitsgedicht: Kafka 1883-1983* drückt Bossert seine Komplizenschaft mit Kafkas Wahrnehmung, seinem *Auge* aus:

> Ach und kein Kommunist
> ist er gewesen.
>
> Der Mechanismus, Kafkas
> Auge, im Mechanismus
> des Räderwerks. Kafkas Augen,
>
> Das Staubkorn
> auf der Schneeschwarzen Bluse
> der Jesenská! Was tut weh.
>
> Kafkas Auge im eigenen Kehlkopf. (Bossert 2006, 188)

„Kafkas Auge im eigenen Kehlkopf" haben bedeutet den Mechanismus in sich tragen, ihn mit in der eigenen Anatomie leben lassen, die Räderwerke der Macht in der Subjektivität zu verschlucken, zu ersaufen und so einen Blick nach draußen zu wagen und einen Schritt im Innern des Selbst, aber abseits der Macht zu tun. Im Gedicht spielt Bossert auf die tschechische linksgerichtete Journalistin und Schriftstellerin Milena Jesenská an, die zu den engen Freunden von Kafka gehörte und wegen ihrer kommunistischen Orientierungen verhaftet wurde und 1944 in einem Konzentrationslager starb. Man kann die Überlagerung zweier Bildkomplexe erkennen: „[…] Kafkas/ Auge, im Mechanismus/des Räderwerks" und „Das Staubkorn/ auf der Schneeschwarzen Bluse/ der Jesenská! […]"(Bossert 2006, 188). Eigentlich haben wir es hier mit zwei Mechanismen der Unterdrückung zu tun. Während der Mechanismus, aus dem Kafka herausblickt, auf die bürokratisch kapitalistische Maschinerie der Habsburger deutet, beschwört das Bild der

„schneeschwarzen Bluse der Jesenská!" (Bossert 2006, 188) die Todesmaschinerie des Konzentrationslagers herauf. Kafkas Auge, und Milenas Staubkorn sind Elemente, die diese Mechanismen zum Stocken bringen, zum „verschwinde[n] oder explodiere[n] wie die Maschine der Strafkolonie" (Deleuze 1976, 41). Kafkas Auge im eigenen Kehlkopf ist eben dieser Keil im Räderwerk, der zu einer intensiven Veränderung führt, ein Element, das all die anderen kristallisierten, verknöcherten Denkweisen zum Fließen, zum Wandern bringt, d.h. zur Selbsterneuerung zwingt.

Auch in Anemone Latzinas Gedicht *Ferien*, – ein Gedicht, das auf den ersten Blick eine Nostalgie der Kindheit anspricht – lässt sich als ein Ausdruck des „Unbehagen[s] […] vor verschiedenen Ungeheuern der modernen Welt" (Csejka 1970, 19) lesen, gegen die sich das K*leinwerden* widersetzt.

> Ich müsste sehr allein sein
> oder bloß eine Geste erfinden
> oder einfach wieder klein sein
> damit
> die tannenalte Stille
> mich nicht erdrückt,
> das viele Wiesengrün
> nicht so sehr weh tut
> und der Himmel im Bauch
> mich nicht weinen macht.
> Ist das wohl Glück? (Latzina 1992, 10)

Latzina versucht hier den befreienden „Ort der eigenen Unterentwicklung, zu finden, das eigene Kauderwelsch, die eigene Dritte Welt, die eigene Wüste" (Deleuze 1976, 27). Sie assoziiert diesen Ort der Reihe nach mit einem Austritt aus der Gesellschaft, dem „allein sein" (Latzina 1992, 10), mit der innovativ-revolutionären Ausdrucksfreiheit, der Erfindung einer Geste und dem Kindsein. Alle drei deuten auf Fluchtmöglichkeiten in eine Welt, die nicht von Macht erfüllt ist, in der man nicht „erdrückt" (Latzina 1992, 10) wird, in der die Angst nicht mit-lebt, die nicht „weh tut" oder einen „weinen macht" (Latzina 1992, 10). Und wieder finden wir am Ende des Textes die Möglichkeit eines angefreundeten Glücks, eines emanzipatorischen Fröhlichseins, das aber sofort deterritorialisiert, intensiviert wird und dem durch die Fragestellung der absolute Schein genommen wird.

Auf der am Beispiel dieser zwei Gedichte exemplifizierten Fluchtlinie entlang hat die rumäniendeutsche Literatur ihre Deterritorialisierung vorangetrieben, sich zur kollektiven und politischen Aktion entwickelt und somit zu sich selbst gefunden. Diese *Fluchtlinie* überkreuzt sich unserer Meinung nach vielfach mit einer anderen, und zwar mit der, die sich zwischen Moderne und Postmoderne erstreckt.

Die Welt diesseits des Eisernen Vorhanges konnte sich den Luxus nicht erlauben eine Postmoderne in Erwägung zu ziehen, sich, wie die westliche, langsam theoretisch und praktisch in sie einzuarbeiten. Postmoderne Strategien wurden zur emanzipatorischen Notwendigkeit im Kampf gegen eine totalitäre und scheiternde modernistische Utopie. Eben dort, wo diese Notwendigkeit nach postmodernen Strategien sich mit dem Lachen als politische und gesellschaftliche Aktion trafen, entstanden die intensivsten, kritischsten, wirksamsten und im Endeffekt wertvollsten Texte der rumäniendeutschen Literatur nach 1970.

3. Lyrik als anarchisches Gaukelspiel. Der Einsatz von sprachlichen Guerillastrategien in der Literatur der Aktionsgruppe Banat

In dem Kontext der vorliegenden Arbeit bezeichnen Guerillastrategien Arten der subversiven sprachlichen Aktion, die darauf aus sind, die Sprache der Macht, ihre Symbole und Legitimierungsmechanismen durch Verfremdung, Sabotage und Spiel zu entkräften. Die Wirksamkeit solcher Strategien hatte schon 1971 Roland Barthes durch eine rhetorische Frage auf den Punkt gebracht: „Ist die beste Subversion nicht die Codes zu entstellen, statt sie zu zerstören?" (Barthes 1989, 123)

Diese Logik der Subversion ist dem postmodernen Denken tief verpflichtet, denn sie legitimiert sich durch die angebliche Kraft des strategisch eingesetzten Dissenses, Aufklärungsarbeit zu leisten und positive Veränderung hervorzurufen. Die Angriffsfläche solcher Subversion ist minimal, lokal in Bezug auf die unübersichtliche Ganzheit der Machtverhältnisse, ihre Einwirkung aber umso tiefgreifender, störender, da sie sich nicht anschickt, das Kartenhaus der Macht direkt umzublasen, sondern dieses langsam, Karte für Karte entfernend, ins Wanken zu bringen.

In seinem Essay „Die Aktionsgruppen-Story" entzauberte Gerhardt Csejka einen der Leitbegriffe der Aktionsgruppe Banat, und zwar das viel umstrittene, oft missverstandene Zauberwort *Engagement* und entlarvte es als Deckbegriff einer dissensorientierten Haltung. Die „[…] Überschreitung der Kunstgrenzen in Richtung

Leben […]" (Csejka 1992, 238), der sich die jungen Mitglieder der Aktionsgruppe annahmen, hatte, so Csejka, die Rolle:

> […] die Literatur zu einer ernsthaft kritischen Herausforderung des Staates und seiner Zensur werden zu lassen. Als Deckbegriff diente in erweitertem und differenziertem Wortsinn das »Engagement«; »engagiert« waren alle Texte, die in irgendeiner Weise auf Kollisionskurs zu den etablierten Verhältnissen gesetzt waren; das konnte ebensogut über die geschickte Abwandlung, Umkehrung, oder Verweigerung einer »offiziellen« Themenstellung laufen, wie über die Durchkreuzung eingespielter kanonisierter Formerwartungen. (Csejka 1992, 238),

Aus dieser Beschreibung der Aktionsstrategien der Gruppierung ist zu entnehmen, dass Travestie – in Csejkas Text als Abwandlung, Umkehrung bezeichnet – und sprachliche Guerillastrategien wie die „Durchkreuzung eingespielter kanonisierter Formerwartungen" (Csejka 1992, 238) durchaus zu ihrem poetischen Arsenal gehörten. Sie wurden zu notwendigen Strategien im Versuch der Schriftsteller die Realität neu anzupacken.

Nicht umsonst nannte Ernest Wichner die Aktionsgruppe – wahrscheinlich auch als Anspielung auf die linksgerichteten Protest- und Widerstandsformen im Rahmen der 68er-Bewegung in Deutschland – „Spaßguerilla". (Wichner 1992, 316) Als eine ars poetica der Aktionsgruppe, verstanden als Sprach- und Spaßguerilla, kann das Gedicht *reim dich* des „sanften Guerilleros" (Csejka 2006, 316) Rolf Bossert gelesen werden:

> wir werden zeitbomben legen,
> verpackt in papier solln sie sein;
> das ist der zweck unseres leben- s,
> den menschen zu verfein-
>
> ern. deshalb: verpackpapier
> mit versen schön bestreichen
> vor irgendeinem genie. r-
> asch kann man was erreichen.
> die testperson liest grad den faus- t:
> »verweile doch, du bist so schön.«

    da macht es plötzlich bumm und aus.
    jetzt darf er ruhig zugrunde gehn.

    ein glücklicher tod. die geschichte
    müßte man schnell arran-
    gieren. denn bomben und gedichte
    wir fänden was daran. (Bossert 1973, 47)

Bosserts *reim dich* – eine Art poetisches Pseudomanifest – beginnt mit der Äußerung eines provokanten Vorhabens. Literatur soll als anarchistischer Sabotageakt verwendet werden. Diese Absicht wird dann in den letzten zwei Zeilen der ersten Strophe mit ironischem Pathos zum Lebenszweck dieses anarchischen „wir" erklärt. Der Auftrag der Literatur „den menschen zu verfeinern" (Bossert 1973, 47) kann hier erstens als Anspielung auf das brechtsche Literaturverständnis gelesen werden, drängt aber auch unweigerlich dem Leser das Bild der „Verfeinerung" (Bossert 1973, 47) des menschlichen Körpers durch die Explosion einer Bombe ins Bewusstsein. Im Spannungsfeld dieser zwei Bedeutungen offenbart sich die eigentliche Einwirkung, die „explosive" (Bossert 1973, 47) Lyrik auf den Menschen haben sollte, und zwar eine bewusstseinserweiternde, im Sinne einer Sprengung der tradierten oder aufgezwungenen Identitäten und einer Pluralisierung der Denkweisen.

    Während die zweite Strophe eine ironische Gebrauchsanweisung für die Herstellung von Gedichtbomben liefert, wird in der dritten auf die konkrete Wirkungsweise dieser „explosiven" Dichtung hingewiesen. Diese offenbart sich aber nicht im eigentlichen Inhalt der Verse, sondern in der spielerischen Art und Weise, in der Intertextualität eingesetzt wird. Gedichtbomben, wie auch eigentliche Bomben, sind aus Materialien zusammengestellt, die einzeln harmlos sind. Die Kunst der subversiven Poesie ist die Zusammensetzung solcher harmloser Textmateriale in explosive d.h. aufrüttelnde, durch Schock aufklärende Gedichte. Durch die stets ironische Ausdrucksweise schwingt im Gedicht aber auch die Gefahr mit, die eine solche Art von Poesie mit sich bringt. Es kann als eine der Stärken der Aktionsgruppe Banat angesehen werden, dass sie durch Ironie und spielerische Selbstwahrnehmung die Radikalisierung ihrer Meinungen und ihres Wirklichkeitsbezuges stets vermieden haben.

    Zwei sprachliche Guerillastrategien, die auch heute oft in Protest- und Widerstandsaktionen angewendet werden, sind die der subversiven Affirmation

und der Überidentifikation. Subversive Affirmation ist eine übertriebene, oft ins Absurde getriebene Bejahung dessen, dem man sich widersetzt. Dadurch wird versucht auf bestimmte unsichtbare Widersprüche und Ungerechtigkeiten aufmerksam zu machen und den positiven Schein eines bestimmten Diskurses zu entlarven. Überidentifikation impliziert subversive Affirmation, geht aber einen wichtigen Schritt weiter von der Scheinzustimmung zur Scheinidentifikation. Überidentifikation ist also eine Art überspitzte Nachahmung, die Slogans, Schlagwörter, Symbole, Intentionen eines bestimmten Diskurses entfremdet und umpolt und somit zu Waffen des sich Widersetzenden werden lässt.

Der von der Aktionsgruppe Banat kollektiv verfasste Text *engagement* zum Beispiel, erzielte seine kritisch subversive Wirkung mittels einer Mischung von subversiver Affirmation und Überidentifikation:

> bist engagiert
> ja
> bin engagiert
> ja ja
> sehr engagiert
>
> bist auch engagiert
> ja
> bin auch engagiert
> sehr engagiert
> ja ja
>
> will aber nicht mehr engagiert sein
> bin schon zu lang engagiert gewesen
>
> will auch nicht mehr engagiert sein
> bin auch schon zu lang engagiert gewesen
>
> ja
> mit dir da
> mit dir da auch
> bin nicht mehr engagiert ja
> bin nicht mehr engagiert auch
> ja ja

ja ja auch

doch wer einmal engagiert war
der wird engagiert bleiben immer
ja

ja ja (Totok 1988, 73-74)

Durch dieses Gedicht widersetzte sich die Gruppe einerseits der gehaltlosen und nichtsagenden Anwendung des Begriffs „Engagement" und der Denk- und Aktionsfaulheit, die sich dahinter verbarg und andererseits der Dogmatisierung dieses Schlagwortes. In dem 1973 abgedruckten Rundtischgespräch *Engagement als Chance und Veränderung* thematisierte Richard Wagner den Sinnverschleiß, den dieser Begriff damals durchlebte:

Der Begriff „Engagement" im allgemeinen ist durch exzessiven Gebrauch (und Verbrauch) nicht nur strapaziert, sondern zeitweilig auch mißkreditiert worden. Solche Begriffe werden oft gedankenlos als Visitenkarte benützt. (Wagner 1992, 61)

Im Gedicht wird dieser exzessive gesellschaftliche „Gebrauch (und Verbrauch)" (Wagner 1992, 61) des Begriffs pointiert und überspitzt vorgeführt und dadurch parodiert. Der kollektiv zusammengestellte Text nimmt die Form seiner Herstellungsweise d.h. einer Kommunikationssituation an. Dabei wird erst mehrstimmig das persönliche Engagement bestätigt, dann wieder gemeinsam geleugnet, um letztendlich zu dem bequemen Schluss zu kommen, dass Engagement schon da war und demzufolge auch immer da sein wird. In diesem entgleisten dialektischen Dialog ist es wichtig zu bemerken, dass der Übergang von einem Standpunkt zum anderen, erstens lediglich eine vordergründige Stärkung oder Schwächung der Identifikation mit dem Begriff „Engagement" und keinesfalls ein Umdenken darstellt, und zweitens, dass er von kollektiver Bejahung bewirkt und bestätigt wird. Somit erscheinen diese Gesinnungsumbrüche plötzlich, unreflektiert, unauthentisch und im Endeffekt gehaltlos. Die Synthese „doch wer einmal engagiert war/ der wird engagiert bleiben immer" (Totok 1988, 73-74), auf die dieser Dialog hinausläuft, wird dadurch als Alibi für Gleichgültigkeit und Passivität entlarvt. Durch geschickt eingesetzte subversive Bejahung und Überidentifikation gelingt es diesem Gedicht, die Variation des Satzes „ich bin

engagiert" in eine potente Kritik gesellschaftlicher Praktiken und Denkweisen zu verwandeln.

Dass solche Strategien eine wichtige Rolle in der Dichtung der Aktionsgruppe Banat spielten, beweist der Einsatz von Überidentifikation in dem ironischen Manifestgedicht, das die Gedichtanthologie *Wire Wegbereiter* in der *Neuen Literatur* 4/1974 einleitet:

> wir wegbereiter
> (konrad bayer gerhard rühm oswald wiener)
> zu den höchsten bergeshöhen
> zu den gipfeln die wir noch nicht sehen
>
> immer weiter immer weiter
> schreiten wire wegbereiter
>
> pioniere der zukunft
> sind wir die alles machen mit der vernunft
>
> immer weiter immer weiter
> schreiten wire wegbereiter
>
> immer weiter immer weiter
> schreiten wire wegbereiter
>
> immer weiter immer weiter (Aktionsgruppe Banat 1974, 4)

Wie es bei vielen Manifesten der europäischen Avantgarde der Fall ist, stellt dieser Text der Aktionsgruppe Banat eher ein Anti-Manifest dar. Der zumeist von Pathos und Emphase erfüllte Duktus eines Manifestes wird ironisiert und dekonstruiert. Dabei werden die eigentlichen Prinzipien, Neuerungsstrategien und Stellungnahmen durch diese ironische Herangehensweise ausgedrückt und nicht durch die ostentativen Formeln, die das Gedicht umschließt. Dies betonte auch René Kegelmann als er über diesen Text schrieb:

> Das den Wiener Sprachexperimentellen gewidmete Gedicht ist eine Verbindung von Fortschrittsglaube und ironischer Durchdringung allzu dogmatisch verstandenen sozialistischen Gedankenguts. (Kegelmann 1995, 30)

Diese „ironische Durchdringung", die Kegelmann anspricht, erfolgt im Gedicht durch eine Überidentifikation mit dem gehaltlosen Impetus des sozialistischen Fortschrittsdiskurses. Dadurch soll darauf aufmerksam gemacht werden, dass hochtrabende Parolen keinen wahren Fortschritt bewirken können. Nur eine stets kritische und prüfende Haltung, die im Gedicht von der ironischen Herangehensweise repräsentiert wird, kann Neuerung und Verbesserung hervorrufen. Das ironische Manifest der Aktionsgruppe verletzt also nicht restlos die Erwartung, die der Leser an diese Textsorte hat, denn eine revolutionäre Position und Identität werden hier tatsächlich ausgedrückt. Der Unterschied besteht darin, dass es sich hier nicht um eine radikale, dogmatische Positionierung und Identifikation handelt, sondern um eine flüssige, veränderbare und stets progressive, die sich im Spannungsfeld zielstrebiger Fortschrittsdrang und spielerischer Experimentierlust entfaltet. Dies bezeugt auch die Selbstinszenierung der Gruppe als „Wire Wegbereiter".

4. Schlussfolgerung

In den Jahren 1970-1974 hat sich eine neue Einstellung gegenüber Kunst und gesellschaftlicher Wirklichkeit unter den rumäniendeutschen Literaten breitgemacht. Es war die Einstellung einer jungen Generation, die zugleich lausbübisch couragiert und selbstkritisch schüchtern war, die mit Begriffen wie Moderne, Experiment, Strukturalismus, Innovation, Engagement kokettierten, und gleichzeitig mit ihrem Schicksal als Nachahmer und Nachzügler fertig werden mussten. Eine Generation, die gleichermaßen mit Ehrlichkeit und Täuschung jonglieren musste, um auf dem schmalen Grat zwischen gesellschaftlichem Engagement und Regimefeindlichkeit wandern zu können. Die vorliegende Arbeit hat veranschaulicht in wie weit diese Wende mit einem Prozess des Klein-Werdens in Zusammenhang zu bringen ist. Es wurde gezeigt, dass die Wesenszüge der kleinen Literatur, so wie sie von Deleuze und Guattari erläutert wurden, nicht nur auf die rumäniendeutsche Literatur zutreffen sondern auch eine essenzielle Rolle gespielt haben in der Erneuerung und Selbstfindung dieser Literatur. Das verstehen der rumäniendeutschen Literatur als kleine Literatur kann nicht nur neue

Einblicke bringen in diese oft missverstandene und ignorierte Fraktion der deutschen Literatur, es kann auch eine sehr notwendige Öffnung zur westlichen Moderne und Postmoderne ermöglichen.

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´Fiktion´ und Fiktionen.
Einige Beobachtungen zu terminologischen und sachlichen Unklarheiten in literaturtheoretischem und -wissenschaftlichem Kontext

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The following article discusses some issues regarding the use of the terms 'fiction', 'fictionality', 'fictive' and 'fictional' with regard to fictions and fictional expressions or texts. The main concern of this text is to indicate the fact, that 'fiction' and fictions are used and treated with a certain amount of ambiguity. It is the case when literature and literary worlds are discussed both in a general context and in scholarly treatment of these issues. Relevant terminological distinctions exist. Still, their use to name their corresponding referents lacks a certain consequence.

Keywords: *'fiction', literary terminology, fictive, fiction,*

1. Grundsätzliches

Fiktionen sind etwas das nicht wirklich existiert – so eine allgemeine Bestimmung dessen, was beim Gebrauch von ´Fiktion´ verstanden wird. Der Ausdruck wird oft auch in Verbindung mit Literatur benutzt und kommt sowohl umgangs- wie fachsprachlich vor. In einem wissenschaftlichen Kontext sollte streng zwischen zwischen der Bezeichnung, dem Terminus und der Begebenheit unterschieden werden, wenn etwas besprochen wird, das nicht wirklich existiert. Im ersten Fall geht es um den Ausdruck ´Fiktion´ der im Alltag oder in der Wissenschaft erscheint; im zweiten um den Begriff ´Fiktion´ der mit einem eigenen wissenschaftlichen Erkenntniswert versehen ist, zuletzt geht es um die Sache Fiktion, von der angenommen werden kann, dass sie gewissermaßen als etwas besteht,

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dementsprechend bezeichnet wird und mittels des Gebrauches eines entsprechenden Terminus in Betrachtungen genannt wird.

Rechtfertigungen für terminologische Erwägungen sind dann zu begründen, wenn eingebürgerte Begriffe hinterfragt werden. Der Sinn eines solchen Vorgehens ist allerdings nicht offenkundig, wenn sich der jeweilige Begriff, offenbar ohne anstößig zu wirken, im Umlauf befindet. Rechtfertigungen sind auch dann vorzulegen, wenn Bedeutung problematischer Begriffe wiederholt thematisiert wird. Der Zweck einer neuen Hinterfragung mag unter solchen Umständen bedenklich erscheinen. Im ersten Fall, wo der akzeptierte Gebrauch eines Begriffes feststeht, besteht die Gefahr der Irrelevanz einer Infragestellung: geprüfte Antworten liegen bereits vor, neue scheinen hinfällig. In der zweiten Situation, worin es um ständige Problematisierungen von Begriffen geht, besteht das Risiko der Redundanz der Infragestellung: ältere Stellungnahmen sind ohne weitere verfügbar, Neuansätze könnten repetitiv erscheinen. Das trifft auch im Falle von ´Fiktion´ zu. Der Terminus hat eine etablierte Position im literaturwissenschaftlichen Gebrauch. Dessen Hinterfragen scheint sich gewissermaßen zu erübrigen. Literaturtheoretische Infragestellungen der Bedeutung von ´Fiktion´ kommen nichtdestotrotz wiederholt vor (Zipfel 2001, 14 ff). Erneute Klarstellungen scheinen insofern konkomitant zu sein. Ein etablierter literaturwissenschaftlicher Gebrauch von ´Fiktion´ ist allerdings nicht unbedingt eindeutig und zwar trotz literaturtheoretischer Bemühungen. Eine Rechtfertigung terminologischer Erläuterungen hätte somit ihre Begründung. Eine geläufige und unanstößige sprachliche Zweideutigkeit soll des Weiteren als Ausgangspunkt dienen, für die Beschreibung einer analogen und potentiell problematischen terminologischen Zweideutigkeit.

2. Problematischer Ausdruck ´Fiktion´

Die Rede von Fiktionen kommt gelegentlich im Alltag vor, auch wenn diese Sachen nicht immer ausdrücklich so bezeichnet werden. Auf jeden Fall wird dann, wann es um Sachen geht, die als ´Fiktionen´ angemessen zu bezeichnen wären, etwas gemeint, dass irgendwie fantastisch, vorgestellt, ireal begriffen wird bzw. dass nicht tatsächlich fassbar ist. Diesem allgemeinen Verständnis von Fiktionen im Alltag entspricht die ´Fiktion´-Definition, welche im Duden-Wörterbuch (Duden, *´Fiktion´*, *´fiktiv´*) erscheint. Zur Verdeutlichung der Bedeutungen des betreffenden Ausdruckes werden in der Duden-Definition Sachen angeführt, die als ´Fiktionen´ bzw. als ´fiktiv´ zu bezeichnen sind. Es geht dabei gemäß Duden u.a., auch um Dichtungen oder um Fantasiegebilde also etwas das erdacht, erdichtet, frei

erfunden ist. Erläuterungen sind beim Gebrauch des Ausdruckes mit Bezug auf Literatur trotzdem notwendig. Die Ausdrücke meinen eben Mehreres, und womöglich miteinander Unverträgliches. ´Fiktion´ und ´fiktiv´ bedeuten umgangssprachlich beispielsweise literarische Schriften oder literarische Gestalten so, dass es diese Gegenstände irgendwie gibt. Sie werden aber von einem Ausdruck bezeichnet, gemäß Duden, sowohl etwas Bestehendes (Dichtungen) wie etwas nicht-Bestehendes (literarische Gestalten) heißt. Anzuführende Erläuterungen Diese haben anzuführen, was eine Benennung heißen könnte, welche etwas meint, das es nicht gibt, aber trotzdem betreffs etwas gebraucht werden müsste, das irgendwie besteht. Dieser Umstand soll mit Bezug auf eine hypothetische umgangssprachliche Rede über J.W. Goethes Drama *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (fortan IAT abgekürzt) veranschaulicht werden.

Sollte in einem alltäglichen Gespräch die Rede davon sein, worum es in der IAT geht, dann mag die Sehnsucht Iphigenies nach ihrer Familie bzw. die Ankunft des Orestes erwähnt werden. Es würde dabei weder angenommen noch ausgesagt werden, dass es das eine (Iphigenies Sehnsucht) bzw. das andere (Orestes´ Ankunft) eigentlich gibt. Es dürfte allerdings feststehen, dass Iphigenie, Orestes und deren Gedanken bzw. Handlungen, mythologische Fiktionen sind. Das bedeutet es sind von Goethe erfundene Sachen oder von Euripides bzw. Racine übernommene und damit wiederum erfundene Sachen. Eine alltägliche Rede über Iphigenies Empfindungen bzw. über Orestes Wahnsinn würde aber dennoch nicht so geführt werden, als ob damit nichts gemeint würde, sondern so indem stillschweigend angenommen wird, dass diese Sachen zwar nicht existieren aber immerhin gewissermaßen bestehen. In dieser Hinsicht, als irgendwie bestehend, würden sie dann als ´Fiktionen´ bezeichnet werden. Auch wenn der umgangssprachliche Ausdruck ´Fiktion´ etwas bedeutet, das nicht existiert aber worüber literarische Schriften Kunde geben, so wird über solche Sachen umgangssprachlich trotzdem so gesprochen als ob es diese Sachen gibt.

Sollte es andererseits in einer umgangssprachlichen Rede um die IAT gehen, dann würde damit aber kaum gemeint werden, dass dieses Drama, welches gelegentlich als ´literarische Fiktion´ bezeichnet werden kann, nur gewissermaßen besteht. Es würde eher als selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt werden, dass es ein literarisches Werk eines wirklichen Autors ist, welches in eine literaturgeschichtliche Periode verortet werden kann. Eine Schrift, so die IAT, mag als ´literarische Fiktion´ bezeichnet werden, aber sicherlich nicht indem der Umstand ausgedrückt wird, dass es die IAT nicht gibt oder nur in einer irgendwie unklaren Weise.

Wenn die Ausdrücke ´Fiktion´ bzw. ´fiktiv´ umgangssprachlich etwas meinen sollte, das – gemäß Duden – nicht-wirklich, nicht-existent, illusorisch, erdichtet und

erfunden heißt, dann ist das erklärungsbedürftig. Das heißt es sollte geklärt werden, in welchem Sinne der gleiche Ausdruck als ´Fiktion´ sowohl Sachen bezeichnet, die es nicht gibt – Iphigenies Wunsch Tauris zu verlassen – wie auch Sachen die es offensichtlich gibt – den Iphigenie-Monolog in der IAT.

Eigentliche Missverständnisse dürften allerdings durch diese scheinbar widersprüchlichen Bedeutungen von ´Fiktion´ nicht bewirkt werden: es mag vorausgesetzt sein, dass der Ausdruck zweierlei bedeutet und jeweils in doppelter Hinsicht gebraucht wird. ´Fiktion´ würde dann zweifach verwendet werden, indem damit erstens gemeint wird, dass Iphigenies Gedanken und Empfindungen bzw. Orestes Handlungen gewissermaßen nicht-existente (aber irgendwie dennoch bestehende) Sachen, d.h. Sachverhalte einer literarischen Welt sind. Der Ausdruck würde zweitens so gebraucht werden, indem gemeint wird, dass die IAT ein literarisches Werk ist, worin Bestimmtes über Sachverhalte einer literarischen Welt steht, die es nicht gibt. Diese Sachen, so etwa die Sehnsucht Iphigenies oder die Gefangennahme des Orestes, würden dann als Fiktionen behandelt werden. Das ist auch im Einklang mit den Angaben im Duden, worin Dichtungen (d.h. auch literarische Schriften) und Fantasiegebilde (d.h. auch literarische Gestalten) als Beispiele von Fiktionen angeführt werden. Der Ausdruck ´Fiktion´ meint umgangssprachlich eben dabei zwei Sachen. Fiktionen sind im Alltag einmal Reden, deren Inhalte etwas behandeln, das vorgestellt, irgendwie nicht-wirklich ist. Fiktionen sind andererseits jene Sachen selber, worum es in diesen Reden geht. Umgangssprachlich kann getrost, und dabei nicht sehr deutlich aber auch nicht unbedingt missverständlich gesagt werden, dass Fiktionen von Fiktionen handeln und dass dabei gemeint werden könnte, dass die IAT als Fiktion von der Fiktion des Tantalidentreffens auf Tauris handelt.

3. Problematischer Begriff ´Fiktion´

Das scheint sinnvoll und, dürfte auch ohne weiteres für eine umgangssprachliche Diskussion, worin ´Fiktion´ werdet wird, ausreichen. Die Ausdrücke ´Fiktion´ und ´fiktiv´ wären nicht eindeutig aber eher nicht problematisch. Umgangssprachliche Ausführungen haben allerdings nicht unbedingt einen Gültigkeitsanspruch und sind damit nicht auf genauere Erläuterungen der gebrauchten Sprache angewiesen. Sollte die Rede von der IAT bzw. von dem Tantalidentreffen als literarische Fiktionen literaturwissenschaftlich geführt werden, dann ist der Ausdruck ´Fiktion´ als Begriff zu behandeln. Dafür ist dessen Stellung als Fachterminus genauer zu bestimmen, so etwa durch Angabe seiner spezifischen Bedeutungen in verschiedenen Kontexten bzw. durch Bestimmung seiner Intension und Extension.

Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Betrachtung ist auf eine Terminologie angewiesen, um in angemessenere Form, verhältnismäßig präzise Aspekte der besprochenen Probleme zu fassen. Das sollte auch im Falle von ´Fiktion´ gelten, wenn etwa dabei im Rahmen einer literaturwissenschaftlichen Betrachtung, Probleme des *Agamemnon* besprochen werden sollten. Die relative Unmissverständlichkeit umgangssprachlicher Behandlung von literarischen Fiktionen ist weitaus problematischer in einem literaturwissenschaftlichen Zusammenhang. Darin sollte es deutlicher erkennbar sein, unter welchen Umständen von literarischen Welten angenommen werden kann, dass es sie auf irgendeine Weise gibt oder dass literarische Werke, literarische Welten bezeugen, die es eigentlich nicht gibt, aber möglicherweise schon als Gegenstand von wissenschaftlichen Erwägungen vorkommen. Wenn umgangssprachlich von Iphigenie und dem Iphigenie-Drama als Fiktionen weitgehend unmissverständlich die Rede sein kann, dann ist das literaturwissenschaftlich nicht mehr der Fall. Ein solche sollte u.a. geklärt haben, was genau gemeint wird, dass Fiktionen (Iphigenie-Drama und Iphigenie-Geschichte) Gegenstand von literaturwissenschaftlicher Erkenntnis sind. Die Befassung mit diesen Fragen setzt u.a. relativ stabile terminologische Festlegungen bezüglich des Begriffes ´Fiktion´ voraus.

4. ´Fiktion´: Uneinheitliche literaturtheoretische Stellungsnahmen

Gemäß des Eintrages *´Fiktion´* im Metzler Lexikon Literatur steht der Begriff für den imaginären Status der dargestellten Figuren, Orte, Ereignisse. Der Eintrag nennt – in relativer Korrespondenz mit den Erläuterungen zum gleichnamigen Ausdruck ´Fiktion´ im Duden-Wörterbuch - auch einen expliziten Bezug auf literarische Texte als Fiktionen. Der besagte Begriff ´Fiktion´ scheint dabei einmal die Existenzweise von literarischen Figuren und Ereignissen in den Texten zu betreffen. Zweitens werden damit auch die literarischen Texte selber gemeint, worin es um literarische Figuren und Ereignisse geht. Damit wird gesagt, dass ein einziger Terminus d.h. ´Fiktion´ zur Bezeichnung zweier Sachen dient: zur Bezeichnung bestimmter Texte und zur Bezeichnung der Sachen selber, womit diese handeln. Damit wird gesagt, dass ein einziger Terminus d.h. ´Fiktion´ zur Bezeichnung zweier Sachen dient: zur Bezeichnung bestimmter Texte und zur Bezeichnung der Sachen selber, womit diese handeln. Der Lexikoneintrag scheint, auf eine explizitere und ausführlichere Weise, das Gleiche wie die Wörterbucherläuterung anzuführen. Es sieht so aus, als ob über die erwähnte Homonymie in der Alltagssprache nicht hinweggegangen wird: ein einziger Terminus benennt zwei Sachen. Die Zweideutigkeit des

Ausdruckes ´Fiktion´, ist trotz präziserer terminologischer Erläuterungen des Begriffes ´Fiktion´ nicht wirklich beseitigt.

Literarische Texte werden als aktualisierter Sprachgebrauch, als mehrfach kodierte Sprache, als ästhetisches Objekt, als intertextuelles oder autoreflexives Konstrukt und auch als Fiktionen betrachtet (Culler, 31 f.). Die Behandlung von Literatur wird damit auch mit Vorstellungen von ´Fiktion´ in Verbindung gebracht. Die Art, wie Literatur als Fiktion bzw. wie ´Fiktion´ als Begriff bei der Kennzeichnung von Literatur aufgefasst wird, scheint ein gewisses Gewicht in literaturtheoretischen Auseinandersetzungen aufzuweisen (Kasics 1990, 14). Weder terminologischer noch sachlicher Einklang ist mit Bezug auf verschiedene theoretische Ansätze zu diesem Problem erkennbar. Das Problem wird der literaturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagenforschung zugewiesen, wobei davon ausgegangen wird, dass ineinandergreifende Disziplinen semiotischer, literaturtheoretischer, philosophischer und sprachwissenschaftlicher Prägung, Antworten hierzu bieten (Rühling 1997, 25). Eine verschwommene Terminologie wird gerügt und es werden auch damit zusammenhängende Missverständnisse beklagt (Kasics 1990, 11). Es wird gegen die Annahme eines vermeintlichen Gegensatzes von literarischer Fiktion und faktualer Realität argumentiert (Kasics 1990, 14) und vor voreiligen Urteilen und Entscheidungen gewarnt, so etwa gegen eine pauschale Ausgrenzung literarischer Fiktionen aus der Wirklichkeit aufgrund eines naturwissenschaftlich-positivistischen Wirklichkeitsbegriffes formaler Prägung (Kasics, 1990, 14 f). Je nachdem, wo der Schwerpunkt des Interesses liegt, weisen die Positionen der jeweiligen theoretischen Ansätze bezüglich des ´Fiktion´-Problemes ein verschiedenes Gepräge auf und wirken sich auf unterschiedliche Themen der literaturwissenschaftlichen Debatte aus. Ontologisch und epistemologisch orientierte philosophische Ansichten zu Fiktionen als nicht-existente Sachbestände liegen literaturtheoretischen Erwägungen zu Fiktion im Zusammenhang der Geschichte zugrunde (Zipfel 2001, 68 ff). Die Überlegungen betreffen das Bestehen von nicht-existenten Gegenständen bzw. die sprachliche Konsistenz der Betrachtung derartiger Sachen. Sie dienen u.a. als Grundbau für eigentliche literaturwissenschaftliche Standpunkte zur sprachlichen Gestaltung von literarischen Welten, Raum- und Zeitstruktur literarischer Darstellungen.

5. ´Fiktion´: Unscharfer literaturwissenschaftlicher Einsatz

Die literaturwissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit Fiktionen ist mit der literaturtheoretischen Diskussion bezüglich begrifflicher Bestimmungen zu ´Fiktion´ und anschließenden sachlichen Festlegungen verbunden. Dieser Umstand kann

Unterschiedliches bedeuten, so auch, dass mangelnder theoretischer Einklang gewisse terminologische Undeutlichkeiten bewirken. Der Niederschlag nicht konsensfähiger theoretischer Stellungsnahmen mag u.a. in Verbindung mit dem Bestand an literaturwissenschaftlichen Erörterungen gebracht werden worin ´Fiktion´ nicht immer eindeutig gebraucht werden.

Literaturwissenschaftlich einerseits mit Bezug auf ein Charakteristikum der besagten literarischen Texte eingesetzt, insofern diese, literarische Welten in irgendeiner Weise literarisch darstellen. ´Fiktion´ wird andererseits für das Dargestellte, d.h. für literarische Welten selber gebraucht ohne eine gewisse Unklarheit beim Umgang mit diesem Begriff zu vermeiden. Literaturwissenschaftliche Betrachtungen zu allgemeinen Fragen von Literatur bzw. zu einzelnen literarischen Problemen, so zu narrativen, dramatischen und lyrischen Texten setzen sich in weiterem bzw. engerem Sinne mit Fiktionen auseinander. Sowohl in umfassenderen Kontexten, wo Literatur und literarische Schriften besprochen werden, wie auch in spezialisierten Kontexten, wo Literaturkategorien bzw. narrative, dramatische und lyrische Schriften untersucht werden, kann der uneinheitliche Gebrauch von ´Fiktion´ bzw. die Beschäftigung mit unterschiedlichen Sachen in einem terminologisch nicht eindeutigen Kontext dokumentiert werden.

Unscharfe Formulierungen bei allgemeinen Auseinandersetzungen mit Aspekten der ´Fiktion´-Problematik kommen in verschiedenen literaturwissenschaftlichen Arbeiten vor. Es geht darin um Fiktionen bzw. um die Kennzeichnung von literaturwissenschaftlich relevanten Sachverhalten oder Sachen als ´Fiktionen´ und als ´fiktiv´. Der Ausdruck ´literarische Fiktionen´ erscheint sowohl mit Bezug auf literarische Schriften (Baasner/Zens 200, 13f) wie auch mit Bezug auf fiktive Welten d.h. mit Bezug auf Gegenstände von literarischen Texten. In diesem Sinne werden einerseits literarische Schriften eines gewissen Inhaltes als literarische Fiktionen behandelt: es wird angenommen, dass es darin um etwas geht, das es nicht gibt. Andererseits meint der gleiche Begriff jene Sachen selber, wovon die betreffenden literarischen Texte handeln, d.h. Sachen, die es wiederum gewissermaßen nicht gibt. ´Fiktion´ wird insofern ohne eine deutliche Unterscheidung sowohl in Verbindung mit literarischen Schriften als auch mit literarischen Geschehnissen verwendet. Eine gewisse Unklarheit ist dabei feststellbar. Weder wird ´Fiktion´ (als Bezeichnung von Sachen bei deren Betrachtung als nicht-existent) von ´Fiktion´ (als Bezeichnung von Texten bei der Betrachtung ihrer Inhalte über nicht-existente Sachen) sauber voneinander gesondert, noch wird verdeutlicht, dass Untersuchung von Fiktionen eigentlich Sachen betrifft, die voneinander relativ klar abgegrenzt sind und auch terminologisch eventuell auseinanderzuhalten sein sollten

6. ´Fiktion´ und Fiktionen bei der Betrachtung narrativer Texte

Literaturwissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzungen mit narrativen, dramatischen und lyrischen Texten scheinen genauso wie jene mit literarischen Texten im Allgemeinen, von einer gewissen Unschlüssigkeit auf sachlicher und terminologischer Ebene geprägt zu sein. Arbeiten zu narrativen Texten untersuchen bestimmte inhaltliche Merkmale, so dass deren Kennzeichnung als Fiktionen begründet erfolgen kann. Es wird angeführt, dass die erzählte Welt das ´Was´ literarischen Erzählens ausmacht. Die Ausführungen erläutern, wie literaturwissenschaftliche Analysen, aufgrund von bestimmten Grundbegriffen, so ´Ereignis´, ´Geschehen´, ´Geschichte´ u.a., literarisch Dargestelltes als Fiktion kennzeichnen. Es geht um die Erläuterung der inhaltlichen Füllung einer spezifisch (d.h. literarisch) gegliederten Darstellung als Fiktion. Diese inhaltliche Füllung wird als Handlung verstanden, d.h. als Gesamtheit handlungsfunktionaler Elemente des Erzählten wofür die erwähnten Begriffe stehen (Martinez/Scheffel 2009, 25). Die Handlung einer literarischen Fiktion, deren Verlauf in einer narrativen Schrift erscheint, wird aber andererseits auch als Teil eines erzählten Universums aufgefasst, indem sie darin explizit verortet wird (Martinez/Scheffel 2009, 123). Solche erzählten Welten werden aufgrund von Charakteristika näher gekennzeichnet - so aufgrund ihrer Einheitlichkeit als homogen bzw. heterogen, nach ihrer Gliederung als uniregional bzw. pluriregional, nach der Vermischung von realen und fiktiven Elementen als stabil bzw. instabil, nach deren Bestehensweise als mögliche bzw. unmögliche Welten (Martinez/Scheffel 2009, 127 ff). Fiktion als Handlung scheint damit sowohl etwas zu sein, dass ein Charakteristikum eines Textes ist aber auch etwas, das ein Sache ist, worauf sich ein Text bezieht. Die jeweiligen literaturwissenschaftlichen Erwägungen scheinen damit sowohl den Inhalt eines narrativen Textes zu betreffen, der nicht-Wirkliches darstellt und daher eine Fiktion ist; sie scheinen auch das nicht-wirkliche Geschehnis selber betreffen, worauf sich dieser Inhalt bezieht und selber eine Fiktion ist. Offenbar wird bei der literaturwissenschaftlichen Bezugnahme nicht explizit unterschieden: es wird eine fiktive Handlung gemeint, indem bei dieser diese Bezugnahme sowohl auf einen Bestandteil eines literarischen Textes wie auch auf einen Bestandteil einer literarischen Welt verwiesen wird.

7. ´Fiktion´ und Fiktionen bei der Betrachtung dramatischer Texte

Auch in literaturwissenschaftliche Arbeiten zu dramatischen Texten werden literarische Produktionen mit der ´Fiktion´-Problematik verbunden. Dabei wird u.a.

die Besonderheit szenischer Darstellungen gemeint, das Dargestellte als scheinbar und nicht als tatsächlich zu gestalten. Es wird hierzu dargelegt, dass Texte mit dramatischer Zielsetzung, Fiktives in doppeltem Sinne darstellen: einmal analog narrativen Texten, wo das Was der Darstellungen für etwas steht, das es nicht gibt und ein anderes Mal spezifisch dramatisch, wenn Identität von Darstellern und Dargestelltem fingiert wird (Asmuth 2007, 200). Auch literaturwissenschaftliche Betrachtungen bezüglich dramatischer Texte gebrauchen dabei den ´Fiktion´-Begriff. Dieser meint wiederum einmal den Inhalt eines dramatischen Textes, worin es um Fiktives geht und andererseits eine Bestehensweise von dargestellten Sachen, die an der Identifikation von fiktiven Figuren mit wirklichen Personen erkennbar ist, welche als Akteure agieren (Asmuth 2007, 90 f). Solche Erwägungen können als Teil von umfassenderen Anschauungen zur Realität und Fiktionalität von Raum und Zeit im Drama (Pfister 2001, 327) betrachtet werden. Darin wird literaturwissenschaftlich einmal zwischen dramatischer und narrativer Behandlung von Raum und Zeit unterschieden d.h. es werden Besonderheiten dramatischer Texte auf intra-literarischer Ebene hervorgestrichen. Es wird andererseits literaturwissenschaftlich auch auf die Unterschiede zwischen dramatischer Fiktion und tatsächlicher Wirklichkeit unter Rücksicht von zeitlicher und räumlicher Verortung hingewiesen (Pfister 2001, 327), d.h. es werden Besonderheiten der Existenzweise von Sachen auf extra-literarischer Ebene betrachtet. Die jeweiligen literaturwissenschaftlichen Überlegungen verweisen in einem dramatischen Kontext dabei auf eine charakteristische Überlagerung: die fiktive Zeit und der fiktive Raum der dramatischen Geschichte und der dramatischen Figuren werden von der realen Zeit und dem realen Raum der Vorführung und der auftretenden Schauspieler vor einem anwesendem Publikum überlagert. Es wird literaturwissenschaftlich angeführt, dass die Überlagerung von Fiktion und Realität an mehreren konkreten Elementen des theatralischen Textes erkennbar ist: Rede realer Schauspieler/bzw. fiktiver Figuren im dramatischen Kommunikationssystem, Einrichtung des realen Bühnenbild/bzw. des fiktiven Aktionsraumes in der dramatischen Handlung, Aussehen des realen Kostümes/bzw. der fiktiven Bekleidung usw (Pfister 2001, 327).

Die literaturwissenschaftlichen Betrachtungen zu literarischen Fiktionen scheinen sowohl in narrativen als auch in dramatischen Kontexten von einer ähnlichen Unklarheit behaftet zu sein. Fragen bezüglich der nicht-Wirklichkeit des Dargestellten d.h. der Sachen, welche erzählerisch und szenisch dargelegt werden, werden mit Fragen zur inhaltlichen Darstellung von gewissermaßen nicht-Wirklichem vermengt. Eine terminologische und sachliche Zweideutigkeit beim literaturwissenschaftlichen Umgang mit ´Fiktion´ und ´fiktiv´ kann ähnlich in dramatischen und narrativen Kontexten beobachtet werden. Es werden auf jeden

Fall zwischen inhaltlich gekennzeichnetem Text als Fiktion und der dargestellten Welt als Fiktion nicht klar unterschieden und es werden zudem mehrere Ausdrücke (so ´fiktiv´ und ´fiktional´) für Sachen verwendet, die es in irgendeiner Weise nicht gibt. Eine explizite Zuweisung von distinkten Bedeutungen erfolgt entweder gar nicht, oder wird unter bestimmten Bedingungen nicht konsequent eingehalten[2].

8. ´Fiktion´ und Fiktionen bei der Betrachtung lyrischer Texte

Auch literaturwissenschaftliche Arbeiten zu lyrischen Texten streifen das Problem literarischer Fiktionen. Neben Stellungsnahmen zur allgemeinen Relevanz des Fiktionproblemes für literarische Texte (Burdorf 1997, 165 f.) erscheint als charakteristischer Punkt einer literaturwissenschaftlichen Diskussion in lyrischem Kontext, die Frage danach, inwiefern Dichtung in irgendeinem Sinne als Bestand an literarischen Fiktionen zu betrachten ist. Dabei wird gefragt, ob überhaupt literaturwissenschaftlich festgestellt werden sollte, dass Gedichte Fiktionen sind, weil das sicherlich nicht im gleichen Sinne zutrifft wie im Falle von Narrationen. Gedichte scheinen wirklich (durch den Dichter) Erlebtes wiederzugeben. Damit schiene eine literaturwissenschaftliche Betrachtung von lyrischen Produktionen (anders als jene von narrativen Produktionen) als unbegründet: Erzählungen könnten als Fiktionen betrachtet werden (weil sie Erfundenes enthalten), Gedichte nicht (weil sie Erfahrenes enthalten). Diese scheinbar gut begründete, intuitive Annahme wird andererseits kritisch relativiert. Es wird zunächst festgestellt, dass die Fiktivität des Dargestellten auch wenn nicht durchgehend, an bestimmten lyrischen Texten dennoch unmittelbar erkennbar ist (Burdorf 1997, 167). Es wird weiterhin hervorgehoben, dass Raum und Zeit als Marker der Wirklichkeit des Dargestellten, bei genauerer Untersuchung das Dargestellte nicht als Tatsächliches sondern wiederum als Fiktives erscheinen (Burdorf 1997, 176 ff).

Eine gewisse Zweideutigkeit scheint, im gleichen Sinne, literaturwissenschaftliche Ausführungen über Aspekte des Fiktion-Problems zu prägen, sowohl dann, wenn relevante Fragen bei Auseinandersetzungen mit narrativen und dramatischen Texten beobachtet werden, wie auch dann, wenn

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[2] Bei Martinez M./Schäfer M. erscheint eine terminologische Unterscheidung mit Bezug auf ´Fiktion´ wenn bedeutungsmäßig zwischen ´fiktiv´ und ´fiktional´ bei deren Gebrauch mit Bezug auf Texten bzw. auf Gegenständen (ebd. S. 13). Die Trennung ist explizit und einsichtig. Allerdings, wird diese bei der erwähnten Besprechung von narrativen Fiktionen und deren fiktive Welten nicht so sauber eingehalten: fiktive Geschichten als Bestandteile von narrativenTexten können nicht zugleich Bestandteile der narrativen Welt sein, worum es in diesen Texten geht. Es wird damit eigentlich ´Fiktion´ sowohl mit Bezug auf Texte insofen diese Fiktives erzählen, wie auch auf literarische Welten, insofern sie als Fiktives bestehen gebraucht – siehe die Erläuterungen weiter oben.

solche Überlegungen lyrische Texte anbelangen. Auch diese Zweideutigkeit weist eine terminologische und eine sachliche Seite auf. Es ist der gleiche Umstand, welcher auch in den besprochenen Fällen literaturwissenschaftlicher Betrachtungen erscheint. Die Erwägungen zu lyrischen Texten, werden so formuliert, dass Sachverhalte und Texte dabei mit Ausdrücken gemeint werden, welche die Besonderheiten der Existenzweise der Gemeinten bezeichnen bzw. die inhaltliche Fügung lyrischer Produktionen bedeuten, insofern es darin um etwas geht, das nicht besteht. ´Fiktion´ scheint damit sowohl für die literarischen Schriften, d.h. für deren Inhalte selber irgendwie zu stehen, wie auch für die Gegenstände, welche lyrisch dargelegt werden: es wird etwas über Fiktionen als eine spezifische Form von literarischer nicht-Wirklichkeit gesagt und weiter Bestimmtes über Fiktionen als literarische Texte worin nicht-Wirkliches als Wirklichkeit erscheinen (Burdorf 1997, 164). Das nicht-Wirkliche wird zudem, auch bei literaturwissenschaftlichen Überlegungen zu lyrischen Texten, nicht einheitlich bezeichnet so etwa, wenn ´Fiktion´ und ´Fiktionalität´ in womöglich missverständlicher Weise als Ausdrücke mit gleicher Bedeutung gebraucht werden (Burdorf 1997, 270)[3].

6. Schlussfolgerung

´Fiktion´ scheint ein problematischer Begriff zu sein. Die nominale Bedeutung welche in einem Fachlexikon erscheint, enthält ein Zweideutigkeit. Diese wird im praktischen Einsatz direkt widerspiegelt: der Begriff steht für zwei Sachen und das schlägt sich in der Zweideutigkeit seines Gebrauches nieder. Eine zusätzliche Schwierigkeit beim Gebrauch des Begriffes ist eine sachliche: die Sache, wofür ´Fiktion´ ist wiederum problematisch: Sachen die nicht existieren sind schwerlich etwas, welche als Referenten von unmissverständlichen Äußerungen erscheinen. Das heißt, dass neben die terminologische Schwierigkeit eine sachliche tritt. Die Schwierigkeiten des Fiktion-Problems haben insofern eine doppelte Ursache. Eine Klarstellung der identifizierten Unklarheiten müsste sowohl terminologisch als auch sachlich vorgehen. Es wäre auf begrifflicher Ebene festzustellen, welche Bedeutungen bestimmten Termini zustehen. Auf sachlicher Ebene, wäre zu untersuchen, in welchem Sinne die jeweiligen Begriffe, Sachen bezeichnen können, die nicht existieren.

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[3] Im Sachregister erscheint der Eintrag *Fiktion, Fiktionalität* und damit wird auf Stellen verwiesen, wo, ohne eine explizite Trennung der Bedeutungen, mit den betreffenden Ausdrücken als theoretische Termini umgegangen wird.

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CULTURAL STUDIES

Magia Posthuma: Karl Ferdinand von Schertz, Calmet and Revenant Beliefs

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Considered lost for many years, Karl Ferdinand von Schertz's Magia Posthuma *from 1706 has gained the reputation of an influential book on vampires. Recent research shows that the book itself deals exclusively with Moravian revenant and witchcraft beliefs, and that the book had a limited impact on the vampire debate of the eighteenth century. Similarly, the term 'magia posthuma' appears to have had limited use before it was employed by the Habsburg court of Maria Theresa in her ruling against superstitious acts towards corpses.*

In Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's classic vampire novella *Carmilla*, Baron Vordenburg "devoted himself to the minute and laborious investigation of the marvelously authenticated tradition of Vampirism. He had at his fingers' ends all the great and little works upon the subject," of which the first to be mentioned is *Magia Posthuma* (Le Fanu 1872, 75-6).

No doubt, Le Fanu learned of *Magia Posthuma* from the English translation of the Benedictine abbot Augustin Calmet's investigation of vampires and apparitions. Originally published in 1746 as *Dissertation sur les apparitions des anges, des demons et des esprits, et sur les revenants et vampires de Hongrie, de Bohême, de Moravie et de la Silésie* (Calmet 1746), Calmet's book became the subject of much debate, so he revised and augmented it for later editions. It was the third edition published in 1751 that was translated into English in 1850 as *The Phantom World*. Calmet refers to *Magia Posthuma* in the second volume:

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These apparitions have given rise to a little work, entitled, Magia Posthuma, printed at Olmutz [present day Olomouc in the Eastern part of the Czech Republic], in 1706, composed by Charles Ferdinand de Schertz, dedicated to Prince Charles of Lorraine, Bishop of Olmutz and Osnaburgh. The author relates, that in a certain village, a woman being just dead, who had taken all her sacraments, she was buried in the usual way in the cemetery. Four days after her decease, the inhabitants of this village heard a great noise and extraordinary uproar, and saw a spectre, which appeared sometimes in the shape of a dog, sometimes in the form of a man, not to one person only, but to several, and caused them great pain, grasping their throats, and compressing their stomachs, so as to suffocate them. It bruised almost the whole body, and reduced them to extreme weakness, so that they became pale, lean and attenuated. (Calmet 1850, 2 and 30)

Calmet briefly recounts parts of *Magia Posthuma*, and this summary appears to have been all that was known about the book for the next two and a half century, as scholars for many years considered the book lost (Petersen 2011, 257). When searching for the book, this author was initially told in 2006 by the Royal Library in Copenhagen that the book could not be verified. After further research, however, the library was able to obtain a microfilm of it the following year.

Apparently very scarce, at least four copies are known to exist, three in the Czech Republic and one in France (Maiello 2016, 182). Furthermore, a manuscript of the book from 1703 can be found at Brno (von Schertz, 1703), which like the book itself is nowadays readily available on the internet (von Schertz, 1706).

Titled *Magia Posthuma per juridicum illud pro et contra suspenso nonnullibi judicio investigata*, von Schertz's book is dated 1706 in a chronogram: "paCIsCenDVM" (von Schertz, 1706). This technique was used by von Schertz in several instances and appears to have been in vogue at the time in Baroque Olomouc, where a similar chronogram can be found on The Holy Trinity Column on the town square. The manuscript is also dated (twice) in a chronogram: "MorDaCes Cæsar sternes InsIgnIter hostes, et MoDo Concertans trIstIa bole feres" (von Schertz 1703).

The author, Karl (or Carl) Ferdinand von Schertz, was of a Silesian family known as Scherz or Stertz (Kneschke 1870, 28) that settled in Sponau (present day Spálov, east of Olomouc). He was a nobleman and landowner, who established a village south of Sponau known as Scherzdorf (present day Heltinov). He was educated in law and acted as assessor to the Archbishop of Olomouc, Prince Charles Joseph of Lorraine, managing the property of the Archbishop at a time

when the Archbishop preferred to stay at his other diocese, Osnabrück, and appears to have been mainly interested in Olomouc as a means to gain riches from the diocese (Elbel 2015, 141). Von Schertz wrote a number of books in German and Latin on subjects like heraldry and topography. His date of birth appears to be unknown, but he died on October 18, 1724 (Glonek 2012, 26).

A frontispiece in one of his books (von Schertz, 1717) has been identified as a portrait of von Schertz himself (Hilton 1895, 31) and is partially reprinted as such in a Czech book on vampires (Maiello 2014, 29). It is, however, most likely a portrait of the Jesuit father Jean-François Regis who was beatified in 1716, the year that is the subject of the book.

Although the subject of *Magia Posthuma* appears to be a phenomenon that had troubled the Moravian countryside for some time, von Schertz was conscious that he was probably the first to write a study of the subject in detail, as he states that the reader will not easily read about the subject elsewhere (Petersen 2011, 266). *Magia posthuma*, 'posthumous magic', relates to instances where a deceased person either appears to exhibit signs of not undergoing decomposition or apparently returns to haunt the living in some way. People consequently employed various means to prevent the deceased from harming the living.

One example occurred in Freudenthal (present day Bruntál, northeast of Olomouc) half a century before the publication of *Magia Posthuma*:

> In Freudenthal in 1651 spectres [Gespenster] bothered people horribly during the night. The authorities had a suspicious corpse exhumed from the grave, and cut off its head, from which fresh blood flowed. This made the frightened inhabitants so alarmed, that some of them went away to find safety elsewhere. (Lucae 1689, 2233; my translation)

Such instances are recorded in books and in church registers, as in the case of a number of disturbances in Bärn, northeast of Olomouc (present day Moravsky Beroun) like this entry from the church register from September 13, 1662:

> Catharina, Bartholomæi Richter ex Maywaldt relicta vidua, annorum circiter 80. extra Communionem S.æ Matris Ecclesiæ mortua, et tertio ab hinc die sepulta est, in loco profano, ad limites agrorum, eò quod cadaver non obriguerit & alia signa habuerit, quæ personam merito suspectam reddebant. (*Rímskokatolická fara Moravsky Beroun* 1651-1680)

Apparently, the text originally read: "Catharina, the widow of judge Bartholomew from Maywaldt [Karlów in Poland] died at around 80 years of age outside the community of the church of the Holy Mother, and was buried on the third day in the cemetery of the Lutherans". However, a decision was apparently made either to move the corpse from the Lutheran cemetery or to not bury it there at all. So the text was changed by striking out "in the cemetery of the Lutherans" to say that the widow was "buried on the third day in unconsecrated ground, at the bounds of the fields, because the body had not become rigid and showed other signs belonging to a rightly suspect person" (my translation).

The same church register contains several examples of people who were buried in the Lutheran cemetery located in a nearby village, so there appears to be nothing unusual in Lutherans living in the same community as Catholics.

Such instances of 'posthumous magic' should be considered in the context of the ambiguous relationship between folk customs and beliefs on the one hand and on the other the Catholic clergy that emerged after the re-catholicizing of Moravia and Bohemia. According to Howard Louthan,

> The church was in some ways so willing to accommodate to popular culture that it is often difficult to tell whether Bohemian Catholicism was actually assimilating these folk customs and beliefs or was itself being amalgamated into the peasant world." (Louthan 2009, 208)

Similarly, a historian of the Jesuit Society in baroque Bohemia, Paul Shore, states that:

> Baroque Catholicism acknowledged the existence of demons, and religious literature described in detail the nature of the interaction between demons and those who could call on relics and other holy objects in struggling with them. (…) The willingness of Jesuits in particular to identify mental illness as possession and to seek to cure them through supernatural means can illustrate how the Society could adapt to local cultural circumstances that were already well entrenched and endorsed by local priests. (Shore 2002, 107-8)

Particularly harsh were the witch trials in Northern Moravia, which were not only contemporary with many of these instances of 'posthumous magic', ending in 1696, but also occurred in the same parts of Moravia.

So von Schertz writes his work in a climate where 'posthumous magic' is a phenomenon that is now and then encountered. Consequently, it needs to be examined from a Catholic and judicial point of view, not unlike the literature upon witchcraft and demonology which von Schertz himself refers to throughout *Magia Posthuma*, e.g. del Rio's *Disquisitionum Magicarum* (del Rio 1599).

Von Schertz himself had experience with 'posthumous magic', perhaps in the village Scherzdorf, where a spectre began to cause tumult, after an old woman had died. Her husband in particular was haunted and asked for his wife to be exhumed. Von Schertz, however, decided that masses and prayers should be said for her, "Et Deo sint Laudes! Malum imminens den Polter-Geist svaviter sic avertimus. Multum valet oratio Justi. ["Glory be to God! We averted the overhanging evil, the Poltergeist, with ease. The prayers of the Just are powerful."] (von Schertz 1706).

Von Schertz does not deny the existence of spectres, but he takes on a sceptical and moderate point of view (Petersen 2011, 269), or, in the words of Augustin Calmet, von Schertz "examines the affair in a lawyer-like way, and reasons much on the fact and the law." (Calmet 1850, 30-31)

It is not known how Calmet came to read *Magia Posthuma*, but we know that he compiled periodicals, books and information from various sources, while he was working on his study of apparitions and vampires. Recent research by Gilles Banderier (Banderier 2008, 33, and 2015, 134-9), Aurélie Gérard (Gérard 2012), and Philippe Martin and Fabienne Henryot (Martin and Henryot, 2008) has mapped the correspondence of Calmet and his fellows at the abbey in Senones, including some correspondence pertaining to vampires. Calmet had connections in Warsaw, Prague and Vienna among the cities with relations to Catholic Moravia, and he possibly gained access to *Magia Posthuma* through one of these sources.

Calmet's work no doubt was read in Vienna, both in the French original and in a German translation published in Augsburg in 1751 (Calmet 1751). Apart from Calmet's work, neither *Magia Posthuma* nor the term 'magia posthuma' are mentioned for around fifty years after von Schertz's book was originally published. In particular, neither are mentioned in any of the works following the vampire reports from Northern Serbia in 1732, including Michael Ranft's commentary on this literature (Ranft 1734).

The term, however, does turn up in documents relating to another occurrence of 'posthumous magic' in Moravia. In the winter of 1754-55, reports of exhumations of several bodies in Hermersdorf (present day Svobodné Heřmanice, northeast of Olomouc) reached Maria Theresa's court. The Empress and her

Protomedicus (chief physician) and Bibliothecarius (librarian), Gerard van Swieten, decided to send court physicians to Hermersdorf to examine the bodies suspected of 'posthumous magic' (Brechka 1970, 110 and 132) (Unterholzner 2011, 89) (Hamberger 1991, 83-85). Inspecting the report from doctors Christian Wabst and Johannes Gasser (Slezáková 2013, 152), van Swieten wrote a note "über die vermeintliche sogenannte magia posthuma" ["about the alleged, so-called magia posthuma"] (van Swieten, 1768) to the Empress explaining and denouncing the belief as superstition. This led to Maria Theresa's ruling in March 1755 that corpses suspected of 'posthumous magic' should be examined by the authorities and a physician, to learn what the true cause of death is (Sammlung 1786, 172-3).

After these writings, the term 'magia posthuma' only turns up in works relying on Calmet or in reprints of Maria Theresa's ruling. Calmet himself reiterated his writings about *Magia Posthuma* in 1769 in volume 14 of *Histoire universelle* during a discussion of incorruptibility and excommunication (Calmet 1769, 258).

So, the term apparently originates in the 1703 manuscript by Karl Ferdinand von Schertz, which is printed in 1706, and forty years later, in 1746, is summarized by Augustin Calmet. Through Calmet, the term and the book become known in the context of vampirism, but after von Schertz it appears to have been only employed in its own right in connection with the Hermersdorf incident in 1755. Whether van Swieten and the Viennese court learned of the term from Jesuits at the court, from Olomouc or from reading Calmet's book on vampires, is not known, but we can say that all instances relate to Olomouc, Moravia and neighbouring regions, and that the term is certainly only used in a Catholic context. One would in fact hardly expect the many Protestant scholars who wrote about vampires, many of whom examined the vampire reports from a medical point of view, to talk of magic.

As for the relationship between 'posthumous magic' and the vampire reports from Serbia, there are certainly some similarities (e.g. the signs of incorruptibility), but there is no notion of bloodsucking revenants in von Schertz's *Magia Posthuma*. The closest one gets is a description of some cattle that had been killed, where the "cows were found prostate as if bloodless" (Petersen 2011, 267).

It would definitely be more correct to talk of spectres, poltergeists or of beliefs relating to the process of dying, when considering the 'posthumous magic' of Moravia, than of vampires. This is in line with the view of Winfried Irgang in his writings about how the Teutonic Order handled superstition in Freudenthal and Eulenberg (present day Sovinec, north of Olomouc):

> Based on the phenomenon described, one cannot, as has been the case in the literature, talk of vampirism in its proper sense: there is never spoken of bloodsucking or of killing living persons. In the sense of folklore it is rather a case of revenants, where the distinction from Nachzehrer and vampire from time to time becomes vague and elusive. (Irgang 1978, 269; my translation)

Another noteworthy aspect of 'posthumous magic' was actually omitted by Calmet, when he summarized the above-mentioned instance of "a woman being just dead, who had taken all her sacraments." Von Schertz actually describes the woman as "Mæviam Strigem, Sagam Posthumam", i.e. he uses the Latin words "strix" and "saga" to describe the woman ("mævia"), words that are frequently used to signify a witch (Paule 2014). Another word that is used in connection with witches, "larva," is used by von Schertz to describe the spectre.

In short, Karl Ferdinand von Schertz's *Magia Posthuma* is not in any usual sense "a key work on the topic of vampirism throughout the eighteenth century," as a news web site in Olomouc claimed in 2016 (REJ Olomouc 2017; my translation). Von Schertz's book and the concept of 'posthumous magic' were primarily related to incidents in Moravia and neighbouring areas, and they should be understood and examined in light of the beliefs concerning death, revenants and witchcraft that were prevalent there, rather than in the context of the Serbian vampire reports and our modern notions about fanged, bloodsucking vampires.

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The Russian Editions of Dracula

Simone BERNI[1]

Until recently, the Russian editions of Dracula have not received any attention and study. Within the framework of research for my book Dracula di Bram Stoker – il mistero delle prime edizioni (2014), I have looked into the earliest Russian-language editions, as well as the later publications, both in the Soviet Union era and afterwards. The confusion about the authorship of the novel turned out to be a red thread: Dracula was originally attributed to Marie Corelli (Mary Mackay), while works by Corelli were attributed to Stoker. Almost a century after the release of Dracula in 1897, this error reappeared in republications of Corelli's and Stoker's work in regions formerly belonging to the Soviet Union.

Keywords: *Dracula, Stoker, Corelli, Russian, first editions, foreign translations.*

1. Introduction

The Russian editions of *Dracula* have long been considered a no man's land. It is said that Roman cartographers used to write "*Hic sunt leones*," here are lions, on uncharted territories on the map of Africa, to indicate that they were both unexplored and dangerous. This expression is usually employed to express that some topic is difficult and requires the utmost accuracy. Except for some sporadic and imprecise hints (Bunson 1973, 74), the Russian editions have never been explored until recently. This essay presents my personal research, in part based on my communication with Ekaterina Kukhto, an antiquarian bookseller in Moscow.

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[1] Independent researcher and rare book hunter, Italy, siberniz@gmail.com. This chapter is a new and improved version of the corresponding chapter in Berni's book *Dracula di Bram Stoker – il mistero delle prime edizioni.* Macerata: Biblohaus, 2014. It appears here with the kind permission of the publisher. All photos by Simone Berni and Ekaterina Kukhto.

2. The first Russian edition (Saint Petersburg, 1902)

The first Russian edition is, editorially, a bizarre anomaly. It would deserve a scholarly essay of its own. First of all it must be noted that the book has literally disappeared, and it is unavailable even at the two libraries that should or do possess a copy. The one at the library in Saint Petersburg (*Rossiiskaya Natsionalnaya Biblioteka*) has seemingly been lost. Another one, at the National Library in Prague (*Národní knihovna České republiky*) is unavailable since it is included in those books that will be transferred to a new collection. This first edition dates back to 1902; as far as we know today, it is the fourth translation (or adaptation) of *Dracula* after the Hungarian newspaper serialisation and book edition of *Drakula* in 1898 (Berni 2014, 27-30), the Swedish newspaper serialisations of *Mörkrets makter* starting in summer 1899 (De Roos 2017), and the Icelandic serialisation of *Makt myrkranna* (1900-1901) with the subsequent book edition of August 1901 (De Roos 2014). The Russian editions have been widely ignored by the principal bibliographies, and, as we will see, they were marred by confusion about its authorship.

3. The "original sin": Marie Corelli mentioned as the author of *Dracula*

The 1902 edition was printed in Saint Petersburg as *Вампир – Граф Дракула* (*Vampire – Count Dracula*) (see Figure 1). An examination both of the colophon and of the frontispiece does not help to determine the publisher's identity. The work was perhaps edited by Ekaterina Komarova[2] and her husband Vissarion Komarov,[3] the owners of the magazine *Svet* (*Light*). The book edition was probably preceded by a serialised publication in the same magazine. The translation is attributed to Countess E. F. and the same translation is also taken as a reference in editions published a century later, almost up to the present day. Most strikingly, the novel is attributed to Marie Corelli, the pseudonym of Mary Mackay, the most celebrated "Gothic" author of Stoker's time, at least as far as English language was concerned.[4]

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[2] The daughter of prominent Russian writer Grigory Danilevsky (1829-1890).

[3] Colonel Vissarion Vissarionovich Komarov (Saint Petersburg, October 14, 1838- December 22, 1907). Journalist, publisher, politician and soldier of the Russian and Serbian army. After a valiant career he retired in Saint Petersburg where he founded and directed numerous magazines and periodicals such as *Russian World, St. Petersburg Gazette, Star, Russian Gazette, Light*. He directed them from his home, in a large building in the city centre.

[4] Mary Mackay (London, May 1, 1855 - April 1, 1924) was famous during the Victorian era. Publishers competed for her books, that succeeded as bestsellers. Literary critics, however considered them to be of low quality. She boasted to be of Italian origin, but "Corelli" was merely a pen name.

М. Корелли.

Вампиръ-Графъ Дракула.

КНИЖНАЯ и ГАЗЕТНАЯ
ТОРГОВЛЯ
Iосифа Ефимовича
КАЧАЛОВА
МОСКВА.
1 Покровская ул. д. Т...
2 Покровская у. Гаврилова п. Кіоскъ

РОМАНЪ.
Переводъ съ англійскаго
княгини Е. Ф. Крапоткиной.

С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ.
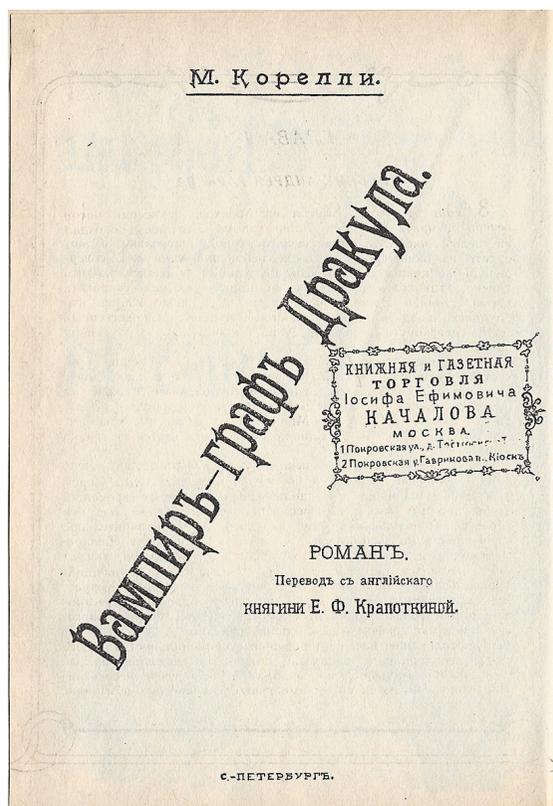
Figure 1. 1902 edition, printed in Saint Petersburg

Her popularity in England, in Europe and all over the world has been analysed by scholars such as Annette R. Federico, Brian Masters, Teresa Ransom, Brenda Ayres and Sarah Maier. She was very popular among the aristocrats of her time and apparently, Queen Victoria read her books eagerly, as well as prime ministers and crowned heads in various countries in Europe, America, and even Asia. Her popularity was enhanced by the development of low-cost editions during the Victorian Age, contributing to the diffusion of her novels in England, but also in the British colonies and in the entire world. Such facts cannot justify, however, the incredible blunder committed in Russia in 1902, where she was credited with Stoker's novel.

4. The second Russian edition (Saint Petersburg, 1904)

A second version was published in – again – Saint Petersburg in 1904, printed by the publisher Ėnergīja[5]. This time the title was simply *Вампир (Vampire)* and the novel was correctly credited to Bram Stoker. The translation was by another, anonymous translator; his (or her) name has remained a mystery until today.

However, two important elements emerge from the *Rossiiskaya Natsionalaya Biblioteka* in Saint Petersburg. The first one is the illustrated cover of the 1904 edition, the first one in Russia of this kind known until today (see Figure 2). It is a romantic and naive picture that does not correspond to the book's content. It shows two women in intimate conversation: perhaps Mina Harker and her soul mate Lucy talking about their respective marriages? The choice of this image clearly indicates how in Russia, *Dracula* by Bram Stoker/Marie Corelli was first and foremost considered as literature for women, most notably for aristocratic ones. We should not forget that the translator of the first edition was a countess.
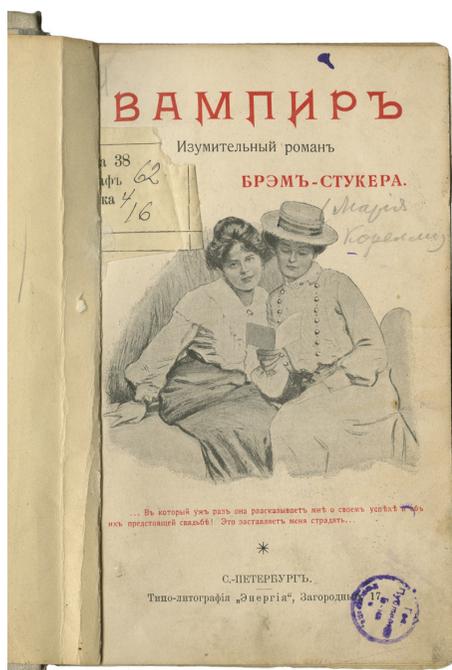

Figure 2. Illustrated cover of the 1904 edition

The second relevant element is a librarian's annotation in pencil, both on the cover and on the frontispiece of the copy of the 1904 edition conserved at the *Rossiiskaya Natsionalaya Biblioteka.* It clearly reads, next to Bram Stoker's name on the cover, "= Marie Corelli" and, even more explicitly, on the frontispiece, "pseudonym of Marie Corelli" once again next to Bram Stoker's name (see Figures 3 and 4).
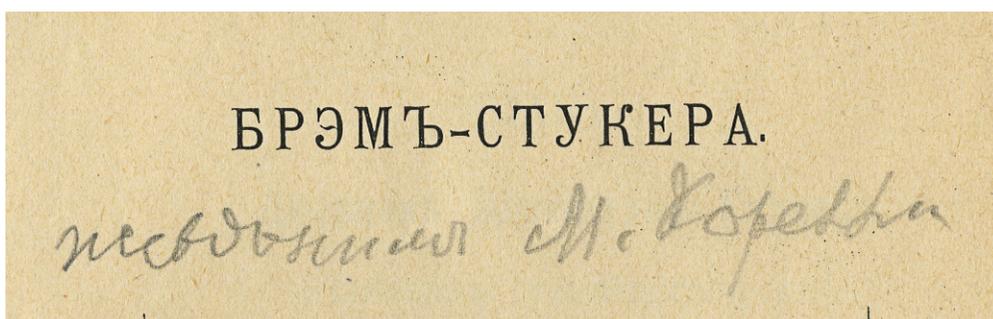
Figures 3 and 4. Annotations in pencil, stating that "Bram Stoker" would be a pseudonym of "Marie Corelli." Cover and frontispiece of the Saint Petersburg edition of 1904, conserved at the Rossiiskaya Natsionalaya Biblioteka

5. The third and fourth Russian edition (Saint Petersburg, 1912 and 1912-1913)

Further surprises emerge with the 1912-1913 editions, a new translation attributed to N. Sandrova[6]. In this case, too, both the title *Вампир. Граф Дракула* (*Vampire. Count Dracula*) and the author's attribution, Bram Stoker, are correct. The publisher is M.G. Kornfeld[7] in Saint Petersburg. In fact, there were two editions. The first one was in one volume (published in 1912) and the second one was in two separate volumes released in 1912 and 1913 respectively.

Ekaterina Kukhto has observed that the frontispieces of both editions dated 1912 (conserved at the *Rossiiskaya Gosudarstvennaya Natsionalnaya Biblioteka* in Moscow and at the *Rossiiskaya Natsionalnaya Biblioteka* in Saint Petersburg, respectively) are in fact different (Figures 5 and 6) regarding the spacing of the characters, and that one of them displays the indication "tome II." This is the definitive proof of the existence of two different editions, one in a single volume (we can call it the "third" edition) and the other in two volumes (we can call it the "fourth" edition, as its second volume appeared only *after* the one-volume edition of 1912).

Figures 5 and 6. Two different editions: one-volume edition of 1912 (left),
two-volume edition of 1912-1913; here only the second tome of 1913 (right)

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[6] N. Sandrova is in fact the pen name of the translator Nadezhda Iakovlevna Goldberg who translated several novels from English for the publisher Kornfeld.

[7] E.M. Kornfeld, G.K. Kornfeld, and M.G. Kornfeld – a dynasty of and editors and publishers, mostly of periodicals and comics, based in Saint Petersburg over the years 1875-1918.

Upon closer inspection of the copy conserved at the Moscow Library, Ekaterina Kukhto has also noticed some annotations in pencil made by librarians on the frontispiece of the books of the two-volume edition (see Figures 7 and 8). Essentially, they mirror the previous ones (see chapter 4 of this article), in the sense that obviously, "Bram Stoker" was again considered to be a pseudonym of "Marie Corelli." For some reason, this "original sin" could not be purged.
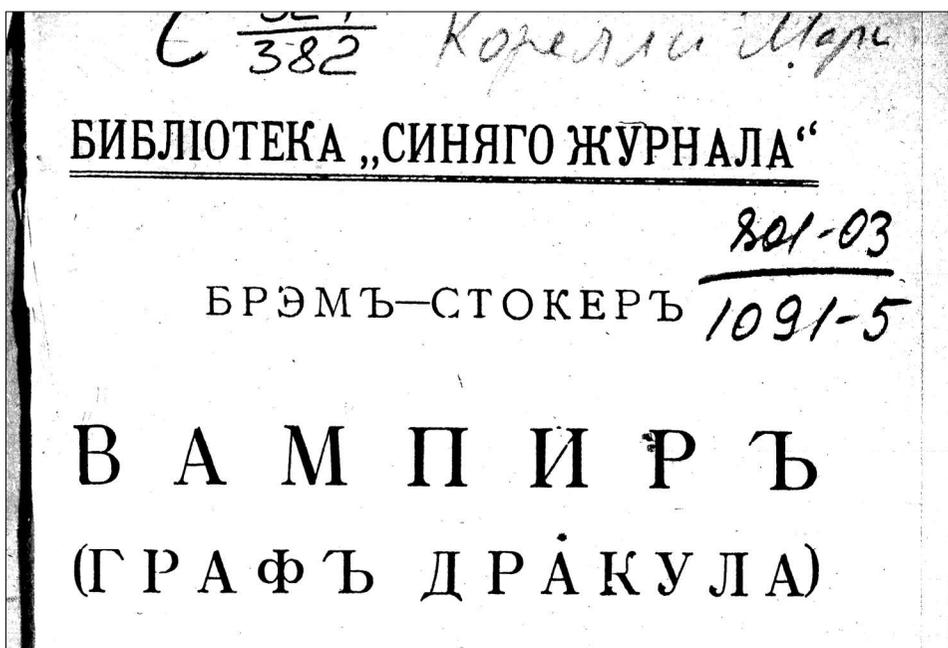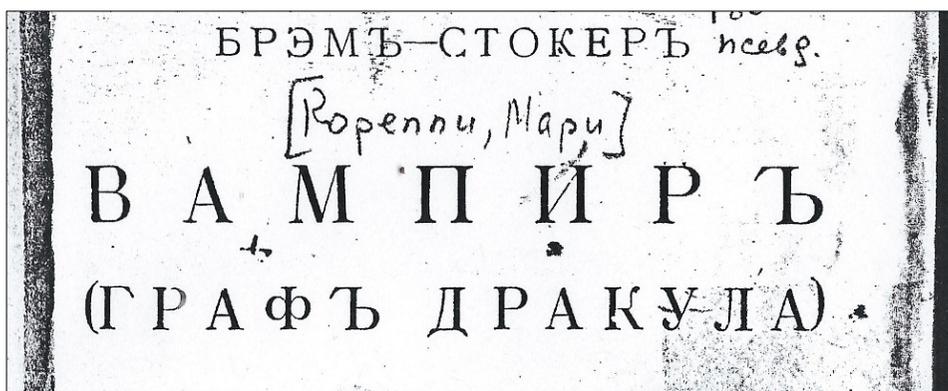
Figures 7 and 8. Annotations in pencil made by librarians on the frontispiece of the books of the two-volume edition (photo copies)

This defect has never been eradicated from Russian bibliographies. It was never corrected nor admitted – not even investigated. Later, it re-emerged, like a virus to which no antidote has been found and that re-appears time and again.

Another curious element is the cover of the 1913 single-volume edition. Although it is not the first one, it is definitely the most charming one among all the earliest Russian editions. What is most peculiar is the blue diagonal band (see Figure 9). At first sight it might look like something used strengthen the cover, or to mend it, or in any case some extraneous detail. In fact, by holding the volume or by observing a scan in high definition one notices that the band is part and parcel of the cover illustration. It is curious but not accidental. One might even think that the publisher asked the illustrator for an element that would evoke for the readers an idea of "censorship" thus emphasizing the novel's "forbidden side." Russian censors usually underlined the title on the cover or the one on the frontispiece with a blue pencil. So far there is no evidence that blue bands were also used. Perhaps this happened in Western Europe where a band might evoke the concept "banned," "bandit," and thus "forbidden."
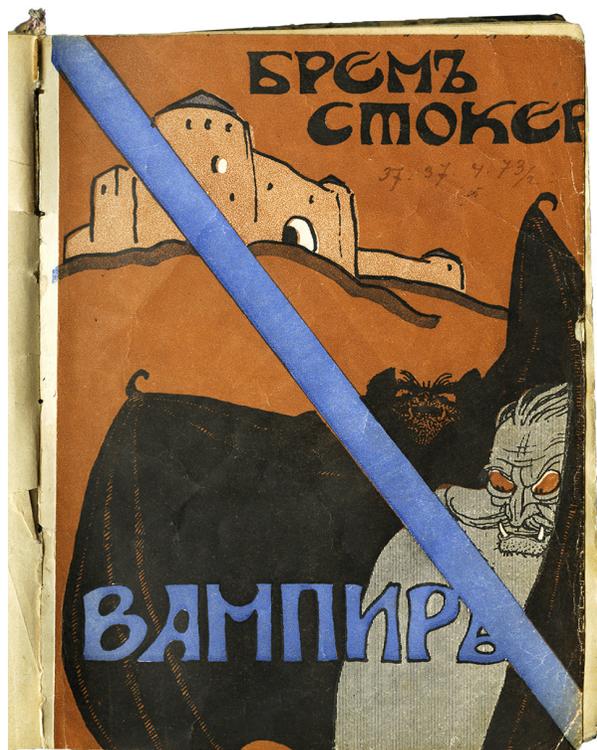
Figure 9. Blue diagonal band on the cover of the 1913 single-volume edition

6. The Russian-language edition published in Bulgaria (c. 1927)

Only by the end of the 1920s another edition was published. It was printed in Russian language, but in Sofia, Bulgaria, with the title *Граф Дракула* (*Count Dracula*) by the publisher Zarnitsy. Unfortunately, the print year is not indicated. By a comparative analysis of other books printed by the same publisher over those years (and of the advertisements they contained at the end) we can only exclude that such *Dracula extra moenia* was printed after 1926. The publisher ceased its activities after 1927 (or at least there are no books printed after that year that can credited to Zarnitsy). Thus, 1927 seems the only possible date for this extremely rare edition[8]. Other scholars are more cautious and indicate "approximately 1930" (Dalby 1986, note 49).

Figures 10, 11 and 12. The Zarnitsy edition, Sofia, c. 1927

The Zarnitsy edition (Figures 10, 11 and 12) is a new translation but the translator's name is not indicated and there are no elements allowing even a guess. The circumstances under which it was produced, however, are rather uncommon. After the October Revolution and the ensuing civil war a remarkable number of Russian migrants settled in other countries where they pursued their usual activities, including publishing. The most important archive concerning book circulation in the Russian diaspora is André Savine's: this bookseller compiled a bibliographic record

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[8] Concerning the publications of the so-called Russian émigré publishers we must state that publishing novels or fiction in general was extremely rare, the more so for foreign authors.

including each and every book he came across[9]. Regrettably, Savine's file for Zarnitsy's *Dracula* does not indicate the year in which it was printed (see Figure 13), so it is not particularly helpful in this regard. As long as more precise information is missing it seems reasonable to define this book as a Russian *émigré* edition, in order to distinguish it from Russian domestic editions.
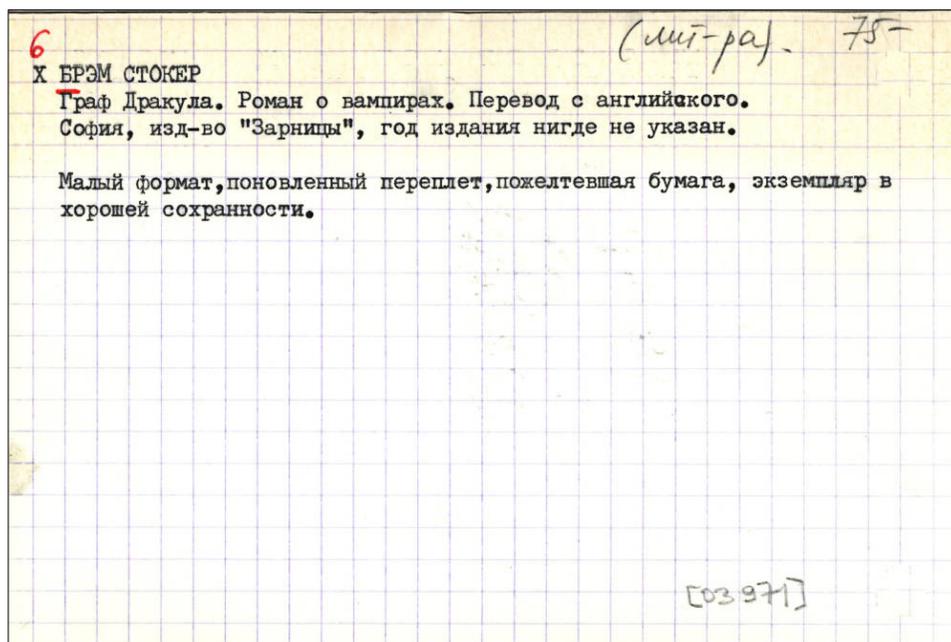
Figure 13. Savine's file for Zarnitsy

7. Soviet Union editions published in Tallinn and Moscow (1990)

After 1927, the most eventful year was 1990, precisely when the Soviet Union was falling apart. Two editions were released in that year, just a few months after each other. The first of them was *Граф Дракула. Вампир* (*Count Dracula. Vampire*), printed in Tallinn (which is the capital of present-day Estonia but by then was in the Soviet Union) by the publisher Gart on August 15, 1990. The translation is by N. Sandrova (pen name of Nadezhda Iakolevna Goldberg), dating back to 1912-1913, as already discussed in chapter 5 of this article. Two versions exist: one with a black cover (see Figures 14 and 15), and one with a red cover.

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[9]   http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/customhome/collection/rbr/

Figures 14 and 15. Black cover of one of the two 1990 editions from Tallinn
(then still in the Soviet Union)

An almost contemporary edition was printed in Moscow by the ADA, the "Center of
the Veterans for Peace," an association of Komi veterans of the Afghan war.[10]
Dated November 30, 1990, it was the first *Dracula* edition printed in Moscow (see
Figures 16 and 17).

Figures 16 and 17.

The 1990 Moscow edition
(ADA)

It equally used the translation of N. Sandrova. As Ekaterina Kukhto has noted (private
communication of December 2015), it was announced that half a million copies of this
edition would be printed; the first printing, however, consisted of fifty thousand
copies only, and all the copies Kukhto was able to trace belonged to this first print run.

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[10] Komi Republic: one of the federal republics of Russia, c. 1,500 km north-east of Moscow.

Thus, we cannot be sure that the figure of half a million was accurate. The book has a rather modern cover created by V. Denisov. In sum, there were three republications of *Dracula* in the Soviet Union[11]: the two versions published in Tallinn, and the Moscow edition, all based on the same 1912-1913 translation.

8. The "original sin" resurfaces

The old confusion of Bram Stoker with Marie Corelli seemed to disappear for a while. But all of a sudden it resurfaced again. In the course of her research, in summer 2014, Kukhto identified a collection of tales published in 1993 by High-Volga Publisher in Yaroslavl (see Figures 18, 19 and 20). Such a collection includes *The Ship of Coral* by Henry De Vere Stacpoole, *La Côte d'Ebène* and *La Côte d'Ivoire* by Louis Jacolliot, and, unexpectedly, *Vampire (Count Dracula)* by Marie Corelli.
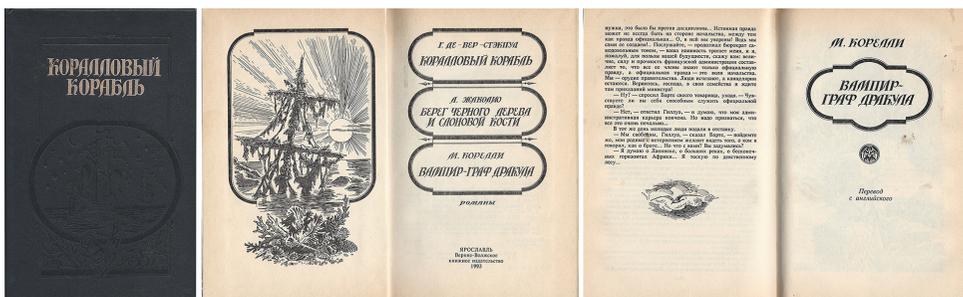
Figures 18, 19 and 20. Compilation of works by Henry de Vere Stacpole and Louis Jacolliot, plus *Vampire (Count Dracula)*, falsely attributed to Marie Corelli. High-Volga Publisher, Yaroslavl, 1993

Kukhto adds that there had been a precedent two years earlier (private communication of December 2015). Already in 1991, Gart (Estonian since the new-won independence of August 20, 1991) had published *The Sorrows of Satan*, perhaps Marie Corelli's most famous work, also indicating Bram Stoker as its author (see Figures 21, 22, 23 and 24).

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[11] USSR, December 30, 1922 - December 26, 1991.
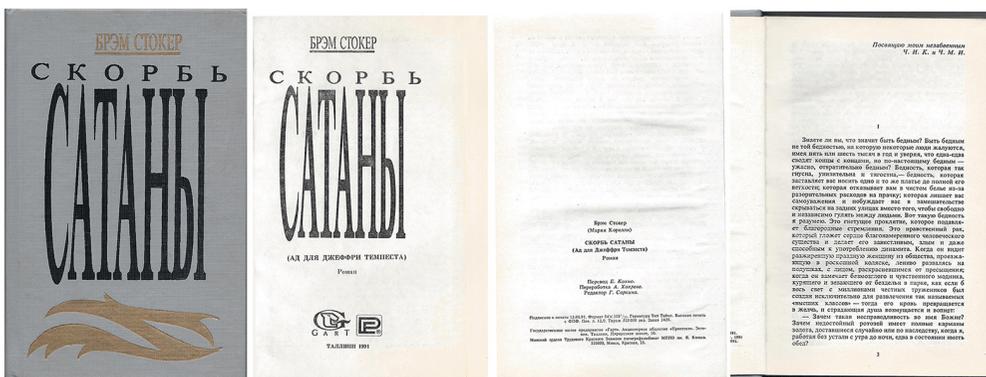
Figures 21, 22, 23 and 24. Marie Corelli's novel *The Sorrows of Satan,* falsely attributed to Bram Stoker. Figure 23 shows the colophon. Tallinn: Gart, 1991

Moreover, a publisher from the autonomous province of Kalmykia, RIO Dghangar, in 1992 published *Вампир. Граф Дракула* (*Vampire. Count Dracula*), credited to Marie Corelli, and in the same collection *The Ship of Coral* (see Figures 25, 26, 27 and 28).

Figures 25-28. *The Ship of Coral* and *Vampire – Count Dracula*, both falsely attributed to Marie Corelli, published in Kalmykia by RIO Dghangar, 1992.
Figure 28 shows Harker's journal (дневник) for 3 May (3 МАЯ), Bistritz.

The decisive example of this "original sin," however, can be found in a file drawer of the old archive at the *Rossiiskaya Gosudarstvennaya Biblioteka* in Moscow. This archive lists all works that were printed earlier than 1980. The author file for Bram Stoker reads: "Bram-Stoker – see under Corelli, Marie" (see Figure 29).

Figure 29. Bram Stoker confused with Marie Corelli: file card from the old paper archive of books published before 1980, Moscow State Library.

If we compare this with the aforementioned annotations in pencil by an unknown librarian on the frontispiece of both volumes of the 1912-1913 edition (at the same library), namely "Bram Stoker pseudonym of Corelli, Marie" (see Figure 30), it is evident that "Bram Stoker" was long considered a pseudonym of "Marie Corelli."
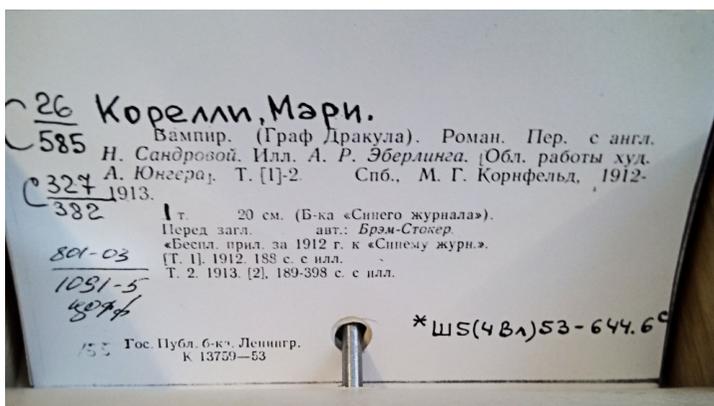
Figure 30. File card from the old paper archive of books published before 1980, Moscow State Library. An unknown librarian added "Marie Corelli" as a pseudonym for "Bram Stoker."
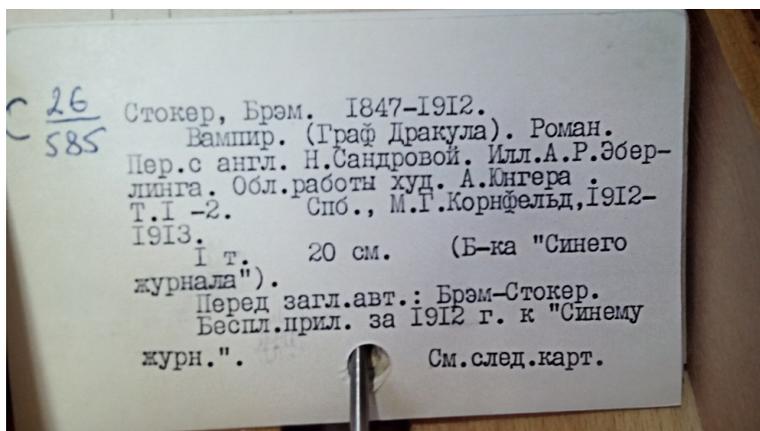
Figure 31. Another file card from the old paper archive of books published before 1980, at Moscow State Library (Rossiiskaya Gosudarstvennaya Biblioteka).
On this card, Bram Stoker is correctly mentioned as the author of *Dracula.*

Dracula was thus printed several times and attributed to Stoker or Corelli under the erroneous assumption that they were one and the same author. This old error has never been completely erased from the bibliographical references and thus it has survived almost up until today, with the aforementioned 1991 and 1993 editions, and the books by Marie Corelli in turn credited to Stoker. Although these mistakes are obvious, they have a complex history – as I have tried to demonstrate here.

There is no doubt, however, that they should be considered as anomalies, since on the whole, Soviet (and later Russian) bibliographies have always been extremely accurate and reliable.

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Mörkrets Makter's Mini-Mysteries

Hans Corneel DE ROOS[1]

The discussion about Bram Stoker's possible contribution to Mörkrets makter, the Swedish version of Dracula, and about the identity of the anonymous Swedish editor/translator, has reached no definitive conclusions yet. This paper addresses a series of minor mysteries linked to the Swedish variants: the possible connections between the Budapest, the Chicago and the Stockholm serialisations; the use of certain names (Draculitz, Mary Wood, Valentini's, Zolyva, Koromeszo); references to the Whitechapel Murders and the Thames Torso Mysteries, among others. Although these observations provide no definitive proof regarding the authorship of Mörkrets makter, taken together, they seem to show subtle support for the idea that these Dracula modifications were created entirely in Sweden.

Keywords: *Dracula, Makt myrkranna, Mörkrets makter, Stoker, piracy.*

1. Introduction

In 1986, fiction specialist Richard Dalby was the first to draw attention to the Icelandic version of *Dracula,* named *Makt myrkranna,* meaning "powers of darkness." Under this name, it gained a certain fame among *Dracula* scholars and fans, as the Icelandic preface, translated to English by Joel H. Emerson and published by Dalby in his book *The Lair of the White Worm – A Bram Stoker Omnibus* (Dalby 1986), contains a reference to the murders committed by Jack the Ripper, which took place in 1888 and shocked all of London. They even gained worldwide notoriety as one of the first crime streaks by an – evidently pathological – serial killer. In his *Bram Stoker Journal* of 1993 (Dalby 1993), Dalby republished this translation of the preface. Here we read:

> But the events are incontrovertible, and so many people know of them that they cannot be denied. This series of crimes has not yet passed from the memory -- a series of crimes which appear to have originated from the same source, and which at the same time created as much repugnance in people everywhere as the murders of Jack the Ripper, which came into the story a little later.

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[1] Independent researcher, Germany/Philippines, hanscorneelderoos@gmail.com.

This translation suggested that the crimes by Jack the Ripper would be discussed in the Icelandic text of the novel, which Dalby believed to be an abridged translation of Stoker's original. Hence, scholars started searching for allusions to Jack the Ripper in the 1897 edition of *Dracula.* Some even speculated that Bram Stoker possessed inside knowledge about these so-called Whitechapel Murders, and possibly knew the name of the perpetrator (Davison 1997, 147, pointing to Haining; Storey 2012).

But as I demonstrated in my first paper on the Icelandic version (De Roos 2014a), *Makt myrkranna* was no abridged translation of *Dracula* at all: it was a radical modification. In the same paper, I demonstrated that Emerson's translation was faulty; the correct translation is ".... the murders of Jack the Ripper, which *happened* a little later." (my italics)

Accordingly, the Icelandic preface states that the crimes featured in *Makt myrkranna* must have happened *before* the Ripper Murders. My suspicion was that the Icelandic (and now the Swedish) texts refer to the so-called "Thames Torso Murders" that had begun previously in 1887 (see Figure 1). In his conversation with Harker, Count Drakulitz (the vampire's name in the Icelandic version) seems to hint at these crimes:

> "Yes" – he said breathlessly and the fire virtually burned in his eyes, – "yes, these crimes, these terrible murders, these murdered women, these people found in sacks in the Thames, this blood, that flows, that flows and streams, while the murderer cannot be not found." (my translation from the Icelandic)

Exit Jack the Ripper. Count Draculitz (the vampire's name in the Swedish variants) and his aristocratic London entourage are introduced as the possible culprits in the equally unsolved Thames Torso Murders.

Figure 1. *Illustrated Police News,* May 28, 1887: gruesome discovery in Rainham

Since my first analysis of *Makt myrkranna*, much water has flown through the Thames. The question of Stoker's possible involvement in the Icelandic publication was already addressed in this first article, sparked by my observation that several ideas from Stoker's early notes for *Dracula* that had not made it into his final manuscript seemed to return in the Icelandic version. Since then, other authors such as Clive Bloom, David Skal, Jason Colavita, Rickard Berghorn, Katy Brundan, Melanie Jones, Benjamin Mier-Cruz and Ingmar Söhrman have joined the discussion. After the publication of *Powers of Darkness,* my English translation from the Icelandic (De Roos 2017a), Berghorn was the one to point to the still earlier Swedish modifications of *Dracula* that were serialised in the newspaper *Dagen* and the semi-weekly magazine *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga,* both belonging to the *Aftonbladet* group (De Roos 2017b). As I established, not the *Dagen* variant unearthed by Berghorn but the (shorter) *Halfvecko-upplaga* version I obtained directly from the Royal Library in Stockholm was the text that the Icelandic editor and publisher of *Fjallkonan,* Valdimar Ásmundsson, must have used to create his still shorter Icelandic story, replacing various references to European culture by allusions to the Icelandic sagas (De Roos 2017c). Accordingly, I stopped searching for a direct link between Stoker and Ásmundsson. My research into the backgrounds of the Nordic publications shifted to the questions: (1) who might have been the Swedish editor/ translator and, (2) to what extent Bram Stoker had been personally involved in the Swedish initiative.

2. Who was the Swedish editor/translator?

Regarding the first question, in March 2017 I proposed that Anders Albert Anders(s)on[2] Edenberg (1834-1913), a well-respected senior journalist living and working in Stockholm in the 1890s (see Figure 2), might have been the person who had used the pseudonym "A-e" for these *Dracula* modifications (De Roos 2017d). Anderson-Edenberg had been the Chief Editor of the monthly magazine *Svenska Familj-Journalen* that had covered a wide range of literary, cultural and scientific topics; he worked for the magazine for 20 years (1867-1887). He also had translated various works by the later winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson from Norway. From his contributions to *Svenska Familj-Journalen* we can see that he was also able to translate from the English. In 1895, he wrote a brochure in German for the Swedish Tourist Association (Anderson-Edenberg, 1895). Interesting enough, by 1899, Anderson-Edenberg had already

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[2] Various newspapers use "ss," but in his letterhead and obituaries, he used a single "s."

used the pseudonyms "A. E-g," "Edbg," "Eg," "E-g" and – for his stage play translation – "A.E." Since 1868, he had signed more than a dozen articles in *Svenska Familj-Journalen* with the pseudonym "A.–E." The pseudonym "A-e" would fit both his full name and these previously used initials.

Figure 2. Anders Albert Anderson-Edenberg (1834-1913)

Moreover, Anderson-Edenberg was a co-founder and the Secretary of *Publicist-klubben*, the Swedish Association of Journalists. In that role, he worked together with Harald Sohlman, the Chief Editor of both *Dagen* and *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga,* on numerous occasions, e.g. for the *Festskrift* that was created to celebrate *Publicistklubben*'s 25th anniversary in May 1899, just a month before the serialisation of the Swedish *Dracula* variants kicked off in *Dagen* (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. *EKO Festskrift*, May 1899

Later, I found still more arguments in favour of Anderson-Edenberg. Many of the cultural references used in *Mörkrets makter* were also discussed in Anderson-

Edenberg's earlier contributions to *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, such as a very peculiar phrase describing two stalwart nurses from the Transylvanian convent hospital as "true Valkyries from the Bavarian highlands." Incidentally, Anderson-Edenberg had most probably been the author of an article on the Walhalla Temple near Donaustauf, Bavaria, 420 meters above sea level, with its 14 Valkyrie statues supporting the roof as caryatids, and of a poem titled "Valkyrian," signed "-ed-."

3. To what extent was Stoker himself involved in the Swedish publications?

As to the second question, I spent more than a year trying to find a connection between Bram Stoker and Valdimar Ásmundsson, either direct or via friends or acquaintances they had in common. Although the personal networks of the two writers turned out to be intertwined at a number of points, I never found enough evidence for a communication about the "export" of *Dracula* to Iceland – a truly tantalising experience. Why did I not give up earlier? Already in January 2014, my Icelandic colleague Ásgeir Jónsson, editor of the third Icelandic edition of *Makt myrkranna,* wrote to me that the preface to the Icelandic version showed traces of a translation from another language (email of January 26, 2014). His opinion was later confirmed by a group of Icelandic language experts I contacted in January 2016. And my colleague Simone Berni from Italy, who had published a book on the first foreign editions of *Dracula* (Berni 2014), confirmed to me that while visiting Sweden (especially Stockholm and Malmö) and other Scandinavian countries, he had not been able to find any early variants of *Dracula* in book form (messages of March 6, 2017). Berni was right, but oversaw, alas, a crucial point. In Sweden, *Mörkrets makter* was indeed never published as a book (until the 2017 republication, see Berghorn 2017b) – but it was serialised three times. Although this was known to a number of Swedish scholars, they never took the trouble to point it out to international academic circles that might have been interested in these variants. Only after my book *Powers of Darkness* received excited reviews in major international newspapers and magazines, Rickard Berghorn jumped the bandwagon and burdened himself with the task of finding a connection between London and Stockholm, instead of Reykjavik.

In the spring of 2018, however, I discovered that the last part of the preface to *Mörkrets makter* (the Swedish equivalent of "powers of darkness"), which had not been translated to Icelandic by Valdemar Ásmundsson, had to a large extent been copied from the memoirs of a well-known Stockholm priest, Bernhard Wadström (1831-1918) (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Bernhard Wadström (1831-1918) with his collection of prints

Volume 2 of Wadström's memoirs was published in 1899, in Swedish, and contained a number of observations and comments on ghostly apparitions that are echoed in the preface to *Mörkrets makter* almost *verbatim.* Volume 1 already contained a description of an encounter with a 'White Lady' that seems to be mirrored in Tom Harker's journal.

Figure 5.
Nerikestidningen
of March 29, 1889

Although the second volume was published as a bound book only shortly before Christmas 1899, its content had already been released in three separate booklets. Wadström's chapter on ghostly apparitions appeared in the first booklet of this series, announced in *Nerikestidningen* of March 29 and April 5, 1899, and in *Stockholmstidningen* of March 30, 1899 (see Figure 5). It came to the book stores *before* the preface to *Mörkrets makter* was published in *Dagen* of June 10, 1899. (For a detailed overview of these findings, see De Roos 2018b).

This discovery greatly affected my appraisal of the possibility of Stoker's personal involvement in the Swedish variants of *Dracula.* The Irishman did not understand Swedish, so we can safely exclude the possibility that he had come across Wadström's text himself and personally committed the plagiarism. Just as implausible seems a scenario in which Stoker would have authorised a Swedish newspaper man to include Wadström's words in the preface to *Mörkrets makter,* and have it signed off with Stoker's initials. And if the preface was a purely Swedish fabrication, this might be true for the rest of the novel as well. In short, my discovery suggests that the Swedish versions were pirated. This still does not bar the possibility that such pirated texts were based on an earlier draft of *Dracula* that had somehow ended up in Stockholm. At least, this is what my colleague Alan Crozier, an Irish academic translator living and working in Sweden, suggested to me in a recent email conversation (July 20, 2021).

Although Crozier's thesis would elegantly explain both the parallels with Stoker's early notes *and* the plagiarism/piracy scenario, I have serious doubts about this "early draft" theory that I myself had helped launch in 2014.

Until now, the only known typescript of Stoker's vampire tale is the so-called Donaldson typescript, discovered in a barn in Pennsylvania in the 1980's (De Roos 2014b). It is believed to have been created some months before the release of the novel in May 1897. Although commercial typewriters were introduced as early as 1874, they did not become common in offices until after the mid-1880s (English Wikipedia, lemma "typewriter"). I have no information, alas, when precisely Bram Stoker started to use one. According to Tine Hreno, Stoker developed the manuscript of *Dracula* in handwriting (Hreno 2016). A part of Stoker's research notes are typed out, however (Miller and Eighteen-Bisang 2008, 199ff). Why is this relevant? Only a typewriter allows for the automatic creation of a legible carbon copy. The chance that a busy man like Stoker would use carbon paper to duplicate his own handwriting seems low. Ballpoint pens had not yet been commercially developed, and with a dip pen or fountain pen, it is cumbersome to apply the necessary pressure. Without a copy being present, however, it must have been risky to mail a draft of a novel overseas, taking the chance that it would not be

returned. Moreover, Bram Stoker was known for his tendency to keep control of his writing:

> "If nothing else, *Dracula* is a quintessential story of power and control, and Stoker's early attempts to retain legal authority over his vampire foreshadowed many struggles that would follow." (Skal 2004, 66).

For me, it is hard to imagine that Stoker would have sent an early draft of *Dracula* to Sweden, without any binding agreement about its use and without following up to see what had happened to the text. As an alternative, someone close to Stoker could have obtained such a draft and dispatched or brought it to Sweden without informing the author. Again, in light of the way Stoker tended to take control of his interests as a writer and preferred to act as his own literary agent (Stoddart 1897), it is hard to imagine that the Irishman – a professional literary rights trader – simply would have lost sight of his drafts. The arguments both in favour and against such scenarios are based on considerations of plausibility only, however. Until now, no scholar has been able to present proof for either possibility.

4. The mini-mysteries

While the identity of the Swedish editor and Stoker's own role in the Swedish serialisations may be characterised as the major mysteries surrounding *Mörkrets makter*, there also exist a number of smaller riddles whose answers, if we could find them, would shed an interesting light on these first ever *Dracula* modifications.

4.1. Lucy Western and the first U.S. serialisation in the Chicago *Inter Ocean*

A peculiar detail I noticed in the first known American serialisation of *Dracula* (De Roos, 2017 e) is that in the announcement of this serial, Lucy Westenra's name was given as "Lucy Western" – exactly the same surname as used in the Swedish publications. The US version ran in the Chicago *Inter Ocean* from May 7, 1899, on until June 4 of the same year, under the title *The Strange Story of Dracula; a Tale of Thrilling Adventures, Mystery and Romance*.

The announcements appeared on May 3, 4, 5 and 6, each with the same typical error (see Figure 6), that did not show up in the instalments themselves.

Figure 6. Announcement in the Chicago *Inter Ocean* of May 3, 1899

The rare name "Westenra," probably of Dutch origin, is prone to being bastardised or "simplified" – but there are many ways to do so. In the Swedish variants, this is the only surname that has been changed ("Dracula," as we know, is not a surname, but a patronymic). And as we may assume that the Swedish editor/translator was widely read in European cultural issues, and certainly would have had no problems with spelling an exotic word, it would be tempting to suspect that he (or she) may have got hold of a copy of the Chicago *Inter Ocean* two months before the *Dagen* serialisation started, and either was confused by the altered name, or, aware of the error, thought it a good idea to adopt it for his/her own adaptation. It would be a good example of the internationalisation of the press during the 1890s (De Roos 2018c), but more research would be needed to establish whether the *Inter Ocean* serialisation actually reached the desk of the anonymous Swedish editor.

4.2. The Hungarian connection

The Swedish publications may not only have been linked to the preceding serialisation in the Chicago *Inter Ocean.* Still earlier, on January 1, 1898, the Hungarian serialisation of *Dracula* had started in the Hungarian newspaper *Budapesti Hírlap.* With a few minor deviations, this text was a genuine translation from the English, believed to have been created by the newspaper's Chief Editor, Jenő Rákosi (De Roos 2016) (see Figure 7).

Rákosi not only headed *Budapesti Hírlap,* but was also the president of *Otthon*, the Hungarian Press Association, which was one of the largest in Europe. At that time, Hungary was a technologically advanced nation and closely connected with the rest of Europe; the stage plays performed in London and Paris were regularly reviewed in the Hungarian newspapers.
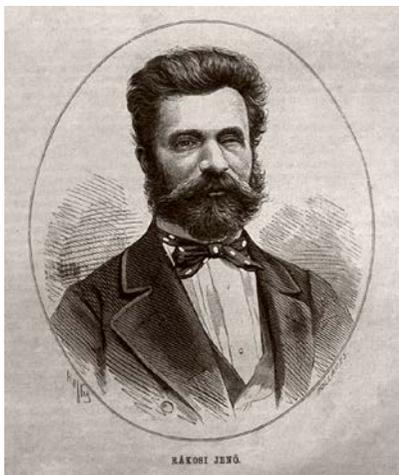
Figure 7. Jenő Rákosi (1842-1929).
Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság* (1875, 41)

The international cooperation of the press had progressed to the point where it is highly probable that Harald Sohlman and Jenő Rákosi were in touch with each other during the years that *Dracula* was launched and first published in their respective countries. A few examples may illustrate this:

- *Dagens Nyheter* of June 28, 1895: Viktor Rakósi, the brother of Jenő, speaks at the Copenhagen Press Meeting.
- *Aftonbladet*, June 17, 1896: *Otthon* supports Stockholm's candidacy for the next (Fourth) International Press Congress.
- *Svenska Dagbladet*, June 26, 1897: Jenő Rakósi is once more elected as Vice-President at the Fourth International Press Congress, Stockholm, June 1897. He is a prominent speaker, next to Sohlman. Anderson-Edenberg, *Publicistklubben*'s Secretary, was one of the organizers of this major event.
- *Svenska Dagbladet*, June 30, 1897: Rakósi speaks (in French) at the Fourth International Press Congress, and will remain in Sweden after this event.
- *Svenska Dagbladet*, July 20, 1897: Jenő Rakósi and French colleagues visit the North Cape in northern Norway to see the midnight sun.
- *Aftonbladet*, September 18, 1897: Jenő Rakósi congratulates King Oscar per telegram, which is sent to the *Aftonbladet* office, not to the Royal Court.
- *Aftonbladet*, November 16, 1897: *Otthon* thanks *Publicistklubben* for its hospitality during the Fourth International Press Congress.
- *Dagens Nyheter*, March 2, 1898: Rákosi publishes an article in *La Presse Internationale*, Paris, about the relationship between Norway and Sweden.
- *Göteborgsposten* and *Svenska Dagbladet,* February 11, 1899: Harald Sohlman will be part of the ten-person delegation of Swedish journalists to the International Press Congress in Rome. Here he meets Jenő Rakósi again, in April 1899.

- ▪ *Aftonbladet,* July 24, 1899: *Aftonbladet* launches an international press protest to support the Finnish free press; representatives of Otthon are among the first to sign the petition.
- ▪ 1893-1900: *Aftonbladet* and *Budapesti Hírlap* quote from each other, which means that either complete newspaper copies or single news articles were exchanged between the Swedish and Hungarian capitals; *Göteborgs Aftonblad* of May 5, 1896, 3 and 4, contains a detailed article about the 1896 Hungarian millennial celebration authored by the newspaper's "writer and correspondent from Pest."

It therefore seems very possible that Sohlman had copied the idea to translate and serialise *Dracula* from his colleague Rákosi.

4.3. The name "Draculitz"

Swedish newspapers from the year 1893 (e.g. *Söderhamns Tidning* of February 28, 1893) mention a police constable from "Gosspodincze" named "Drakulitz," who was framed for murder. As my colleague Niels Petersen from Denmark found out, a similar article appeared in a Danish newspaper (see Figures 8 and 9).

Figures 8 and 9. Swedish and Danish newspaper articles reporting on police constable Drakulitz

Intrigued by the name "Drakulitz," which is as good as interchangeable with the name "Draculitz" used in *Mörkrets makter*, I tried to locate Gosspodincze. After consulting Wiesner's *Der Feldzug der Ungarn gegen die Oesterreicher und Russen im Jahre 1848/49* (Wiesner 1853, 265-267) and Rüstow's *Geschichte des Ungarischen Insurrectionskrieges 1848* (Rüstow 1860, 18-19) (see Figure 10), I believe that "Gospodincze" (modern spelling: Gospođinci) in the north of Serbia, near Csurog (Čurug, or Serbian Cyrillic Чуруг) in the municipality of Josephsdorf or Žabalj (Hungarian: Zsablya, as it is spelled here), must be meant, not Господинце or Gospodintje in Bulgaria. In 1893, this Serbian village of Gosspodincze was a part of the Austrian-Hungarian Double Monarchy. This would imply that the name variant "Drakulitz" would originate from Northern Serbia, not from Transylvania. Volume II of *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (Habsburg, 1891) informs us that before the (second) Battle of Mohács, (1687), the village of Gosspondincze was called "Boldogasszonyszalva," meaning "Village of our Holy Mary" (Habsburg 1891, 618).

Figure 10. A. C. Wiesner's *Der Feldzug der Ungarn gegen die Oesterreicher und Russen im Jahre 1848/49*
and W. Rüstow's *Geschichte des Ungarischen Insurrectionskrieges 1848*, both mentioning Gosspodincze.

Johann Galletti's "Allgemeines Geographisches Worterbuch oder Alphabetische Darstellung aller Länder, Städte, Flecken, Dorfer, Ortschaften, Meere, Flüsse u.s.w." (Galletti 1822, Vol. I, column 731) places Gosspodincze near Peterwardein (Petrovaradin; Serbian Cyrillic: Петроварадин), then in "Slavonien" (Slawonien, Slavonia). By 1893, Slavonia was a part of Eastern Croatia, while Peterwardein was located in Northern Serbia, in the province of Vojvodina, where the aforementioned Serbian Gospondincze was also located. We can thus assume that this Serbian province of Vojvodina was the origin of the name "Drakulitz" – most Serbian surnames end with the suffix -ić (Serbian Cyrillic: -ић) ([itç]), which

originally is a Slavic diminutive used to create patronymics. For the Austrians, to whose territory this region belonged, the phonetic transliteration would be "-itz."

4.4. The six Marys, the three Browns, the four Robinsons and the two Mortons

In the extended *Dagen* variant, Van Helsing discovers a newspaper article about the death of a young woman named Mary Wood, who worked in a factory producing artificial flowers (p. 487). She was found dead in the little room where she lived with a friend. As the cause of death, the coroner determined complete blood loss, although the body showed no serious wounds. The article states that there had now been several of such mysterious cases, prompting medical circles had started speculating about an epidemic disease, while the police were still investigating. Mary's room mate reported that her friend would often wake up at night and stand at the window, feeling "strange." She believed it might be due to Mary's friendship with a "fine gentleman" who sometimes came to see her. The dead girl's name is almost identical with that of Arthur's sister, Mary Holmwood, who plays a key role in the novel.
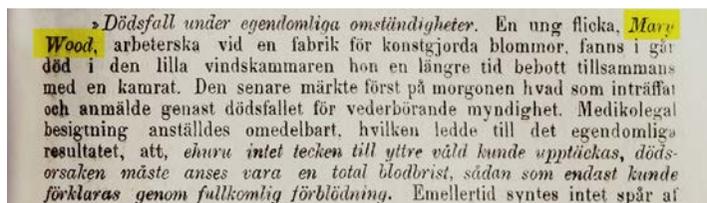
Figure 11. Fragment from the *Dagen* serialisation, p. 487

Using two similar names is considered inelegant in story writing – but that is not all. Vilma's colleague who replaces her while she travels to Hungary is called "Mary Brown," and Dr. Seward's "old faithful servant" is also named "Mary." The girl from Zolyva believed to be killed by Harker bears the name "Marya Vasarhély," while the widow "Maria Brown" is the owner of the house at 15, Victoria Street. She is the *third* "Brown" in the novel, next to Mary Brown and the young doctor coming to Hillingham. That makes six characters with (almost) the same given name, and three with the same surname. Moreover, after a reference to "Fred Robinson" (Man Friday) in Part I, *Mörkrets makter* uses the surname "Robinson" four times, while "Morton" is used both for Sir Charles Morton's family and for Seward's assistant-physician.

I cannot quite imagine that Stoker, who took the trouble to optimise several names (Brutus A. Marix became Quincey P. Morris, etc.) would make such a *faux pas.* If "A-e" invented all these characters, he/she could easily have avoided it as well – but to him/her, it surely would have mattered less than to Stoker, who worked on

Dracula for seven years. I suspect that these multiple Marys, Browns, Robinsons and Mortons were invented in Sweden by a copywriter who produced the enormous mass of text needed for the extended version in haste – not by Bram Stoker.

With the Mary Wood episode, we have another series of unexplainable crimes investigated by the police, next to the death of Lucy's mother and the housemaid; a link between the preface and the body of novel. In *Dracula*, the Count only targets Lucy and Mina, not factory girls, and the police do not investigate his crimes.

4.5. Valentini's Bakery

A few pages later (p. 491), Wilma has a conversation with Captain Barrington Jones and Professor Van Helsing about what she and Tom (Harker) witnessed at Piccadilly after the funeral of Mr. Hawkins. She describes how an elegantly clad young lady met with Baron Székély, whom she had previously met in Whitby. In *Dracula*, the location of the corresponding scene is in front of Guiliano's, referring to the jewellery shop of Carlo Giuliano at No. 115, Piccadilly (Klinger 2008, 255, note 37). In *Mörkrets makter*, however, the place is described as "Valentini's Bakery" – a business that, as far as I could tell, did not exist in London at that time. If Stoker had been the author of *Mörkrets makter*, he probably would have kept to Giuliano's, a real location, just like the *Albemarle Hotel*, *The Spaniards*, or the teahouse of the Aërated Bread Company mentioned in *Dracula*. That "Giuliano's" is replaced by a fantasy name leads me to suspect that someone other than Stoker wrote this scene.

4.6. The Thames Torso Murders in the Swedish press

As both the Swedish preface and the Count's words seem to hint at the unsolved Thames Torso Murders that shocked London during the period 1887-1889, I wondered whether the Swedish press had reported on these crimes. Already in March 2017, I found a series of articles in the Swedish press – but they do not form a complete report.

About the various remains of a woman's body found near Rainham between May and June 1887, I found no articles published in the same year.

Göteborgsposten of October 9 and 16, 1888, reported on a female torso found at the construction site of the New Scotland Yard office in London-Whitehall, while some of the limbs were found in the Thames at Pimlico. The same incident was reported in *Norrköpings Tidningar*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, *Höganäs Tidning* and six other Swedish newspapers.

Dagens Nyheter of November 23, 1888 and a dozen of other Swedish newspapers reported that the mutilated body of Frances Annie Hancock was found in the Thames. The newspapers referred to the Ripper as the suspected murderer, however, not to a separate perpetrator who might be responsible for the Thames Mysteries.

Figure 12. *Dagens Nyheter* of November 23, 1888

> On the 17th of this month, a boatman picked up a corpse of a woman from the Thames who was quite elegantly dressed and whose identity the police could establish. It was a girl by the name of Frances Annie Hancock who had been missing since October 21. The same day as she disappeared people saw her in the company of a tall man with a big, light moustache. She wore a golden necklace that was not found on her body. She was completely dressed, except for her hat and shoes. This woman had the same profession as all the other victims of Jack the Ripper but rather worked in higher circles. She frequented the wealthy districts and even had a noble "protector." (My translation from the Swedish).

Under the heading "The Whitechapel Killer in London," *Göteborgs Aftonblad* of June 11, 1899, reported on the female body parts found in a "package" (*paketet*) in the Thames near Albert Bridge, Battersea Park. *Göteborgsposten*, *Skåne-halland*, and *Skånska Posten* of the same day brought a similar report. During the following ten days, 18 more newspapers reported on the Battersea events, also mentioning the female remains found in a "package" at St. George's Stairs, Horselydown, 5 miles further east, and some of them pointing to parallels with the Whitehall incidents.

In September 1899, when police constable William Pennett found a headless and legless female torso under a railway arch at Pinchin Street, Whitechapel, *Svenska Dagbladet* (September 16, 1899, p. 3) and at least six other Swedish newspapers reported on the similarities with the events that had previously taken place in Rainham, Whitehall and Battersea – without mentioning, however, the sacks in which some of the torsos had been found.

The fact that the Swedish newspapers mentioned "packages," but not "sacks" – the exact word used by the Count – does not exclude the possibility, however, that the reference to the Thames Mysteries was only added in Sweden. If the Swedish editor was a journalist of the calibre of an Anderson-Edenberg, he (or she) probably had access to the London newspapers and may have taken such gruesome descriptions directly from the British press – news from the *London Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* reached the Stockholm newsrooms by telegraph every day.

4.7. Who was Dr. Oscar Marlington, and why did he disappear from history?

Who was Dr. Oscar Marlington, who reportedly confessed to have committed the Whitechapel Murders, was arrested and identified by the police as the real Jack the Ripper, and then never mentioned again in the dozens of theories about these crimes? Even in Iceland, the infamous Ripper homicides were intensely discussed by the press. While researching the backgrounds of *Makt myrkranna*, I came across a small article in *Fjallkonan* of November 11, 1899 – two months before the serialisation of the Icelandic version started in the very same newspaper.

Jakob kviðristari fundinn. Menn mun reka minni til þeirra mörgu og hryllilegu kvenmorða, sem framin vóru í Lundúnum fyrir nokkurum árum, að því er virtist af hinum sama morðingja, sem lögreglan gat með engu móti fundið og kallaður var „Jakob kviðristari". Morðingi þessi er nú loksins fundinn; það er læknir, eins og til hafði verið getið, og heitir Oscar Marlington. Hann hefir játað, að hann hafi framið öll þessi morð, og rannsóknir hafa leitt það í ljós, að hann er hinn sanni „Jakob kviðristari". Hann er brjálaður á geði með köstum. Hann átti unga og fríða konu, sem hafði verið honum ótrú, og af því fékk hann beiskasta hatur til allra kvenna. Hann hafði miklum læknisstörfum að gegna, en hvarf stundum dögum saman, þegar brjálsemisköstin komu að honum, og þá framdi hann morðin. — Það er ekki víst, hvort hann verður dæmdur til dauða, þar sem morðin eru framin í vitstola æði.

Figure 13. Article in *Fjallkonan* of November 11, 1899

Jack the Ripper found. People will remember the many and horrific murders of women that took place in London a few years ago, apparently by the same killer, called "Jack de Ripper," whom the police could not find. This murderer has now finally been identified. It is a physician, as suspected, by the name of Oscar Marlington. He has confessed that he has committed all these murders, and investigations have shown that he is the true "Jack the Ripper." He suffers from attacks of mental illness. He had a young and beautiful wife, who had been unfaithful to him, and this caused him to develop a bitter hatred against all women. He had a busy doctor's office, but sometimes disappeared for days when his fits of madness came upon him, and then he committed the murders. – It is not certain whether he will be sentenced to death, as the murders were committed in a maniacal frenzy. (My translation from the Icelandic).

I always wondered what the source of Valdimar Ásmundsson's article had been, as Google could not find the name "Marlington" in any other newspaper report of that time, and it is not mentioned in any of the current theories around the true identity of the Ripper. The riddle was only solved, in part, when I studied the serialisation of *Mörkrets makter* in *Dagen*: Just above one instalment of the story, *Dagen* had published the news reported by Ásmundsson. Later, I came across dozens of other Swedish newspaper articles, printed between October 6 and 14, 1899, all bringing the same news and referring to *Dannebrog* (see Figure 14).

Figure 14. *Dagens Nyheter* of October 9, 1899, p. 3, on the arrest of Dr. Oscar Marlington
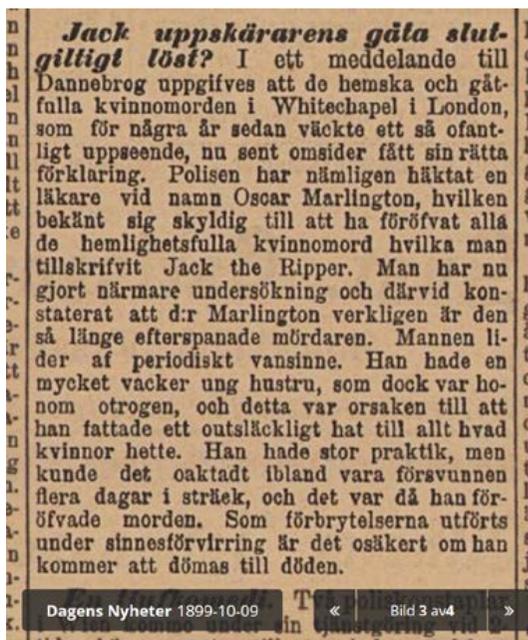
Although this would explain how Ásmundsson heard of the story, it does not tell us who this Oscar Marlington really was, why he had confessed to the Ripper Murders, and why is name was forgotten by Ripperologists.

4.8. Szolyva and Körösmező

In *Mörkrets makter*, the detective Tellet, hired by Mr. Hawkins, Tom's employer, is informed about rumours that Harker, after the Count had left for England, had been spotted in the village of Zolyva, about an hour from Castle Draculitz. Harker was said to have frequented a guest house that had become a meeting place for gamblers and drunkards; he was suspected of murdering the innkeeper's daughter. I was intrigued by the origin of the place name. I suspect that "Zolyva" was derived from "Szolyva," today named "Svalyava," in Ukraine, approximately 185 km north-west of the Borgo Pass. Until 1919 it belonged to Hungary, which lost 70% of its territory after World War I. In the days that *Mörkrets makter* and *Makt myrkranna* were written, Transylvania was a part of Hungary as well, meaning that, theoretically, Harker could have travelled from Bistritz to Szolyva – then known as a spa town – without a passport.

Another toponym may have been used to create the surname of Prince Elemar Koromeszo, Mary Holmwood's husband. This name may be derived from the city "Körösmező" (French: "Koromez"), today known as "Yasinia." Just like Szolyva, Körösmező today is on Ukrainian territory, but until 1919 belonged to Hungary and thus was well connected to north-east Transylvania. It is located in the Carpathian Mountains 125 km north of Bistritz, near the strategically important Tatar Pass.

4.9. Who created the Swedish illustrations? A hidden signature?

Who was the draughtsman (or -woman) who created these artful drawings for the *Dagen serial*? I sent enquiries to the Swedish Archive of Newspaper Illustrations, but the conservators there where not able to identify the artist. The original drawings have been lost, and the sketches are unsigned. All I could find was an elegant capital letter "B" that seems to appear on the two only full-page graphics (p. 55 and p. 429). Could this be an initial? I asked Örjan Romefors, senior archivist at the *Riksarkivet,* once more, but this signature – if it even is one – was not known to him.
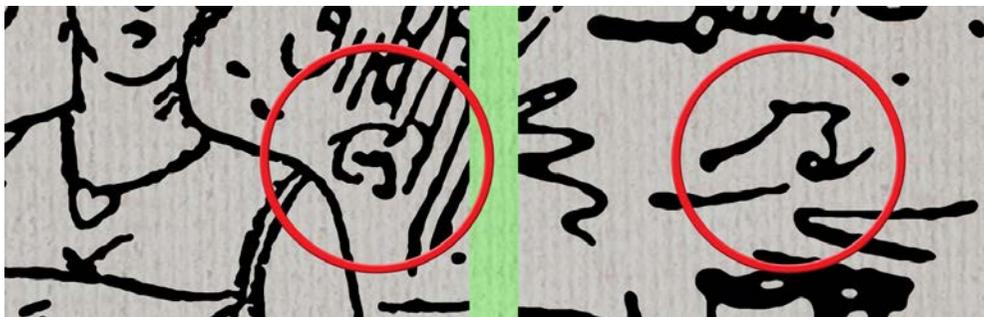
Figure 15. An obscure signature? The two examples.

There is one thing we *do* know, though: the artist must have studied the text very closely, as even small details from the Swedish *Dracula* story show up in the graphics, such as the heart-shaped diamond hanger, the straw-like hair of the Count's apelike adepts, or the galloons on his peculiar outfit.

I also wondered whether the illustrator had ever been to Whitby – or at least had seen photos or maps of this little town: in the scene where Vilma and Lucy converse with Mr. Swales, the view from the graveyard at St Mary's Church over to the harbour – the scattered rooftops, the piers and the light tower – with Kettleness at the horizon, has an uncanny accuracy.

4.10. The Herschel principle

Recently, I came across another topic from *Mörkrets makter* that can also be found in *Svenska Familj-Journalen* (see De Roos 2018a for an overview). In the *Dagen* version (p. 577), Dr. Seward notes:

> In general, it sometimes seems to me that for some time I have been drawn into a whirlpool of abnormal, upsetting and inexplicable phenomena, before which all my knowledge falls short and where it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to always maintain the calm and spiritual balance that a physician needs more than anyone else. Sir John Herschell (sic!) actually claims that to the scientist no phenomena are more welcome than those who seem to overthrow all accepted theories and are in conflict with all known laws, as it is these phenomena which open the field to new discoveries and broaden the intellectual horizon. I may not be a researcher enough to fully feel that way, or I may personally be too strongly affected by these events to be able to view them with the superior calm that is required above all, if experience is to be fruitful. For now, I'm content to jot down everything. - - -

Despite the spelling error that may have been introduced by the newspaper's typesetter, the author of these lines seems to be familiar with the thoughts of Sir John Frederick William Herschel (1792-1872), the English astronomer who named the four moons of Uranus and the seven moons of Saturn. In his *Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy* (1831), we find many phrases, illustrated by examples from Astronomy, Physics, Optics, Botany, etc. that express exactly the thoughts presented by Seward. I came across four articles in *Svenska Familj-Journalen* dealing with topics explored by John Herschel and his father, Sir William Herschel (1738-1822), the discoverer of Uranus. In issue XI of Vol. 12 (1873) we find an article on the spectral analysis of sunlight and the Fraunhofer lines, signed "An." ("Populära Föredrag in Naturkunnigheit," pp. 329-330). I assume that it was authored by Anderson-Edenberg. In issue XI of Vol. 15 (1876), we find two unsigned articles on colour blindness and telescopes respectively (p. 327-328 and p. 328-330). As the subjects are related, I suspect that Anderson-Edenberg, who was to become the magazine's Editorial Secretary in May 1877, was once more the author.

The 1873 article mentions William Herschel's theory that the sunlight would be created by lucid elements in the sun's atmosphere (see Herschel 1795, 58-59) – a view refuted by Fraunhofer's research on missing lines in the sunlight's spectrum. Colour blindness was a phenomenon extensively explored by John Herschel. And the article on telescopes again mentions William Herschel's work. Finally, we find John Herschel's theories about the temperature of the lunar surface mentioned in an unsigned article about the moon in issue VIII of Vol. 16 (1877, 247 and 249).

In 1899, there were probably dozens of Swedish journalists, translators and fiction writers who had heard the name "John Herschel" – just as today, educated people are familiar with the names of Marie Curie, Niels Bohr, Max Planck, Werner Heisenberg, Albert Einstein, Roger Penrose or Stephen Hawking. But having *heard* such well-known names is something different from *writing* an article about the progress in their fields of science. I therefore see these four articles as another hint (not proof) that Anderson-Edenberg was the editor of *Mörkrets makter* and personally inserted this reference to John Herschel's philosophy of science.

The Count's fascination with scientific experiments and precise observation, and his belief that everything can be explained from the laws of nature (p. 253), might also be informed by Anderson-Edenberg's interest in scientific method. Professor van Helsing's remarks about humankind's limited abilities to observe and

understand nature, finally, could equally be taken from Herschel's book that opens with a quote from Bacon's *Novum Organum*: "Man, as the minister and interpreter of nature, is limited in act and understanding by his observation of the order of nature: neither his knowledge nor his power extends farther." In the rest of his discourse, Herschel repeatedly stresses how limited and often deceptive man's perception of nature through the senses is. Although Stoker's *Dracula* features a number of technological innovations (telegraph, traveller's typewriter, Kodak camera, phonograph, etc.), Van Helsing's exposé on vampirism is a mixture of folklore and wild guesses about external influences, rather than an attempt to find a rational explanation.[3]

4.11. "In memory of Annabell Lee"

On the next page (p. 578), we find another curious reference. While visiting the churchyard where the Western (Westenra) tomb is located, Seward seeks and finds a stone with the epitaph "In memory of Annabell (sic!) Lee" (see Figure 16), and recognises it as a reference to Edgar Allan Poe's "gripping poem" (Poe 1849).[4] He remembers the stone from the hallucinatory visions he experienced during the Carfax soirée, and wonders again what mysterious powers are playing games with him.

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[3] In *Mörkrets makter*, Van Helsing explains that vampires are, during their lifetime, obsessed with "evil passions – cruelty, sensuality, blood-thirst." Although they experience "the cessation of the activity of the bodily organs that we call death," this "being, defined by its passions, is not able – or does not want – to free itself from the body which is its link with earthly life. It still hangs on to it – and as a result of some law we do not know, even after some time it succeeds in taking possession of it, infusing it with a kind of new life and once again using it as a tool for the unholy pleasures which have been its highest happiness – the passions and urges which now more than ever like a raging fire devour its interior and constantly demand new nourishment." (p. 500). Although this is just a fictional explanation, it at least attempts to describe a coherent psychological mechanism, instead of pointing to the possible influence of volcanoes, harmful gases, magnetism or electricity, as Van Helsing does in *Dracula.*

[4] Seward mentions Poe already the first time when he visits Carfax (*Dagen*, p. 513).
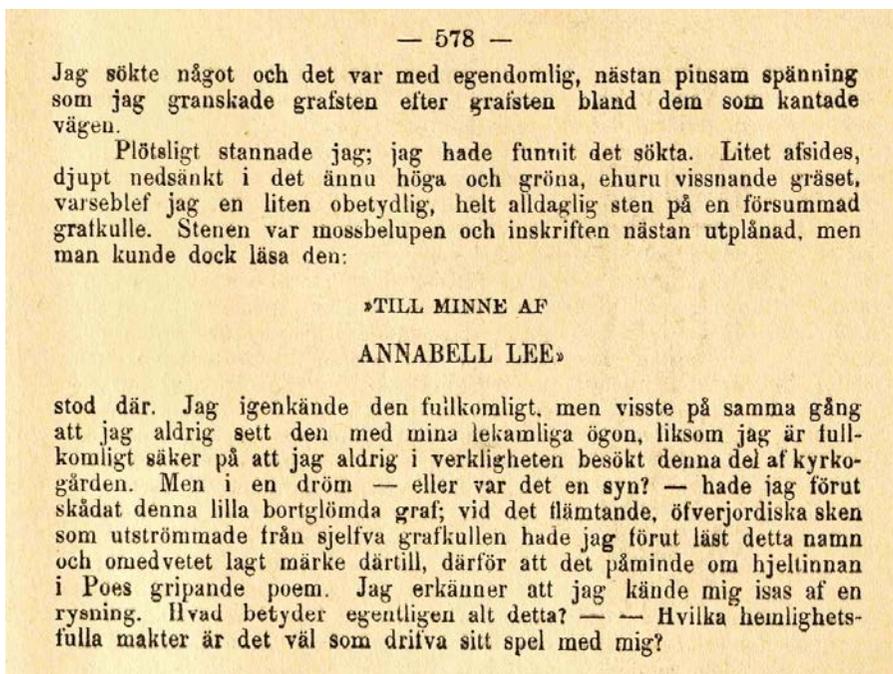
Figure 16. The *Dagen* version describing the tombstone of Annabel(l) Lee

Bram Stoker, we may assume, was familiar with Poe's work. His 1892 short story "The Secret of the Growing Gold" deals with a man who murders his wife and buries her under the floor; her hair, however, continues to grow and haunt him. The parallels with Poe's "Telltale Heart" are unmistakable (De Roos 2012 b, 42). In his story "The Squaw," the role of the black cat as the executioner of fate clearly reminds one of Poe's eponymous black cat. More generally, Poe's fascination with a state between life and death, the reanimation of the soul and interventions from beyond the grave ("Ligeia," "Berenice," "The House of Usher," "Morella," "The Case of M. Valdemar," "Metzengerstein," "Some Words with a Mummy," "The Oblong Box," etc.) has been a source of inspiration for all later supernatural fiction. But nowhere in Stoker's work have I seen a direct reference to one of these tales, let alone a mention of Poe's name. Would "Annabel Lee," in which Poe most probably eternalised his love for his young wife Virginia Eliza Clemm (1822-1847), be an exception? Or is it another element added by Anderson-Edenberg, who at least at one occasion read and distributed his own poems at a funeral? (see "Kapten Rydells Jordfästning, in *Svenska Dagbladet* of May 27, 1900, p. 3 (see Figure 17) and "Stoftet after kapten Alb. Rydell," in *Dagen* of the next day, p. 1)?

Figure 17. *Svenska Dagbladet* of May 27, 1900, p. 3

4.12. Jokala-Adonai

In *Dracula*, Stoker's reference to Jewish people is not very flattering. Mr. Immanuel Hildesheim from Galatz is described as "a Hebrew of rather the *Adelphi Theatre* type, with a nose like a sheep, and a fez." Antisemitism was flourishing in London at the end of the 19th century and many of its citizens were convinced that Jack the Ripper was to be found among the Jewish immigrants that had settled in the

capital. In her essay "Bloodbrothers: Dracula and Jack the Ripper," Margaret Davison discusses the notion that "Dracula and Jack the Ripper [...] figured as Jewish, a [...] signifier under whose aegis the fear of syphilis, alien invasion, sexual perversion and political subversion, stood united." (Davison 1997, 152). For this reason, any reference to Jewish culture in *Mörkrets makter* deserves our special attention.

We find such a reference in a letter discovered by Harker on his host's writing desk, addressed to Draculitz and written by a French co-conspirator (*Dagen*, p. 153):

> The letter was in French and bore as a signature a name that was well known from the political chronicle of the last few years. The writer politely acknowledged the receipt of a very significant sum of money (the amount was stated) and referred to the "honourable letter of 16 May"– which means, of the past week[5] – in assuring that information and instructions given therein had already been shared with "the person concerned." After several obscure allusions, about which I have no clue at all at present, and with the mention of many personalities designated only by their initials, the letter ended with the following phrases:
> *"All preparations for the great catastrophe are progressing with untiring zeal. Our whole cause is gaining new followers every day. Everyone feels that the Chosen of Mankind have sighed for too long under the unbearable yoke imposed on them by a small-minded and despicable numerical majority. We have outgrown this slave morality and will soon have reached the point where we can proclaim the great liberating message of Jokala-Adonai.*
> *The world belongs to The Strong!" - -*

"Adonai" is a Hebrew word, אֲדֹנָי, the plural form of "adon" ("Lord"). "Adonai" was (and is) used in Hebrew religion as a substitute for the Tetragrammaton (יהוה or YHWH, in English transcribed as *Yahweh*), which was considered too holy to be written or pronounced. In turn, it became a holy word itself, especially for Orthodox Jews, and in conversation was replaced by *HaShem* ("The Name").

"Jokala" corresponds to the I-participle of the Slovenian verb "jokati" ("to cry," "to weep"), but I doubt that the author intended to employ it in this way. During the ceremony in the castle's basement, the Count's primitive followers use it in their chant "Jokala hai – Peresche wo! – Sintala mai – Sintala ho – Jokala wo – Dracula[6] hai! – hai! – hai! –" In her notes about the Gypsy camp in Whitby, Vilma records a similar-sounding greeting: "Peräsche wo rajtula." And when Seward joins

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[5] Within the context of the story, this is significant, as the Count has previously claimed that all postal communication had been interrupted by the spring floods.

[6] This is the only instance where the name "Dracula" is used instead of "Draculitz."

the circle of Ida Vàrkony's friends at Carfax, Prince Koromeszo raises a toast to their host:

> "According to ancient custom, gentlemen," repeated the prince, [...] "according to Szekely's law – in the name we all know – we empty our glasses for her, who represents the highest ideal we worship! Jokala ho! – Peresche wo rajtula!"

After that, the whole company recites the chant sung in the castle's basement. For want of a better explanation, I suspect that the author employs a pseudo-language of his own invention here. Using "Adonai" in this context could mean that the author was satirising certain Jewish religious practices as being overly reverent, just like the Count's adepts who were engaging in a cult-like worship of their leader. In another chapter, however (p. 585), Seward deplores the growing influence of the Jesuits and the rise of antisemitism in Russia, Galicia and Southern France, which remind him of the "darkest Middle Ages."[7] We may assume that Anderson-Edenberg was familiar with Jewish culture; in September 1899, his wife Gabriela was buried at the graveyard of the local Jewish community (see Figure 18).

Figure 18. Funeral of Gabriella announced in *Aftonbladet* of September 28, 1899, p. 1
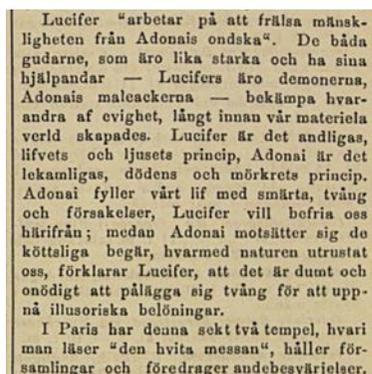
Figure 19. *Katrineholms Tidning* of September 27, 1895, p. 2 (fragment)

More likely, "Adonai" refers to the god of death and darkness as worshipped by a Paris sect practising "Adonaism," "Palladism" or "Satanism" as described in a book by Jules Bois, reviewed by almost a dozen Swedish newspapers (see Figure 19 and *Dagen*, p. 628.)

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[7] See also Vilma's remarks on p. 409 about Jewish people being falsely accused of crimes.

4.13. Parlez-vous français?

On all other occasions, the inhabitants and visitors of Carfax seem to prefer French. When Seward visits the house for the first time, Madame Saint-Amand, the French Ambassador's young wife with her "Paris chic" elegance, welcomes him with "Madame la comtesse vous attend!" The Countess herself wears her hair in the newest "Paris style," and also addresses the physician in French. The conversations in the house are interspersed with French phrases, from "Ah, ma chère belle!" to "À votre santé, monsieur!" The reason that French is hardly used in *Dracula*[8] seems simple. In Stoker's narrative, the Count does not cultivate an entourage of loquacious followers from the continent – he hardly speaks a word himself after Chapter 4. We may assume that whoever invented the foreign acolytes, also established the use of French as *lingua franca* among them.[9] For this, a rudimentary knowledge of French would suffice. As far as we know, Stoker spoke some French, visiting Paris in 1874, 1875 and 1876 (Skal 2016, 119f.), and later together with Irving. Daniel Farson even speculated that Stoker contracted syphilis there (Skal 2016, 493; Farson 1975, 234). As French was used for the "comptes rendus des travaux," the proceedings of the International Press Congresses, we may assume that Anderson-Edenberg, as the Secretary of *Publicistklubben*, was able to communicate in this language as well.

4.14. ты говоришь по-русски? Sailors with Slavic names

In his log, the captain of the *Demeter* calls his sailors "Petrofsky" or "Olgaren." In *Mörkrets makter*, we find "Petter Vassiljewitsch," "Fedor Michailitsch," and "Ivan Petrowitsch Olgaroff." Did Stoker improve his knowledge of Slavic languages after the first publication of *Dracula*? Or do we owe these new details to Anderson-Edenberg, whose son Erik Anders Magnus operated a trade agency in Moscow? (*Dagens Nyheter* of September 27, 1897, p. 1). On the whole, in *Mörkrets makter* Russia plays a more important role than in *Dracula*. During Leonardi's concert, a co-conspirator notes that "Russia has not spoken the last word yet." (p. 582), while Seward deplores the unholy alliance between French Liberals and "Holy Russia" (see Matheson, 2018).[10] Van Helsing adds Russia to the list of countries where the vampire is known and feared, together with India, Java, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. Did Stoker after May 1897 extend his list? Or is this another input from Sweden?

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[8] In her letter to Mina from 17, Chatham Street, Lucy describes Dr. Seward as an "excellent *parti*," demonstrating her upper-class mastery of French vocabulary (Brundan 2016, 11).

[9] In *Mörkrets makter,* Vilma also describes Mr. Swales as "esprit fort" and uses "comme il faut" in her notes on the Piccadilly scene. The Count tells Harker "C'est l'amour, l'amour, l'amour qui fait tourner la terre!" There may be more examples I have forgotten to take notes on.

[10] In 1899, Swedish Liberals actively opposed the Russification of Finland (Ch. 4.2 of this essay).

4.15. Arthur as a social reformer

In *Mörkrets makter*, Lucy states that "Arthur is so interested in social reforms and things like that; he so desperately wants to improve the position of the workers." (p. 257). In *Dracula*, Arthur is a typical aristocrat; not unsympathetic, but no idealist. His contribution to the fight against *Dracula* is to open doors when Harker needs information from a property broker, and to finance the trip to Europe (buying a steamboat on the way). Who decided to add these idealist traits to his character?

4.16. The Count's houses

In *Mörkrets makter*, the Count, next to the Carfax property,[11] owns houses at 197, Chicksand Street, Mile End, and at Jamaica Lane, Bermondsey, just like in *Dracula*. The mansion at 347, Piccadilly is replaced by an "old dilapidated house" at Fenchurch Street – Van Helsing has the lock broken by a locksmith, under the pretext of an "anarchist assassination." The Count also owns an old house at 45, Victoria Street, near Carfax. His real lair seems to be in a modern villa in in Hampstead, however, where he spends the night with Madame St. Amand. Here the final showdown takes place. Who invented these extra houses and their location, and for what reason?

4.17. The time frame of the novel

As I explained in March 2012 (De Roos 2012a), it seems that Stoker wanted to keep his readers in the dark about the novel's exact time frame. The Swedish preface states that the "completely unexplainable crimes" the novel describes happened *before* the Ripper crimes, i.e. before August 31, 1888. *Mörkrets makter* mention of the anti-Semitic riots in France and Galicia and the "Orléans conspiracy" of 1898-99 (p. 585; see also Berghorn 2017a), suggest, however, that the novel's events must occurred *after* the first publication of *Dracula* – most likely in 1898.[12] It is unclear why Stoker would have initiated or endorsed such a new, glaring contradiction.

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[11] In Parfleet (sic!), one of "London's growing suburbs," "right next to Hampstead" (p. 650). In the *Tip-Top* publication, "Parfleet" is replaced by "Purfleet."

[12] Antisemitic riots took place in Southern France and Western Galicia early in 1898 (Wilson, 1973; Unowsky 2018). *Skåningen Eslöfs Tidning* of February 3, 1898, discussed both the French anti-Jewish riots, the rising power of the Jesuits and the ambitions of Philippe, Duke of Orléans. *Göteborgsposten* of September 21, 1898, and other Swedish newspapers reported on Philippe's anti-Dreyfus manifesto and his announcement to show up in Paris. *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* of October 17, 1898 reported on the Duke's arrival in Brussels, exacerbating the threat of a royalist coup. Seward describes the crisis in October (p. 585), also citing the odd alliance between French Republicans and "Holy Russia."

5. Some more thoughts on the "early draft" theory

Although my notes on this set of "mini-mysteries" covers a wide range of diverse topics, they *do* convey a certain tendency. The possible links to Chicago and Budapest show that the idea for serialising *Dracula* in Sweden may not necessarily have come from Stoker or his publisher Constable. The article about the policeman named "Drakulitz" appeared in the Scandinavian, not the British press. The mentioning of "Veltini's Bakery," the six-fold use of "Mary" and the multiple use of "Brown," "Robinson," and "Morton" suggest that these names did not flow from Stoker's pen. The use of the toponym "Szolyva" is also untypical of Stoker: in *Dracula*, the names of locations are either exact (the *Albemarle Hotel*, *Jack Straw's Castle, The Spaniards*, Fundu, Strasba/Strasha/Straja, Veresti, etc.), or fictional (the graveyard of "Kingstead"; No. 347, Piccadilly; No. 197, Chicksand Street, etc.), or they are omitted altogether in case the novelist wished to obscure the exact place (Mount Izvorul). But naming a village presumed to be in or near the Borgo Pass after a town 185 km further north would violate Stoker's principle to be accurate when using real locations. So does placing Parfleet/Purfleet next to Hampstead.[13] The reference to Sir John Herschel reinforces my argument about Anderson-Edenberg's possible role in modifying Stoker's narrative. And referring to events taking place in 1898 does neither match Stoker's intention of obscuring the novel's time frame, nor can it be attributed to using an early draft.

In his essay "*Dracula*'s Way to Sweden," Berghorn (2017a) suggested that Anne Charlotte Leffler (1849-1892) and her brother Gösta (Gustaf) Mittag-Leffler (1846-1927) might have been instrumental in bringing Stoker's novel to Stockholm. Trying to check the plausibility of this "very strong working hypothesis" (Berghorn), I managed to obtain scans of a letter and a telegram that Harald Sohlman had sent to Gustaf Leffler on May 15, 1914, and February 5, 1918, respectively. The letter dealt with changes to the Swedish Parliament, the telegram with Finland's struggle for independence. In both cases, Sohlman asked for Leffler's political support. In neither case is *Mörkrets makter* mentioned – which is not surprising as the messages are short and urgent. Even if Leffler would have referred Stoker's work to Sohlman, we could not expect this to be mentioned in these notes.[14]

Another letter I managed to obtain was from Anderson-Edenberg to Anne Charlotte Edgren née Leffler. In his note of August 20, 1885, he asked for her photo portrait to be published in an upcoming Christmas publication (*Julkalender*) (see Figure 20). As *Dracula* was not even conceived of at that time, it could not be discussed. All

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[13] See footnote 11.

[14] I am indebted to Alan Crozier for pointing out the existence of an archive of such letters to me, and for transcribing some of the texts.

three letters only serve to demonstrate that during these decades, leading literary personalities in Stockholm were in touch with each other – just like Bram Stoker in the 1890s knew people who had travelled to Iceland or fostered contacts there.
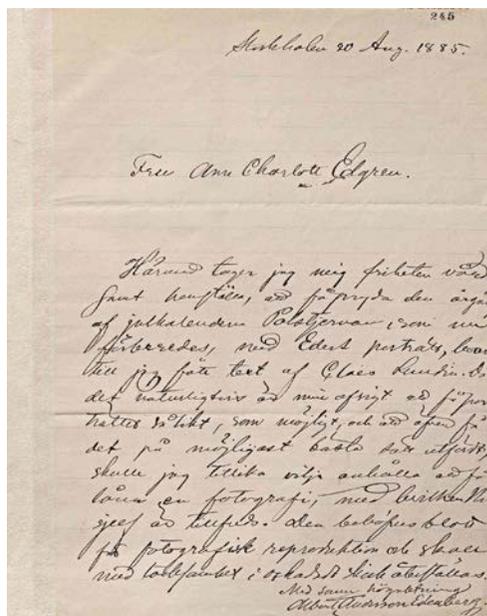
Figure 20. Letter of Anderson-Edenberg to Anne Charlotte Edgren (Leffler).

I am afraid that for Rickard Berghorn, trying to find evidence for a relevant communication between Bram Stoker and the *Aftonbladet* group may turn out to be just as exhausting as it was for me trying to find the "missing link" between *Fjallkonan* and the author of *Dracula*.[15]

All I can share from my side is a thought – or perhaps it is rather a sentiment – that gradually matured while I dealt with the questions set out in this essay. If *Mörkrets makter* is actually based on a draft written by Stoker, then why on earth would he have dropped the many interesting plot ideas we now only know from the Swedish texts: Harker's intimate involvement with the blond vampire girl, the Count's family history as illustrated by a portrait gallery, his leading role in an international political conspiracy, the bloody pseudo-religious rituals taking place in a secret temple underneath the castle, the fortune-telling Gypsies in Whitby,[16]

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[15] According to the latest news from his Brazilian publishers (messages of August 17, 2021), Berghorn is neither conclusive about "A-e"'s identity yet, nor about Stoker's real contribution to *Mörkrets makter.*

[16] Stoker *did* use this topic in his short story "A Gipsy Prophecy" (Stoker, 1885). Vilma notes that the Whitby band is "wilder" than the Gypsy families long settled in England. Who wrote this?

Vilma's investigations in Hungary uncovering a plot to imitate Harker's appearance, her visit to the castle and her injury, the dramatic reunion at the convent,[17] the hiring of two detectives, the active roles of Mr. Hawkins and Mary Holmwood, the fateful encounters between Dr. Seward and Countess Ida Vàrkony, Carfax as the elegant meeting place of international guests, the Count's mental experiments, the usurpation of the asylum by Leonardi and his crew, the death of Prince Koromeszo, etc. If *any* of these elements was a part of Stoker's original outline, then why did he not follow them up, instead of turning his novel into a rather one-dimensional narrative about a repulsive bloodsucker who mostly hides in the shadows, has no greater ambitions than to "batten on the helpless," and has neither admirers nor minions? Or, alternatively, if *none* of these elements were included in Stoker's early drafts, then what weight does his input still carry in the end?

Another problem with the "early draft thesis" is that we must wonder why the *Aftonbladet* group would invest in reworking a draft that Stoker had already discarded, instead of adapting the published version of *Dracula* that since its release on May 26, 1897 had proven to be quite successful. And if Sohlman had actually decided to do so, why was this not announced as a daring and exclusive literary experiment? Reworking the 1897 edition of *Dracula* posed a risk as well, of course. It appears that Sohlman was convinced that the changes would lead to a more attractive story. Although I have no data about how many subscribers *Dagen* and *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* were able to win or hold thanks to *Mörkrets makter*, at least he seems to have been right regarding the multifacetedness of the plot.

In 2014 Dacre Stoker ventured that his great-grand-uncle might have written a draft that was deemed too sexy for Victorian England and especially for Stoker's editor at Constable, Otto Kylman, and therefore was traded to a faraway, isolated country (De Roos, 2014 a); he upheld this opinion still in 2017 (Branagan, 2017). For two reasons, I doubt that this theory holds water. First of all, was Bram Stoker ever capable of writing a steamy erotic novel? We see no traces of this in his other work, and from his later articles about censorship in fiction and drama, we know that he believed "emotions arising […] from sex impulses" to be "harmful in the long run" (Stoker, 1908 and 1909). It is difficult to imagine that between 1890 and 1896, the same man would have indulged in the titillating depiction of fully nude young female victims, desperately writhing under the hands of their equally stark naked, apelike tormentors while being stared at by a horde of sneering topless followers. Second, if the prudish attitude of British publishers and readers would have stopped such a text from being published in London, it would have been easy enough to cover this nudity with some fig leaves and to lower the heat by just a few degrees, instead of completely dropping Harker's fascination with the Count's

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[17] Vilma fears that Tom, "like Dante, could never smile again." Who created this reference?

"niece," the secret rituals in the castle's basement, Lucy's ruinous influence on Arthur or Seward's desperate dependence on Ida Vàrkony. In other words, I have difficulty believing that the eroticism of the Nordic versions came from Stoker, and this also applies – sometimes more, sometimes less – to all the other elements that make *Mörkrets makter* so rich and multi-layered when compared to *Dracula*.[18] And if an early draft by Stoker were no more than a skeleton brought to life by a Swedish wordsmith, then why should we continue to be vexed by Stoker's role at all, instead of focusing on the talent and the skills of *Mörkrets makter*'s true author? For now, it would be helpful if the advocates of the "early draft theory" would explain what exactly they believe to have been included in such an early sketch, apart from the elements I found in Stoker's early notes: the mute and deaf housekeeper, the Count arriving as the last guest at a party, the blood-red room, a detective investigating the case, Seward turning mad, etc. (see De Roos, 2014 a and 2017 a for more details).

Figure 21. Title (identical for both Swedish variants)
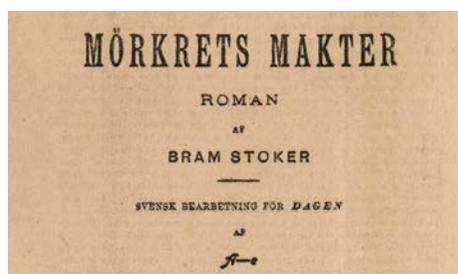
I am happy to drop my scepticism the moment evidence of Stoker's contribution to the Swedish modifications comes to light. Proof that a draft from Stoker's hand was used would support my initial comments about his early notes for *Dracula*.[19] It was not without cause that I changed my opinion, and I am ready to change it again should the facts point in a new direction. For the moment, however, I tend to believe – without definitely excluding any alternative scenarios – that Bram Stoker neither provided an early draft for the Swedish versions of *Dracula* nor endorsed or helped shape them. In the end, *Mörkrets makter* may turn out to be exactly what it claims to be in its title (see Figure 21): a novel by Bram Stoker ("Roman af Bram Stoker") in a Swedish adaptation for *Dagen* by A-e ("svensk bearbetning for *Dagen* af A-e").

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[18] Not only the plot, but also the style differs, e.g. in mentioning colours, flowers, operas, etc.

[19] These observations from my 2014 article were adopted both by David Skal (Skal, 2016, 338) and Rickard Berghorn (2017 a) without duly crediting the source of these particular findings.

6. Bonus: The yearnings of Inga Gjæla

Another idea that came to mind while editing this article was to check Anderson-Edenberg's translations of the texts written by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. Wittingly or unwittingly, writers tend to return to ideas they have already worked on, and although Anderson-Edenberg merely translated these works, I can imagine that they made a lasting impression. For now, I only checked *Mellem slagene*, a historical drama from 1857, published in Anderson-Edenberg's Swedish translation under the title *Mellan drabbningarne* by Albert Bonnier in 1867 (Bjørnson, 1867). In this one-act play, Sverre, heir to the Swedish throne, disguised as Öystein, a scout working for his rival King Magnus, is the guest of Hjalvard Gjæla and his wife Inga in their cabin high up in the mountains. Hjalvard dreams of fighting at King Sverre's side, while Inga is frustrated that her husband, zealous to become a warrior, forgets about work, home, wife and child. Neither Hjalvard nor Inga recognize their guest, which gives Sverre a chance to hear their unfiltered opinion about himself.

During the play, Inga complains that she is confined to their isolated home and rarely sees guests she can talk with. I reproduce three examples here (see figure 22):

Figure 22. Some of Inga's lines from *Mellan drabbningarne*

Scene 7 | Inga to Hjalvard: "All I understand is that you think a mother should be her child's slave. You can go out the whole long day if you wish so, but I shall be tied to the cradle. I'm lucky that we have so many visitors here on the mountain – it really is a wonderful life!"[20]

Scene 14 | Inga to Öystein: "Yes, speak up [about your visions]! I feel like I am walled in here from all sides – you don't know how much I long for some light!"

Scene 14 | Inga to Öystein: "No, I don't trust you. I am still standing in the mountain fog and staring ahead. I can't see my hand in front of my face, and it burdens my soul... O God, I wish I were dead!" (my translation from the Swedish).

Inga's ironic remark about the (lack of) visitors and her yearning for a look beyond the walls of her house reminded me of how the blond vampire girl addresses Harker during their first encounter: that he, the stranger, is welcome to her, as it is so lonely in the mountains and it is so rare that a man – a strong man, not a weakling – comes along. She explains that she is longing ("man längtar, längtar, längtar") for "den stora verlden därborta" (the big world out there), and for human company. A few pages later, the Count warns Harker about the unhealthy mountain fumes that especially affect visitors.

Is it only my imagination, or is the relationship between Sverre/Öystein (the strong, manly stranger visiting the lonely house in the mountains), Inga (confined to her four walls and longing for company) and Hjalvard (who can leave the house whenever he wants and dreams of partaking in wars) mirrored in the relationship between Harker, the vampire girl and the Count? Of course, it could be a coincidence, but in *Dracula*, the Count's "brides" do not complain about loneliness, nor does Harker's host mention the mountain fog. If Anderson-Edenberg actually shaped the plot of *Mörkrets makter*, he may very well have replicated, deliberately or not, the constellation he already knew from *Mellan drabbningarne* in his adaptation of Stoker's vampire story.

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[20] In the Norwegian original text, Inga scoffs that it is so *crowded* on the mountain: "Det er så *folksomt* her på fjællet, at det blev et herligt liv" (Bjørnson, 1910, 440) (my italics). The phrasing "godt om besök" ("well-visited," "with plenty of visits" or "having so many visitors") comes from Anderson-Edenberg. The change in meaning is minimal.

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Dracula and Dracula in Bengal and in Bengali

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This paper, after listing some translations of Stoker's novel into Bengali, chooses to focus on two adaptations which totally Indianize the novel and its characters, particularly the titular antagonist, placing them, in one case, in newly-independent India and Calcutta, and in the other, in an India and a Calcutta around two decades after the independence of 1947. In the process, the vampire is queered in both adaptations, and, in the earlier one, so are its human opponents, whereas the later adaptation follows a more homophobic opposition of a queer alien and unambiguously heterosexual humans, despite there being no major feminine presence in it. We attempt some deductions regarding why the two Bengali adaptors took their respective stances.

Keywords*: Dracula, Bengal vampires, Bengali adaptations of Dracula*

1. Dracula in Bengali

A visit to College Street, the Mecca of books in Kolkata, will yield any number of adaptations of Bram Stoker's novel into Bengali. Three examples may be cited. The first, published in 1982, abridges Stoker's novel in Part 1, followed by the story of the 1966 Hammer film *Dracula Prince of Darkness* in Part 2. Part 3 renders an independent horror tale with no Dracula connection. The second, published in 1996, similarly abridges Stoker in the first seven sections, going on to render two more stories, one totally unrelated to Dracula, and then another which links Dracula with what the story calls the Egyptian Draco cult. The third, which appeared in 2000, and characterizes itself on the publication page as 'Collected Stories for Children', summarizes Stoker in nine sections, going on to translate another vampire story in which the word 'Dracula' is used as a common noun, meaning 'vampire'. In addition to these three, from the collection of Professor Abhijit Gupta, we have obtained a 24-page comic-book version of Stoker's novel. Finally, there is a curious paperback product which claims on its title page to have translated Stoker's novel, but is an unabashed piece of soft porn which has nothing

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whatsoever to do with either Stoker or Dracula, but simply capitalizes on the popularity of the novel to trick the unwary buyer.[3]

2. Dracula in Bengal

Far more interesting are works which Indianize the Stoker novel. One of the earliest such is the 1949 *Bishalgarer Duhshasan* 'The Tyrant of Bishalgarh', by Hemendra Kumar Roy (1888-1963), a pioneer of genre fiction in Bengali for children.[4] The second one is entitled *Bidehi Atma*, 'The Disembodied Spirit' by Sunil Kumar Gangopadhyay, which was published in 1967.[5] The vampire count becomes Indian, hailing from 'Madhya Bharat' (modern-day Madhya Pradesh) in the first adaptation and from Assam in the second adaptation.

Dracula's name carries meaning, as all names originally did:

> Vlad, or Dracula, was born in 1431 in Transylvania into a noble family. His father was called "Dracul," meaning "dragon" or "devil" in Romanian because he belonged to the Order of the Dragon, which fought the Muslim Ottoman Empire. "Dracula" means "son of Dracul" in Romanian.[6]

In both the Bengali adaptations, the 'Count' is called 'Raja,' a generic term in Indian languages, whose meaning ranges from 'king' to '(local) chief'. Roy's 'Raja' is the Rajput *Rudrapratap Singha*, ruler of the once-independent (but no longer so, the first sentence of Roy's novel makes this clear) kingdom of *Bishalgarh*. *Rudra* translates as 'terrible',[7] and *Pratap* as 'might' or 'power'. The surname *Singha,* meaning 'lion', is a common title all over north India. The name therefore has connotations of the fearsome and the predatory. The name of the kingdom is a compound of *Bishal*, 'massive' and *garh*, 'fortress'. Gangopadhyay's Raja has the name *Kritanta Barma*, and he lives in the equally appropriately-named

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[3] Details of these publications are given in the Bibliography.

[4] Hemendra Kumar Roy, "The Tyrant of Bishalgarh" (Abhyuday Prakash Mandir, Calcutta: 1949; 3rd reprint: 1964; rpt. in Roy, *The Complete Ghost Stories for Adolescents*, Vol. 2 [Patra Bharati, Kolkata: 2006, rpt. 2007]) 50-118. All textual references are to the 2007 reprint, except when the foreword to the novel is referred to or quoted. This is only found in the stand-alone novel published by Abhyuday Prakash Mandir.

[5] Sunil Kumar Gangopadhyay, *The Disembodied Spirit* (Mandal Book House, Calcutta: 1967). All textual references are to this edition.

[6] "Dracula: The Terrifying Truth" – Infoplease www.infoplease.com/spot/**dracula**1.html**,** 21 May 2016. Emphases as in the original internet entry**.**

[7] Paradoxically, *Rudra* is also the name of the god *Shiva*, who is seen as the wrathful destroyer in the Hindu pantheon, and who has many ghosts in his service. Rudrapratap, like his Transylvanian prototype, does command the services of apparitions – like his three brides – and beasts.

Bhishangarh. *Kritanta* is another name for the Hindu god of death, *Yama*, who rules the underworld. The surname *Barma* is the title of a *kshatriya*, a person belonging to the warrior class in the Hindu caste system. *Bhishan* translates as 'terrible, horrible'. *Garh* has already been explained. Gangopadhyay's antagonist and the place he lives in have names which are more obviously suggestive when compared with Roy's.

Stephen D. Arata says that Dracula's 'lust for blood' denotes both 'the vampire's need for its special food, and also to the warrior's desire for conquest. The Count endangers Britain's integrity as a nation at the same time that he imperils the personal integrity of individual citizens.'[8] Dracula's attack is therefore a case, according to Arata, of reverse colonization.

Roy makes his vampire a Rajput, by implication associated with those who have historically looted Bengal and collaborated with the British, thereby raising issues related to the colonization of India. Dracula, in Stoker's novel, engages in reverse colonization, as noted above. In *The Tyrant of Bishalgarh*, the Rajput Vampire comes to attack Calcutta, at one time the capital of British India, but which lost that status to Delhi in 1911 precisely because Calcutta, as the capital city of Bengal, became the centre of what the British called 'terrorist' activities against British rule. The challenge of this invasion by a ([pro-] imperialist) vampire is taken up by two Bengalis, Benoy and Abinash-babu.[9] Benoy, given his profession of apprentice attorney, has some links with the establishment that British rule in India produced. It is precisely this link that Rudrapratap uses to acquire a base in Calcutta. It is Benoy's firm that helps him buy the house on the outskirts of the city. Abinash-babu, the amateur spiritualist and the Van Helsing figure, without whom Benoy would be helpless against Rudrapratap, has no such links whatsoever. Thus, it is Macaulay's effeminate Bengali who takes up the challenge of eliminating the threat posed by the Rajput (admired by and historically on the side of the British) Vampire without seeking any help whatsoever from the British-Indian establishment.

3. Sexuality in Roy's *Tyrant of Bishalgarh*

In an invaluable foreword to *The Tyrant of Bishalgarh*, Roy has this to say, among other things:

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[8] Stephen D. Arata, 'The Occidental Tourist: *Dracula* and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization', in Stoker, Bram, *Dracula* (1897, Norton Critical Edition, ed. Nina Auerbach & David J. Skal, W.W. Norton (New York, London: 1997), 465. All textual references are to this edition.

[9] The name of our Bengali Van Helsing is related to the adjective *abinashwar*, 'imperishable', while that of the Bengali Harker, *Benoy* denotes 'submission'! One wonders whether Roy chose these names deliberately, just as Gangopadhyay would choose the name of his Assamese Dracula.

> 'The Tyrant of Bishalgarh' … cannot be described quite as a translation of 'Dracula' … The original 'Dracula' is a text for adults. But I have had to write keeping children in view. I have totally omitted some characters and incidents of the original book. And in many places, there is no relation between my writing and the source-text – in such cases I have become the author of an original story.[10]

Roy is ostensibly writing for children. However, this foreword ends with a very curious sentence:

> Further, nowhere have I forgotten that 'Dracula' is an outdated novel and my readers are ultra-modern.

On the face of it, we have, in Roy, a Queer Rudrapratap even more persistently targeting the Bengali Harker, Benoy, than Stoker's Dracula, who, as noted by Craft, decorously switched to women once in England.[11] Our Rajput Vampire, while ordering his three brides away from Benoy, thunders, "No one has any right over this man apart from me!" (71) Also, once again restraining the brides outside Benoy's room, Roy's Rudrapratap, most interestingly, utters in Bengali the sentence Stoker omitted from the British edition, "Tonight is mine. Your night will come tomorrow." (81)[12] What is more, in Calcutta, every Saturday at dusk, Rudrapratap, in bat-shape, comes and perches on a jackfruit tree outside Benoy's house, and

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[10] This foreword is only to be found in the stand-alone edition of the novel published by Abhyuday Prakash Mandir. It occurs on the leaf after the title page, facing the one giving publication details. Note that at least one of the straight translations of Stoker cited in the section 'Dracula in Bengali' above also states that it is a collection for children.

[11] Christopher Craft, '"Kiss Me with Those Red Lips": Gender and inversion in Bram Stoker's Dracula', rpt. from Representations 8 (Fall 1984) in the Norton Dracula, 444-59.

[12] Dracula's words are quoted below as they appear in the 1899 American, rather than the 1897 British, edition:

'Back, back, to your own place! Your time is not yet come. Wait. Have patience. **Tonight is mine**. Tomorrow night, tomorrow night, is yours!' (52; emphasis ours, words added from fn. 2 on that page in Norton)

As the Norton editors say in their footnote to this speech, where they provide the sentence missing from the British edition, this is a bold statement 'that Dracula plans to feed on Jonathan. Stoker's deletion of the sentence was understandable, for it leads to a different novel, one probably unpublishable in 1897 England; Stoker may have imagined that the America that produced his hero Walt Whitman would be more tolerant of men feeding on men.'(52). In his 1872 letter to Whitman (which Stoker finally posted four years later!), Stoker did describe the American poet as 'a man who can be if he wishes father, and brother *and wife* to' Stoker's soul (Our emphasis. Quoted from the *Paris Review*, https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2016/10/31/something-blood-part-3/ 6 April 2021.

We are grateful to Vampire Scholar Andy Boylan for bringing this to our attention.

fixes his eyes – which Benoy recognizes as the Raja's – on Benoy's face. Benoy feels that someone is trying to drag him out of the house. Terrified, he moves away from the window. On one Saturday night,[13] Benoy hears his name being called. Suspicious ever since his return from Bishalgarh, he shines the torch out of his window, and sees a huge bat flying away. Add to this the fact that, in Calcutta, all of Rudrapratap's victims are male. The one victim, Pulinbihari, whom we actually see attacked, is in his bed when Rudrapratap, again in bat-shape, lies on top of him, sucking his blood, until surprised by the victim's wife. The scene is remarkably similar to the attack by the lesbian Carmilla/ Millarca on Bertha as portrayed in Le Fanu's vampire novella *Carmilla.* It is a man, General Spielsdorf, who interrupts the female vampire from feasting on a girl. It is Pulinbihari's wife who similarly interrupts the male Rudrapratap feasting on her husband. The Queer is, apparently, seen in homophobic light in Roy, as in Stoker.[14]

Roy's position is, however, far more complex than it appears at first sight. Turning to the antagonists of Rudrapratap, we find Roy indulging in the practice seen elsewhere in his adventure or detective narratives, where Roy's usual tendency is to depict his male heroes as bachelors who stringently shun domesticity in favour of adventure and sleuthing. Indeed, Abinash-babu, the Van Helsing figure in *The Tyrant of Bishalgarh*, is explicitly described as a man who has avoided the troublesome business that is marriage because, while the thrill of romancing a newly-wed bride is not all that bad, it is fast over, and once children enter the equation, all that a man can look forward to is domestic drudgery. Roy's fictional universe is a largely homosocial one, and in this universe, the heroes—Benoy and Abinash-babu in this particular novel—do not fret, as does Harker, over fiancées, because fiancées – Lucy and Mina – do not exist in this Bengali tale. Any relationship we see is between the men; it is bromance that rules the roost in Roy's works.[15]

It is the second encounter between Harker/Benoy and the three brides of Dracula/Rudrapratap that brings home to us the full irony of Roy describing his readership as 'ultramodern' in the foreword quoted above. The second appearance of the three brides in Stoker comes towards the end of the novel. The 'Crew of Light' is tracking Dracula to his lair in Transylvania. Having reached the Borgo Pass, Van Helsing

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[13] Saturdays and Tuesdays are, in Hindu mythology, associated with the goddess Kali, who is attended by ghosts. Saturday, called *Shanibaar* in Bengali and Hindi, is, additionally named after the god Shani, who was cursed by his wife, as a result of which, anyone he gazed on was destroyed. In other words, he had the evil eye. When the night call is heard by Benoy, it is actually 3 a.m. of the following Sunday by western standards, though it would still be Saturday night to an oriental mind.

[14] The implications of the power of the lesbian vampire are particularly disturbing in Le Fanu's tale. See E. Signorotti, 'Repossessing the Body: Transgressive Desire in "Carmilla" and "Dracula", *Criticism*, vol. 38, no. 4 (fall, 1966) 607-32, www.jstor.org/stable/23118160, accessed 18-10-2017.

[15] Also, in one of the tales featuring Bimal and Kumar, the two globe-trotting swashbuckling heroes of Roy, they practically drive a *ghatak* or professional matchmaker out of their home because of the man's attempts to convince them to get married.

and Mina Harker, the latter already infected by Dracula, proceed towards their ultimate destination. As night falls, Van Helsing draws a ring round where Mina is sitting, passing over it some of the holy wafer, breaking it into fine pieces:

> Then, alas! … the wheeling figures of mist and snow came closer, but keeping ever without the Holy circle. Then they began to materialize, till … there were before me in actual flesh the same three women that Jonathan saw in the room, when they would have kissed his throat … They smiled ever at poor dear Madam Mina; and … they twined their arms and pointed to her, and said in those so sweet tingling tones …
> 'Come, sister. Come to us. Come! Come!' In fear I turned to my poor Madam Mina, and my heart with gladness leapt like flame; for oh! the terror in her sweet eyes, the repulsion, the horror, told … God be thanked she was not, yet, of them … They could not approach me … nor Madam Mina whilst she remained within the ring, which she could leave no more than they could enter. (317)

The temptation that the three brides subject Mina to is both incestuous and queer, and Van Helsing approvingly records how Mina is more than impervious to both aspects; she expresses horror and repulsion towards them, and is 'not … of them'.

In Roy too the second encounter occurs during Benoy's second journey to Bishalgarh to kill Rudrapratap, when the brides appear before him and attempt to seduce him into abandoning his protective amulet (Roy's equivalent of Harker's cross). Instead of Van Helsing and Mina – a man and a woman – we have two men pursuing Rudrapratap. Out in the open, Abinash-babu, like Van Helsing, draws a ring on the ground while chanting a *mantra* or incantation Benoy cannot decipher. Benoy is told that they are completely safe within the ring, but since the vampire has physically touched Benoy, the Raja can delude him in spite of the amulet he wears. Unlike Van Helsing, Abinash-babu calmly goes off to sleep. As in Stoker, the three brides materialize. This is how Benoy describes them:

> The three young women had bodies like undulating creepers. My eyes had never beheld such exquisite beauty. Fairy-tale princesses were nothing to them. Their bodies were as white as the wings of swans, and the eyes of one gleamed with a roseate light, another's with purple, and the third with blue. I had never known that eyes could gleam like that.
> The three young women came close and stood next to each other.
> The roseate-eyed said in a voice which sounded like the playing of a stringed instrument, "Friend, can't you recognize me?"
> I recognized her, but I was struck dumb.
> The purple-eyed now approached, and said in a voice sounding like a flowing brook, "Come, friend, come here. The moon wants to play with the children of the earth!"

The blue-eyed imploringly stretched out her hands, and, sounding like a surging wave, said, "Friend, o friend! Can't you recognize me today? That day, you looked so wonderful! But today I see some ugly thing made of copper dangling round your neck. Give it to me – I'll throw it into the river. Does such an ugly thing fit such a beautiful body? Give, give it to me, don't bear its weight anymore!" saying this she outstretched two hands as soft as petals.

I arose, tottering like a drunkard, oblivious of the whole world. Unknown to myself I disengaged the amulet from my throat and moved forward to step out of the ring.

The next instant, a massive pull of a hand threw me to the ground.

Angered beyond control, Abinash-babu shouted, "Thank God I suddenly woke up, or else what would have happened to you? Whom were you going to hand the amulet to outside the ring? You are a fool; I can't find words to abuse you. Sit quietly here!"

This time it wasn't fiendish laughter; suddenly from who knows where and in whose voice, arose a howl of pain never heard even in hell.

Immediately, those three exquisitely beautiful but unearthly female shapes moved further and further away. As one watched, their bodies started dissolving like some aerial substance into air. Where were the roseate, the purple, or the blue lights? A strange lamentation started sounding increasingly like a distant echo. Then even that faded away. Only the normal and full moonlight remained. (108-9)

This is far more drawn out and threatening than in Stoker. Unlike the strongly-resistant Mina, Benoy succumbs, and is barely saved by Abinash-babu who fortuitously wakes up at the last moment. The seduction is heterosexual, not queer as it was in Stoker, but it is foiled by another man.

That it is the intervention of Benoy's same-sex companion and mentor which stops the young man from crossing the circle imparts a distinct queerness to their relationship. Benoy and Abinash-babu's camaraderie resembles the erastes-and-eromenos dynamic. 'According to the paradigm', says John F. Makowski, 'the older man, the *erastes*, partners with a younger man, the *eromenos* or *paidika*, in a relationship marked by asymmetry in that the *erastes*, being more mature, is something of a mentor to the younger and serves as role model and teacher of civic and military virtue…The chief hallmark of the *eromenos* is the physical beauty of youth along with the desire for the edification that association with the *erastes* will bring'.[16] Such a relationship was called pederasty, which Makowski sums up as 'homoerotic love in its conventional ancient form', 'whereby an older male loves a younger one'.[17]

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[16] Makowski 2014, 491
[17] Ibid., 490

This description is applicable almost in its entirety to Abinash-babu and Benoy's relationship. The asymmetry is obvious in the constant guidance Benoy needs in his fight against Rudrapratap from Abinash-babu, with instructions to fight vampires taking on both military (since it involves combat; in the end, there is even a fight and shootout between Benoy and Abinash-babu on the one hand and the gypsies who serve Rudrapratap on the other) and civic (because Rudrapratap's presence is a threat to the entire populace of Kolkata) significance. Benoy's physical beauty is mentioned, if only in passing, by the Brides during their seduction of him, and edification comes in plenty for Benoy in his conversation with Abinash-babu, most notably after the said seduction scene. Finally, there is the age gap between them—Abinash-babu is in his fifties while Benoy is much younger, as is the case in any erastes-eromenos relationship.

Further, unlike those of Dracula, the victims of Rudrapratap die rather than turn into vampires themselves. Dracula is threatening because he can turn others into queer beings like himself, but Rudrapratap does nothing of the sort, his own queerness notwithstanding. He does not 'spread' vampirism/queerness, thereby lessening the possibility of reading queerness as a contagious disease, and challenging the very notion that sexual orientation is something transmitted (like a disease) rather than being something innate. Therefore, the associations between homosexuality and pathology are far less pronounced as far as Rudrapratap is concerned. Moreover, unlike Dracula, he makes no grandstanding statements about taking over the human race and making them all "mine", which goes with the aforementioned fact that his victims do not become vampires. Rudrapratap, at worst, is like the wolves he commands: an animal on the hunt rather than a perversion intent on spreading itself like a plague. Furthermore, Abinash-babu is not a doctor, so the queerness-versus-medicine underpinnings of the antagonism between Van Helsing and Dracula are largely absent from the fight between Abinash-babu and Rudrapratap. Most importantly, Renfield is eliminated altogether from Roy's novel, leaving even less of a possibility for queerness to be read as a disease.

Finally, a study of Roy's other writings reveals his acute, and sympathetic, awareness of alternative sexuality. [18] One may therefore plausibly argue that the inclusion of homoeroticism in *The Tyrant of Bishalgarh* is not an inadvertent outcome of de-sexing the novel for children, but rather, a conscious attempt to produce at least a more homosocial, if not a more queer-friendly text than Stoker's novel.

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[18] The early novel *The Light of the Will o' the Wisp* (1918) shows a clear awareness of same-sex attraction between women, while the much later "The (Female) Beloved and the (Male) Lover/Loved One" (published in the mid-1950s) is a fascinating study in cross-dressing and transgender love through the colourful figure of the apparently subaltern social outcast Piru Thakur.

4. Sunil Kumar Gangopadhyay's Adaptation

Ironically, a second Bengali take on *Dracula*, published eighteen years after *The Tyrant of Bishalgarh*, opted to follow in the footsteps of Stoker rather than challenge his views the way Roy did. *Bidehi Atma* (*The Disembodied Spirit*, 1967) by Sunil Kumar Gangopadhyay, appeared in the same year in which the British decriminalized homosexuality even as its former colonies (like India) held on to the homophobic laws. Gangopadhyay replaces Transylvania with the remote regions of Assam, where the fictional realm of Bhishangarh is ruled by Kritanta Barma, the counterpart of Count Dracula. In the fort-like abode of this Assamese vampire, the Bengali Harker, now called Ashoke Lahiri, encounters, not three Brides, but three *male* subordinates of Kritanta Barma, one fair-complexioned and the other two dark. Once the fair one sinks his fangs into Ashoke's throat, the fury of Kritanta Barma takes on a new resonance of jealousy at being upstaged by a subordinate when the Raja drives the threesome away, with the proprietorial, "This man is mine, yes mine!" (Gangopadhyay, 43) One of the three, far more defiantly than Stoker's or Roy's Brides, shouts back, "Why will only you alone take him? A man has come after so many days – give us our share too." Far more explicitly than Dracula or Rudrapratap, Kritanta Barma says, "Once I get him to do all I want, I will give him to you. Then you can suck blood from his body as you like" (Ibid., 43-44). The second time Ashoke sees them outside his door, Kritanta Barma, like Rudrapratap, and Dracula in the American edition of Stoker's novel, and, again, more explicitly than in either, says, "All the blood tonight is mine. Come tomorrow. Tomorrow's night is allotted to you" (Ibid., 55).

All of this queers Kritanta Barma beyond any scope of doubt, but the trouble lies elsewhere: unlike Roy, where not only the antagonist but also the protagonists are queer, Gangopadhyay restricts queerness to the vampiric villains only. The Crew of Light in *Bidehi Atma* is as heterosexual as the one in Stoker's novel, though Gangopadhyay takes a different route to ensure this heterosexuality. Ashoke, the Harker of this book, is portrayed as a married man with a son, and this son, Aloke, is the Mina Harker figure here. This has the result of assuring readers that Ashoke is heterosexual (unlike the unmarried Benoy in Roy, with his attachment to an older man, Abinash-babu). Besides, by rendering this heterosexual character's son vulnerable to the queer Kritanta Barma, homosexuality is turned into a threat that must be eliminated for the sake of heterosexual marriage and parenthood to survive. Similarly, Lucy is turned into Shibu, the younger brother of Tarun, the Arthur Holmwood counterpart. Shibu's mother is also present, thus ensuring that this too is a 'normal', heterosexual household which, like Ashoke's, is under threat from the queer vampire. Thus, when Ashoke, Tarun, Arup Kar (John Seward), Sanatan Mitra (Quincey Morris) and Shankar Chakrabarti (Van Helsing) come

together to rescue Aloke from the vampires, the three latter men become, presumably, surrogate uncles to the young boy who must be stopped from being seduced into queerness/vampirism.

Even more unfortunately, Gangopadhyay seems to have entirely internalized Stoker's nineteenth-century view of homosexuality as pathology. The victims of Kritanta Barma, like qthose of Dracula, become vampires themselves; worse still, they seem to prey only on members of their own sex, thus strengthening the image of the homosexual as a violent figure who attempts to swell his cabal by seduction, coercion, and transformation.[19] Shibu, after being vampirized, is reported to be feeding on both boys and girls (Ibid., 99) but we see him attack only boys (Ibid., 102-106). Furthermore, Shankar Chakrabarti and Arup Kar are, like Van Helsing and Seward, doctors, and their expertise is sought in the fight against the queer vampires, which only underscores the influence of the medical model of homosexuality that influenced Stoker, and, it is obvious, Gangopadhyay too. Renfield also shows up in *Bidehi Atma* under the name Binayak, who, like Renfield, utters rhapsodies about Kritanta Barma. Therefore, in this adaptation, the warring sides are those of 'healthy', heterosexual men, and 'diseased' queer ones, and the outcome is a foregone conclusion. Strangely, Gangopadhyay includes a belated appearance by the three Brides of the vampire towards the end of the book, which means it is unlikely that he turned Mina and Lucy into boys merely to keep his work free of heterosexual seduction scenes. The Brides in this adaptation may address Aloke as "brother" (Ibid., 160), but like the use of the term "sister" by Dracula's Brides to address Mina, the feelings expressed are hardly fraternal/sororial.

Gangopadhyay is so singularly focussed on Kritanta Barma's queerness that he is unable to add any more dimensions to the character. Since the book is set in the 1960s, and the action spread across Assam and Bengal, the tensions and clashes between the Assamese and Bengali-speaking communities that were taking place at the time could have possibly added a fascinating subtext to the tale of an Assamese vampire and the Bengali Crew of Light fighting to bring him down. But for Gangopadhyay, Assam seems to be no more than a mysterious, quasi-exotic setting (much as Transylvania was to Stoker and his fellow countrymen in the nineteenth century), and consequently, Kritanta Barma's ethnicity turns out to have no separate significance. *Bidehi Atma* has little interest in using the vampire figure's background to offer some insight into the socio-political circumstances of the era it was written in, in contrast with the way Roy uses Rudrapratap's Rajput ancestry to tacitly address the camaraderie of interest between the British and the Indian ruling class, or even the way Stoker aligns the Count with Russia to remind

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[19] The only exception is Kritanta Barma stalking a young girl at Sodepur, just as Dracula stalked a young woman at Hyde Park corner. But, neither here, nor anywhere else in Gangopadhyay, are we actually shown a woman victim.

his readers of the threat that country posed to Britain's colonial interests.[20] The contrast with Roy's work is notable in other ways as well. Rudrapratap's villainy stems from the fact that he kills, and that he is in league with the colonizers, neither of which has much to do with his sexual proclivities. But as Kritanta Barma's bite spreads his 'affliction' instead of merely claiming the victims' lives, and since little is made of his being Assamese and no commentary, subtle or prominent, offered about the perils of parochialism as manifested in the then-raging Bengali-Assamese conflict, it is his queerness that attracts the maximum attention, and hence becomes the defining tenet of his villainy.

This proves, more than anything else, that belonging to a newer generation or writing in the later half of the twentieth century does not guarantee progressive thinking. *Bidehi Atma* is dedicated to three men, one of whom is Amiya Kumar Chakrabarti, to whom Hemendra Kumar Roy dictated – on account of pen cramp – *Bishalgarh-er Duhshasan*, and who subsequently published it from his publishing house Abhyuday Prakash Mandir.[21] It is possible, then, to assume that Gangopadhyay had read Roy's adaptation, and found the latter's embrace of homosexuality a bit too much to bear. Little else explains his fastidious adherence to the homophobic tenets of Stoker's original.

The homoeroticism in Roy, therefore, is likely more deliberate than accidental, much like the violence and the heterosexual liaisons. Considered in conjunction with the more explicit references to homosexuality in his adult novels (See above, fn. 16), the most legitimate conclusion to arrive at, on the basis of the contents of *Bishalgarh-er Duhshasan*, is that subverting the homophobia of Stoker was part of Roy's stated aim of updating an 'outdated novel'.

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[20] The Count's East European ancestry links him to Russia, and this link is highlighted when he travels from Transylvania to England on a Russian ship called the *Demeter* (Norton *Dracula*, 79). Relations between Britain and Russia had been strained throughout the nineteenth century, largely owing to what has come to be known as the Eastern Question.

[21] Chakrabarti himself relates this incident in the introduction to Vol. 12 of the collected writings of Roy being published by Asia Publishing Co., Kolkata. *The Writings of Hemendra Kumar Roy*, Vol. 12 (Kolkata: Asia Publishing Co., 1992)

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Constructing the Vampire Myth in Cinema:
A Short Analysis of *Nosferatu* (1922),
Dracula (1931) and *Dracula* (1958)

Yuri GARCIA[1]

The present work aims to present a brief analysis of the films Noseferatu (1922), Dracula (1931) and Dracula (1958). Our hypothesis is that these productions are the core of cinematic vampirical mythology in our culture. The idea of what would be a vampire can be traced through ancient myths along different cultures and was highlighted through urban legends in the middle ages. But it was only after Bram Stoker's Dracula (1897) that this character started to take o more delimited form. If Stoker's novel can be a species of basis for the vampire myth, cinema would take this entity to a whole new level. In an audio-visual medium, Dracula stood as the most famous vampire and these three films would be the most important to start to form the figure of mediatic (and most of all, cinematic) vampire.

Keywords: *Dracula, Vampire, Nosferatu, Cinema, Literature*

1. Introduction

The vampire is an entity that manifests itself in mediatic narratives with an extremely mutable figure. Its origin can be traced back to some ancient myths – like Lilith, Lamia or Kali (Lecoutex 2005). In the middle ages, the image of terror that inhabits our imaginary with more persistence begins to be better developed.

In *Our Vampires, Ourselves* (1995), Nina Auerbach, traces a brief archeology of the figure of the vampire throughout cinema and literature - emphasizing the products with the greatest public reach - relating his image to the cultural systems that surround him. The author points out that each time and place has the vampire it deserves, and more than that, it is a reflection of ourselves and the space and time in which we find ourselves. From this study, we can try to understand what

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are the factors that shape the vampire in each moment and how we use this figure to transport our fears, beliefs, desires and repressions.

By becoming a common character in our culture through various representations, the vampire is no longer a properly constructed image and becomes a series of characteristics and models for the formation of a new image that fits the "vampire pattern." We call the "vampiric pattern" the set of ideas that are attributed to the model necessary to characterize this being. We can highlight the pallor, sensuality, white and sharp teeth, beauty, ugliness, similarity with animals, different coloring in the eyes as some of the physical aspects that promote this range of images. Among other well-known vampiric characteristics are superhuman powers such as: extraordinary strength, speed, agility, power of hypnosis, power to fly, transformation into mist and diverse animals, control of wild animals and others.

The vampire depends on using some of these characteristics (physical, superpowers and more) to form an image. His immortality as a figure in our imagination lies in part in the possibility of adapting to several different realities. "we consume the vampire because it is present in our imaginary and in our collective unconscious." (Zanini 2007, 16)

In 1897, the Irishman Bram Stoker published *Dracula.* Over the years, the book managed to become increasingly part of our culture, bringing the title character as the maximum representation of the vampire. The publication stood out in Gothic literature in the Victorian era and its repercussions continue to progress, and can be seen in its various products appropriated by different media (video games, series, films, comic books etc) in mass culture.

Bram Stoker did a detailed research for his book, which provides us with a total setting for the story, in addition to geographical characteristics with incredible precision for the time. The rich historical immersion presents us with specific data that inserted into the narrative result in very descriptive plot. The character Dracula would have been based (though without any concrete evidence) on a prince of the same name, whose legends are famous in Eastern Europe.

In 1972, researchers Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu, when looking for a 15th century pamphlet to use as material for their book *In Search of Dracula* (1994), came across a discovery that would be an object of extreme importance in future research on the work of Stoker, the author's notes for the development of *Dracula*. After an organization and systematization of the notes, with indications and footnotes to facilitate the understanding, Robert Eighteen-Bisang and Elizabeth Miller published the notes under the title of *Bram Stoker's Notes for Dracula: A Facsimile Edition* (2007). The book points to research by Bram Stoker on winds, storms and things related to sailing, to describe Dracula's voyage on the ship

Demeter and a study of European superstitions, vampires and Romanian customs. However, the connection with the historical character of the same name appears to be more subtle than is often believed.

"Dracula" was in fact one of the names of a 15th century Wallachian prince, also known as Vlad Tepeş, Vlad III or Vlad Basarab. However, the story was not based on this character. In fact, Stoker's notes point out that during the development of the book, the author intended to name his character "Count Wampyr." Upon encountering William Wilkinson's *An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia* on shelf number 0.1097 in the Whitby library, however, he became interested in the name due to its connection with the word "demon."

Despite the importance of Bram Stoker's work and the impact that his vampire created in popular culture, the description provided in the book is very different from the one that our imaginary is used to and that cinema made popular.

> His face was a strong—a very strong—aquiline, with high bridge of the thin nose and peculiarly arched nostrils; with lofty domed forehead, and hair growing scantily round the temples but profusely elsewhere. His eyebrows were very massive, almost meeting over the nose, and with bushy hair that seemed to curl in its own profusion. The mouth, so far as I could see it under the heavy moustache, was fixed and rather cruel-looking, with peculiarly sharp white teeth; these protruded over the lips, whose remarkable ruddiness showed astonishing vitality in a man of his years. For the rest, his ears were pale, and at the tops extremely pointed; the chin was broad and strong, and the cheeks firm though thin. The general effect was one of extraordinary pallor. (Stoker 2013)

We then seek to analyze, through the book and three specific films some of the transformations that occurred in the different versions. We can point out influencing factors such as changing media support, the time it was done, limiting resources, among others. Among the variations observed, we highlight the change in the central character (as seen above), both in appearance and in his motivations, as well as changes in the central plot and approach of the works, ranging from terror, drama, romance, comedy, action and adventure; classic and pop; mainstream, cult and trash. The films chosen to be analyzed are *Nosferatu* (1922), *Dracula* (1931) and *Dracula* (1958). We intend to demonstrate the importance of these productions as central to the development of the vampiric mythology.

In 1922, director F.W. Murnau presented *Nosferatu*. The film is considered one of the masterpieces of expressionist cinema, in addition to being the first adaptation of the book that survived. Although it is not generally known, an earlier

version was made in 1921 in Hungary called *Drakula*, but without any existing copy, due to copyright problems with Stoker's widow (Rhodes 2010). Facing the same problem, Murnau changed the names of the characters and the title of the film, which did not prevent most of the copies of the work from being destroyed. However, some appeared in the United States, allowing the film to survive.

In 1931, director Tod Browning presented actor Bela Lugosi as Dracula, this time with Universal acquiring the rights, making the title and characters retain their original name. Considered as a classic not only of horror cinema, but also of Hollywood, the film launched the villain embodied by the Hungarian actor as the figure of the vampire present in today's imagination: an aristocrat, wearing robes and a huge black cloak, black hair combed back and an Eastern European accent. A seductive character attacking its prey with fatal accuracy.

In 1958, the British production company Hammer released *Dracula* directed by Terence Fisher and starring Christopher Lee. Lee's Dracula would be marked by his first appearance with sharp teeth and a bloody mouth. The use of colors in the story, which, 27 years earlier, had been portrayed in black and white, had a great impact on its frightened viewers, marking Lee as a great figure of terror. The actor was the biggest representative of the Dracula character in cinema, playing the vampire Count on ten different occasions.

2. *Nosferatu* (1922)

In 1922, director F.W. Murnau initiated a process that would leave a mark in the history of cinema. Beginning his career as a director in 1919 in Germany, he became one of the biggest names in expressionism three years later with his eleventh film. *Nosferatu* is an unauthorized adaptation of Bram Stoker's novel.

Florence Balcombe, Bram Stoker's widow, owned the copyright to her husband's work. Trying to avoid paying royalties, Prana Film producers Enrico Dieckmann and Albin Grau hired screenwriter Henrik Galeen[2] to develop a script with a few modifications to avoid copyright problems. Among these changes, we find the title (*Nosferatu* instead of *Dracula*), the place invaded by the vampire (Wismar in Germany instead of Whitby and London in England), and the names of the characters: Dracula becomes Graf Orlok; Jonathan Harker is Hutter; Mina becomes Ellen Hutter. The others, Lucy included, not also have their names changed, but also their role reduced. Arthur and Quincey are eliminated altogether.

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[2] Henrik Galeen (1881-1949) was screenwriter for some Horror movies in German like *Der Golem* (1915) and *Der Student von Prag* (1926), which he also directed.

Such changes present multiple possibilities to interpret the film. Ken Gelder analyzes *Nosferatu* in Chapter 5 of his book *Reading the Vampire* (2001). According to Gelder, German patriotism is highlighted in Murnau's work by presenting the vampire as a threat to Germany originating from another country. In Gelder's analysis, we also notice other important associations. Among them, the most significant would be perhaps the relationship between vampires and the bubonic plague suggested by Murnau, again referring to the possibility of a plague striking his beloved country.

The relationship between Orlok and Ellen is also worth investigating. Orlok not only presents an older, more primitive culture invading modern German civilization, just like Stoker's Count terrorizes technologically superior Britain. Gelder highlights the fact that the vampire is a predator of youth: the ideal prey for Nosferatu is young and virginal, while he himself is a much older creature.

When discussing this relationship between the victim and the predator, Gelder alerts us to the fact that Ellen offers herself as a sacrifice for the good of the fatherland:

> The decision is focused onto Ellen: killing the vampire becomes her responsibility alone – but it is also, by implication, a civic duty. Nosferatu now occupies the neighboring building and stares longingly into her bedroom. Sending Jonathan away, Ellen allows him to come *into* her bedroom, so that her civic function is now clearly channeled through her sexuality. To keep German property 'pure' – free of vampires – she must allow her body to become impure. (Gelder 2001, 97)

While encountering the vampire is already a daunting task as such, portraying the impurity that is inherent to Ellen's sacrifice makes the relationship between purity and impurity, virgin and prostitute even more complex.

> By making Ellen's decision to let the vampire into her bedroom central to the narrative, *Nosferatu* inevitably invokes the conventional presentation of woman as virgin and whore – she *is* 'pure' (and is therefore appalled by what she has to do) but she is also not *really* 'pure' (because she makes her bed available to the vampire). (Gelder 2001, 97)

These changes insert several meanings into the wide range of interpretive possibilities. Whether the discussed modifications in the German work are essential aspects of the message that Murnau, Henrik Galeen and/or Albin Grau intended to convey or whether they rather only occurred because their directors

hoped to avoid problems with Stoker's widow, is a mystery that died with them.

Despite these measures, after receiving an anonymous letter from Berlin, Florence Stoker filed a lawsuit against the film makers and in 1925 obtained an order that all copies must be destroyed. Some prints reached the US, however, and were publicly shown, much to the widow's chagrin. Only a decade later, during the planning of *Dracula's Daughter*, it was established that *Dracula* had no copyright protection in the US as Stoker had failed to send copies to the Copyright Office in time.

German expressionism was a vanguard movement inspired by the expressionist aesthetic arts and *Nosferatu* appeared as a landmark of that same movement. Considered as a work inspired by paintings of German romanticism, especially by Caspar David Friedrich, however, it presents a more hybrid contour. Among the changes found in the version of Murnau, it is worth highlighting one in particular: while Stoker described the vampire as a shadow-less being, the director constantly shows Orlok's shadow. "The shadows of German expressionism attain their most haunting manifestation in Murnau's images." (Perez 1998, 148).

In some instances, Orlok's shadow appears alone, materializing as another creature terrorizing its victims. "It is as a shadow, a shadow ascending the stairs and extending its long clawed arm toward the door, that the vampire comes to the wife in her bedroom; and as a shadow he grasps the palpitant heart within her breast." (Perez 1998, 148) .

The use of shadows, name changes and small modifications in the story are not the only variations found in *Nosferatu.* The vampire's description is also different from that found in the book. In the film, he is tall, thin, pale, with long arms and fingers and large, pointed nails, looking more like a hybrid between a skeleton and an animal (a rodent due to his teeth) than a human. Its similarity with a rat increases its assimilation with the plague, which in *Nosferatu* underlines a relationship between vampire and disease. We note that Stoker's Dracula has the appearance of a man, showing his monstrosity only in his acts, speech and his macabre powers. In Murnau's adaptation, his monstrosity is made explicit in his image, possibly a characteristic reflection of the artistic movement of German expressionist cinema, which flirts with the bizarre, the macabre, the scary through its aesthetics. Max Schreck's terrifying and striking performance led to rumors that he would be a vampire in real life, an idea that inspired E. Elias Merhige's film *Shadow of the Vampire* (2000). It is worth mentioning here the curiosity that the German word "Schreck" means "fright." In other words, the name of the actor itself already evokes the ambiance of horror.

Nosferatu is a film of sensations, beautiful and at the same time ugly. A visceral film that challenges our voyeurism in a disturbing way, that inhibits and inflates our scopic drive. The repulsive and monstrous image of a rodent reflects his villainy. A look, a shadow and the vampire's very appearance show his intentions, while his prey sleeps soundly. In the film, nature does not have the same relationship with Count Orlok (Dracula). For the first time, she appears as his great enemy. The sun makes its debut as a vampire slayer in an epic ending in which we see the destruction of Orlok with his birth. Without representations, only the material impact on the enemy's skin, which dies and inaugurates a new trauma in the life of future vampires.

The end of *Nosferatu* sets a new standard. The sun becomes a new threat, next to the crucifixes and garlic wielded as weapons by enemies. It does not only limit performance; if in Stoker's *Dracula*, vampires could freely roam about by day, but were stronger at night, now they have to fear death from simply being outside during daylight hours. Books and films begin to explore new scenarios and create deaths, burns, use of sunscreen, shiny skin and several other new features.

Some readings of the ending created by Murnau point out it is a metaphor for a burning film. The vampire has a direct connection with the light in this work. The repeated use of threatening shadows shows us that just like cinema, this vampire needs the use of light for his materiality, but he also suffers from the effect of the sun. "This suggests that the vampire is made up of similar properties as film itself." (Abbott 2004, 20).

Nosferatu is a film, therefore materially vulnerable, as was drastically demonstrated by the destruction of almost all existing prints. Although the first vampire in cinema and of the debut of the sun as an enemy can be interpreted in many different ways, it remains indisputable that the first Dracula in cinema introduced numerous characteristics that soon became fixtures of literary and cinematic vampire mythology.

"*Nosferatu* also added its own iconography that remain associations within vampire films: the dark and foreboding shadows, the prolonged movements of the vampire, the 'reaction shots' that occur when a moment of horror occurs." (Beresford 2008, 142).

3. *Dracula* (1931)

In the Hollywood film industry, Carl Laemmle Jr. had a reputation for spending a fortune on films that did not earn back their cost. With *Dracula*, however, he was responsible for one of the most iconic movies ever to appear, and for the famous golden age of horror at Universal Pictures. He believed that Stoker's

book had enormous potential to become a successful film in the United States. His initial intention was to make a film in the style of the silent movie success of 1925, *The Phantom of the Opera* with actor Lon Chaney, based on the French novel by by Gaston Leroux.

Director Tod Browning had been called into the project due to his good relationship with Lon Chaney, the intended actor for the role of Dracula. However, Chaney was diagnosed with throat cancer in 1928 and died in 1930. After the Great Depression, Laemmle was forced to change the planning of his film and reduce the budget for his production of Stoker's work. Given the successful adaptation of the Broadway play by Hamilton Deane and John L. Balderston, the solution found was to rely on the theatrical version that would make it possible to cut some costs. Universal ended up acquiring the exclusive rights to the book and the stage plays for 40,000 USD.

With Lon Chaney's death, the producer was looking for a new protagonist. Among some major names like Paul Muni and Chester Morris, the Hungarian actor Bela Lugosi was the underdog. Although Bela played the role in the theatrical version for Broadway and received good reviews, neither the director nor the producer favored his choice. However, Lugosi had pledged to receive only $ 500.00 a week, and got the role. The author Matthew Beresford (2008) highlights these two changes as essential for the development of the image of the vampire in cinema:

> […] in 1924, a theatre version of *Dracula* was released in the form of Hamilton Deane and John Balderston's *Dracula: The Vampire Play* and, although an extremely spare version of *Dracula* (set in only two locations: Dr Seward's parlour and Carfax Abbey), the play was a great success and was instrumental in persuading Universal Studios to create *Dracula* on the big screen. It was this version, written by Tod Browning and released in 1931, and starring the Hungarian actor Bela Lugosi as Count Dracula, that transformed the image of the vampire forever. With the stage version, Deane realized that the opera cloak would not only have a great dramatic effect but could be used to cover hidden trap-doors as Dracula disappeared under the stage. Lugosi decided to carry the prop over into the screen version and the cape has now become as iconic for the vampire as fanged teeth or the stake that pierces the heart. (Beresford 2008, 143-144)

Indeed, the image of the famous vampire became completely attached do the character created by Bela Lugosi.

> For many viewers, the Hungarian-born Bela Lugosi might well be the 'original' Dracula: this is often where vampire recognition begins, in the role

> and image (and voice) that Lugosi perfected in the theatre and which continued to be marketed well after his death. (Gelder 2001, 91)

This image constructed by Lugosi proved to be of great impact on popular culture. On the other side, the actor's career became marked by the villain portrait and the horror genre, and, above all, Lugosi became the most famous incarnation of the vampire. Even though he tried to get rid of this label, Lugosi is forever recognized for being Dracula. He was buried on August 16, 1956 wearing the cape that immortalized him in cinema.

> Vampires had, of course, occupied much of Bela Lugosi's time since he first portrayed Dracula onstage in the Hamilton Deane–John L. Balderston play in 1927. After that came West Coast appearances in the role in 1928, 1929, and 1930, after which he played the role in the 1931 film at Universal Studios. (Rhodes 2009, 9)

A famous urban legend of cinema says that Bela Lugosi did not speak English and had memorized his lines phonetically. The actor had been in the United States since 1919, however, and already spoke English fluently, even though he still had his famous Eastern European accent.

The production of the film was chaotic, with director Tod Browning letting director Karl Freund take over much of the footage (for unknown reasons, as Browning was famous for his commitment and meticulousness). Even so, *Dracula* became a great horror classic and leveraged the production of other films from the Universal Pictures monster collection.

After the film's premiere at the *Roxy Theater*, news broke that some audience members had passed out during the film's horror scenes. This publicity, orchestrated by the studio, aroused enormous interest in the public and ensured a large number of onlookers filling the movie theaters. The success of the film not only served to start the golden era of Universal horror, but also started a series of films about the character.

After Bela Lugosi's appearance in his Eastern European accent and dress, Stoker's character gained more notoriety. Even other vampires began to be associated with the image created by Lugosi and Dracula ended up standing out as the main vampire in the history of cinema and literature, and finally, of mass culture.

Currently, Lugosi's image is a trademark of the vampire and his character has served as inspiration for numerous films that have emerged later. After the 1931 film, *Dracula* gained worldwide fame and the Count became one of the characters

of literature most adapted to cinema. The number of vampire impersonations was massive and reached even greater amounts after the 1960s, when Stoker's work became public domain in all countries.[3]

4. *Dracula* (1958)

The small English film company Hammer Film Productions, after its success with *The Curse of Frankenstein* (1957), reviving a monster portrayed by Universal in the 30s based on Mary Shelley's Gothic novel, decided to attempt another classic horror villain depicted by Universal, equally based on a work of Gothic literature. This time, the character would be Dracula, the vampire immortalized in Bela Lugosi's skin.

The quartet of the previous film returned to the production of the new film: director Terence Fisher, screenwriter Jimmy Sangster and actors Peter Cushing and Christopher Lee. In this version released in 1958, in addition to some changes in the plot, the central character was not the vampire, but Van Helsing. The actor Peter Cushing portrayed the vampire hunter in a way never seen before. It would serve as a basis to form several evil fighting characters in the innumerable appearances of classic horror monsters in action films – like *Van Helsing* (2004).

Peter Cushing's Van Helsing escapes the image created by Stoker and portrayed in the 1930s of an older scholar who uses his experience and intellect against the vampire. This time, we have a true vampire hunter who not only possesses advanced scientific and mythical intelligence and knowledge, but also an athlete's fitness. Lee's Dracula is the antagonist that uses some characteristics of the renowned version of Lugosi but also inserts innovations that ended up being used in almost all later vampire films. However, before analyzing the characteristics that emerged in the Christopher Lee villain, it is important to highlight here the main innovation of the Hammer film, the use of colors to portray the vampire who had become famous in black-and-white films.

The importance of color is obvious when we remember the vampire's diet. Terence Fisher's film, facing censors of the time who imposed strict codes regarding the violence and sexuality shown in films, explicitly displays blood. In a way, Hammer's disobedience in producing a film that brings a dose of sexuality and violence above what is allowed is one of the main factors responsible for the success of Dracula. The producer became known for this and increased the dose in the next productions.

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[3] Previousy, the book was in the public domain only in the US.

> The making of *Dracula* was not without its restrictions; the censoring board demanded that there should be no scenes depicting the vampires sinking their teeth into the victim's neck and that the act of staking the vampire should be depicted out of shot. Also, they demanded that women should be properly clad and there be no scenes of a sexual nature. Sex was something they believed there was no room for in a horror film. After watching a preliminary black and white rough cut of the film, the Board made further requests to remove the scenes showing the staking of Lucy, Dracula's seduction of Mina and the closing destruction scene of Dracula.
> Hammer's response was to remind them that the x certificate suggested for *Dracula* would automatically prevent anyone under the age of sixteen from seeing the film and to argue that the audience expected a certain amount of horror and gore from the film. They also suggested that the proposed cuts would remove the excitement and shocks that the audience were expecting. (Beresford 2008, 146-147)

A curiosity is the fact that the first adaptation of the book in a British production does neither take place in England nor in Transylvania, and inserts its vampire in an unknown city, apparently in Germany. Still, the Dracula personified by Lee has a strong British accent, although the character has only a few lines in the film. Aside from the start when he receives Jonathan Harker at his castle, Hammer's Dracula does not seem too concerned with speaking, only with his maleficent actions.

In fact, in addition to Christopher Lee's British accent, we see a Dracula who, although wearing Lugosi's costume, has a different posture. This time, we have a strong and virile vampire, with an "alpha male" attitude matching his impeccable malice. In addition, there is a greater animality in the villain who feeds on the blood of his victims by dirtying his mouth and presenting for the first time in the cinema one of the greatest vampire characteristics of today: the pointed canines.

> Lugosi was inevitably a point of reference for the new Dracula identity, but Lee was also able to distance his Dracula from the earlier one. Lee adopted the Lugosi Dracula's elegance and charm, the sleek, back-brushed hair, the arched eyebrows – but dropped the 'foreign' accent and underscored Dracula's sexual attractiveness and ferocity. (Gelder 2001, 91-92)

The ferocity expressed by Lee is not only found in his pointed canines, but also in his actions. While in previous films, Dracula's attacks did not appear on the screen and had to be imagined by the viewer, here we see explicit on-screen violence. Peter Hutchings in his work on Hammer's Dracula in the *The British Film Guide* (2003) collection highlights the role of power centered on a male character throughout the

film. According to the author, women are seen as an object of possession among men, leading to a clear dispute for dominance between the alpha males of the film played by Christopher Lee and Peter Cushing.

In Hutchins' work we also find the observation that in addition to providing the vampire with pointed canines, the Hammer movie lets Dracula and Van Helsing, the main protagonists, not exchange a single word during the film. Their encounters focus on the attempt to eliminate one another. Without dialogue, the physical exchange of power becomes the core of the narrative. In the end, only the strongest will survive.

Moreover, Hutchings' text on Dracula addresses an innovation in vampire mythology that started in Murnau's film: death by exposure to the sun. While in the 1922 work we see the villain dying with the rising of the sun, the 1958 film describes an novelty in the way this death occurs. This time, the vampire burns his skin upon contact with the sunlight.

Stoker's book is an English work. And if it is in Murnau's Germany that the vampire first has to fear the sunrise, the Terence Fisher film constitutes a hybrid between the two countries by establishing yet another rule of survival for the vampire. Taking place in a remote place in Germany, but filmed in England by an English producer and with a team full of British actors, Dracula's light-sensitive skin constitutes a middle way between invulnerability and immediate death.

5. Conclusion

The vampire is a being that has inhabited our imagination since the beginning of times through different myths. However, it is only with Gothic literature that it begins to be described in a way closer to what we understand today as a vampire. In this case, Bram Stoker is the author with the greatest responsibility for thinking of the vampire as he is today. *Dracula* (1897) is a bestselling book and has one of the most adapted characters for cinema.

Dracula seems to be an entity outside the fixed norms and standards that describe him. Instead, he has an extremely chameleonic figure, molding himself to different representations over more than hundred years of existence. Stoker's vampire goes from monster to heartthrob, from repugnant fiend to seducer, from animal to aristocrat. Although it is a Gothic horror work, Dracula is present in several cinematographic genres, encompassing multiple possibilities such as comedy, action, romance, musical.

This mutability presented by the vampire is visible in all three works discussed in this study. The analyzed films are the versions considered most relevant to what we believe are the most famous characteristics of the vampire. We see a Dracula who appears as a monster in 1922, to return to cinemas in 1931 as an educated and elegant aristocrat. In 1958 we have Christopher Lee as a vampire who feeds like an animal and adds violence and virility to the character.

All these characteristics are highly relevant to our imagination about vampires. In several films of the last decades we see vampires who are beautiful, but turn into monsters; they are polite and elegant until they show their exaggerated animality and violence.

On the whole, we may conclude that what we see as vampires today–such as their sensitivity to sunlight–was not only defined in literature but also in cinema. Bram Stoker's character, in this case, is the greatest representative of vampires in our culture. We owe the book and its various cinematographic transpositions what we believe to be the "vampire pattern" or "vampire mythology." In other words, the countless characteristics attributed to the vampire are almost all from the same character: Dracula.

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Nosferatu's Cats, or: The Birth of the Cinematic Pandemic Vampire

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Abstract: This paper looks at how the three Nosferatu films by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau, Werner Herzog, and E. Elias Merhige have influenced presentations of vampires and established the Nosferatu figure as a cinematic counterpart to the literary Dracula. In addition, all three films establish the pandemic theme early on in a genre-defining scene, featuring the female protagonist and one or more cats. The significance of the cat scenes is analyzed both in terms of the final film versions as well as in relation to the original scripts and other source materials, which show the significant changes that were made. Spanning the full spectrum of genre films from their experimental to their baroque stages, the three Nosferatu films present a unique type of vampire, which is particularly relevant for our present times.

Keywords: *Nosferatu adaptations; vampire films; pandemic vampire*

100 years ago, Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau was getting ready to shoot *Nosferatu: A Symphony of Horror*. An introductory title states that the movie is based on the novel *Dracula* by Bram Stoker and freely adapted by Henrik Galeen. However, this seems more of "an identification with a literary source so as to validate Murnau's [own] contribution to the development of an art cinema" (Mayne 1986, 25-26). Murnau's film actually has very little in common with its literary source. It rather presents an anti-Dracula, a very different kind of vampire, one that is specifically cinematic, undead and unreal, part of the land of phantoms and pandemics. Unlike Stoker's Dracula who could only exist on the printed page, Nosferatu self-reflexively celebrates life on celluloid.

In his *Notes for Dracula*, Stoker described his literary character, whose image could not be captured: "Painters can't reproduce him – like someone else … could not photograph -come out like corpse or black … could not codak him – come out black or like skeleton" (Eighteen-Bisang and Miller 2019, 31), and "casts no

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reflection in a mirror … casts no shadow" (Eighteen-Bisang, and Miller 2019, 33). Murnau's *Nosferatu* changed all of that and presented a cinematic vampire, with bold images, constantly playing with shadows and light: "Count Orlok in *Nosferatu* is … a creature of light, shadow and cinematic trickery - … He is purely and properly cinematic" (Weinstock 2012, 82). The self-reflexive and innovative aspects of the film were already noticed by the contemporary press who noted the degree to which *Nosferatu* set itself apart from the dramatic stage ("sprechenrampenfremd (sic)"), literature ("buchfeindlich"), and other films ("ein eigener Stil Film") (Vossische 1922, n.p.).

Twenty-five years after the publication of Stoker's novel, *Nosferatu* presented a completely updated vampire, not only for the new medium film but also for a different time and place. Murnau moved the setting to Germany, changed the names of all characters, and included a plot that reflected recent events. The new cinematic vampire from Germany looked like he might have crawled out of a World War I trench, now travelling with his army of rats spreading a pandemic just two years after the end of the Spanish flu: "Between 1918 and 1920, Germany lost roughly 287,000 people in the great flu pandemic — the 'Spanish Flu,' as it's erroneously called today — which killed 50 million worldwide. It was a shattering experience for the Germans, as it was for people everywhere. It may even have helped fuel the rise of Hitler and the Nazis" (Beckerman 2020, n.p.). To reflect the focus on a pandemic, Murnau changed the timeframe of Stoker's 1890s to the 1830s, a decade when another pandemic had ravaged Germany. As Anton Kaes explains: "The year 1838 is mentioned as the date of the mass death, vaguely referencing the cholera outbreak in Germany of the 1830s that killed hundreds of thousands in Europe … Cholera returned periodically in the nineteenth century, claiming an estimated one million victims in Europe alone" (Kaes 2009, 93). Rolf Giesen attests: "[Nosferatu] was more than just a Transylvanian count sucking the blood of the living; he was a synonym of the pandemic, with rats all around him" (Giesen 2019, 38).

The "Lord of the Rats", as Werner Herzog would later call him (Herzog, n.d.), was a monster that was not very selective in terms of his victims. Nina Auerbach describes how "Nosferatu unleashes mass death, not individual sexuality. … [He] is a shadow of his own diseased Germany" (Auerbach 1995, 75). Her reading references Siegfried Kracauer's who described *Nosferatu* "as an allegorical warning against the plague of Hitlerism" (Auerbach 1995, 203). Werner Herzog also saw this connection and stated that Nosferatu predicted the "doom and gloom that would come over Germany under Hitler" (Herzog 1979, DVD Commentary).

Connecting vampires to pandemics was nothing new as they were often seen as scapegoats. After all, as Barber explains, pointing to a suspected 'vampire' was often as simple as "determining who died first of an epidemic" (Barber 1988, 68).

While *Nosferatu*'s sub-title spelled out the film's focus on "The Great Death in Wisborg in 1838," it was visualized in the initial sequence of Ellen and her cat, which has had such an impact that it is now a genre-defining element and only comparable to Jonathan Harker's encounter with the three "weird sisters" in numerous Dracula adaptations and variations. While the sisters' scene establishes the erotic power of the vampire, the cat scene introduces the pandemic vampire. In the three canonical Nosferatu films, Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau's *Nosferatu: A Symphony of Horror*, Werner Herzog's *Nosferatu: Phantom der Nacht* and E. Elias Merhige's *Shadow of the Vampire* the cat scene also shows each adaptation's relationship to its source text with its own particular "mixture of repetition and difference, of familiarity and novelty" (Hutcheon and O'Flynn 2013, 139).

The well-known opening scenes in Murnau's and Herzog's *Nosferatu*, however, are very unlike their initial conceptualizations. In the case of Murnau and his writer Henrik Galeen, the original script starts with Ellen and her cat playing at the window, whereas in the final version her husband Hutter is introduced first. While this would have given the cat scene more weight, it would not have changed its significance as profoundly as another change to the script. In the original version, Ellen was portrayed in a much more stereotypical way as the dutiful *Biedermeier Hausfrau* in her kitchen who feels "ashamed" for not fulfilling her "housewifely duties:

Scene 5 (The small kitchen)	Ellen, still playing with the kitten, hears Hutter coming and jumps up.
[Shot cooker.	Ellen comes over and begins to busy herself with the saucepans, with a childlike earnestness towards her housewifely duties.]
Shot of door:	Hutter is standing in the door way and laughs and laughs: hiding the bouquet behind his back, he laughs and laughs.
Shot of cooker:	[Ellen turns round, catches sight of her husband and seems a little ashamed that she hasn't made breakfast yet. Now Hutter moves closer to her, looks into the sauce-pan, holds it upside down indicating that it is empty, and looks at her reproachfully.
Title:	*Ellen!* She is sulking now and trying to placate him. But he pulls out his watch: it is late already; he has to go. He kisses her goodbye, but she calls him back again to confess that she hasn't got any money left to do the shopping.

> He pulls out his purse with a sad look and holds it up:
> there is nothing in it! They both sigh. He leavers with a
> heavy heart. The moment she is alone she takes a small
> basket of potatoes, which is all she can find, the last
> resort of the poor housewife, and starts peeling them.
> A potato drops on the floor, the kitten comes up and
> plays with it.] (Eisner 1973, 233)
>
> [original formatting]

In *Nosferatu*'s final version, the references to Ellen in the kitchen are gone and she is now ready for her interaction with the animalistic world at the liminal space of the window, the threshold of private and public spheres, Biedermeier home and animalistic/phantom world outside, order and chaos, health and sickness. Lotte Eisner summarizes: "The business with the kitten and Ellen's forgetting to prepare breakfast is omitted. Murnau instead emphasizes the bouquet scene and the happiness of their marriage" (Eisner 1973, 271). We are left with the introduction of Hutter and his mirror-image, foreshadowing a dark Doppelgänger, followed by Ellen and her playful cat. This introductory sequence also introduces Murnau's "use of cross-cutting, which is the primary means by which [he] establishes different forms of identification between Nosferatu and other characters in the film" (Corrigan 2013, 122). Through these means, the symbolic connection to Nosferatu, his rats, and the plague is established immediately, resulting in a cinematic vampire quite unlike the literary predecessor.

During Ellen's interaction with the cat, she playfully dangles a string, which, with the "repetitive swings back and forth …. [suggests] a hypnotist's pendulum" (Kaes 2009, 114). Ellen's hypnotism in this scene and her openness to altered stages and perceptions later in the film also foreshadows the film's end, when she "hypnotizes" the vampire by calming him and making him stay after sunrise. The initial scene presents Ellen and the cat in a tight frame, surrounded by flowers in the open window, and an array of framed portraits on the far wall which adds a doubling effect. Through the open window, Ellen brings the cat back into her Biedermeier home just like she will later open her windows to invite Nosferatu into her bedroom in order to kill him and to end the pandemic. While the film's image of a bird's-eye view of a clock tower established Murnau's formal, cinematic perspective, the cat scene introduces the pandemic vampire and his antagonist, Ellen the vampire slayer. This theme is also stressed in the next shot, when Hutter brings Ellen a bunch of flowers and she asks him why he "killed" them.

At the end of the 1970's, at the height of the New German Cinema, Werner Herzog announced that he saw himself as part of a "generation of [cinematic] orphans with their grandfathers as their teachers" (Herzog 1979, DVD Commentary). He wanted to share a sense of historic belonging and to connect with 'untainted' expressionist German film and Murnau's *Nosferatu* in particular, which he called the best German film ever. In Herzog's words: "We are trying in our films to build a thin bridge back to that time, to legitimize our own cinema and culture. We are not remaking Nosferatu, but bringing it to new life and new character for a new age." (Mayne 1986, 119).

Shot in just over two months from May 1 to July 8, 1978 and on a small budget, *Nosferatu: Phantom der Nacht* is full of intertextual references to Murnau's film, with certain scenes shot in the same location. But just as Murnau had based his film loosely on Bram Stoker's novel, Herzog also made significant changes to Murnau's plot, similarly referencing a source text to legitimize his own artistic endeavour.

Herzog introduces the pandemic theme with a long, slow pan of a row of mummies at a museum in Guanajuato in Mexico who had died during a cholera epidemic roughly the same time as in Nosferatu, in their case in 1833. While not mentioned directly in the film, the cover of Herzog's script states that his story of the Great Death was set in 1843, the same year it had been in Murnau's original script (Eisner 1973, 288). The mummies are followed by a bat in flight and Lucy waking up from a nightmare, clearly indicating from the beginning that this will be a genre film. In the script, Herzog describes his attempt to connect with Murnau and simultaneously with the New Hollywood of the 70s:

> Nosferatu will be a new version of the silent movie classic NOSFERATU – A SYMPHONY OF HORROR by F.W. Murnau (1922). Like Murnau's film, it will not be a horror movie with only the surface mechanics of this genre. It will be a film of anonymous fear and nightmare. It should work like the first half of JAWS before the shark appears. It will be a film dwelling on the very dark, nightmarish abyss of the German soul. In contrast to Murnau's film, it will concentrate much more on the figure of the vampire and the beautiful, angelic young woman who sacrifices her life. (Herzog 1978, Script IV, n.p.)

Herzog's vampire movie also refers directly to Stoker's source text by using the names from the novel for his characters. In the cat scene, Herzog's Lucy, unlike Murnau's Ellen, has lost her initial, symbolic power. The cats are in control from the beginning, playing with a locket containing Lucy's image. Herzog's Lucy is the object

of an animalistic force that will remain in control throughout the film. What connects Murnau's and Herzog's cat scene, however, is that both made significant changes from their script to the final version.

In his collection of film narratives, *Scenario III*, Herzog shows that initially Lucy's cat had a more significant part to play. Not only does the *Scenario* start with the cat scene, it also states that the cat will make a second appearance later on in the film. In addition, the very first words of the film were supposed to be about the cat, spoken by Jonathan: "That one will be a little devil some day" (Herzog 2019, 45). The *Scenario* then presents a detailed description of the cat and the locket, adding to the importance of this introductory scene:

> This is Lucy's kitten. More about her later. We will recognize her by her little black nose and white socks. The child who gave Lucy the kitten said she had run through flour at the bakery. So here is the little creature, clever and playful, using her paw to bat the small medallion hung from the window's crossbar. Outside the window lies the town of Wismar, and the medallion bears Lucy's portrait. We may call the man who painted the miniature image Herr Henning…. Still chewing, Jonathan pulls on his frock coat and removes the medallion from the crossbar. The kitten tries to bat it again as he slips it into his pocket. (Herzog 2019, 45)

The *Scenario* specifically notes the location of Ellen's medallion which hangs from the "window's crossbar". This would have been the same placement as in Murnau's film but in Herzog's final version, the medallion has been moved away from the liminal space of the open window and now dangles inside the Biedermeier home from the handle of a kitchen cupboard. In addition, the hypnotic effect of the string dangled by Ellen has been turned into an image of an objectified Lucy, who is represented by her miniature image:

> If the kittens in Herzog's film evoke the introduction to the heroine of Murnau's film, there is also a difference in emphasis. Nature, as it is represented at the beginning of Murnau's Nosferatu, is tranquil, domesticated, and definitely subservient to the human order. …. To be sure, the natural tranquility with which Murnau's Nosferatu begins will be challenged by the encounter with the vampire. But whereas such a conflict is gradually introduced in Murnau's film, it is a given in Herzog's. (Corrigan 2013, 122)

The stack of books surrounding the kittens add to the impression of a cultured and idyllic home and together with the apples give the impression of a Dutch still-life painting. The books and apples also signify the thirst for human knowledge, animalistic desire, temptation, and redemption – all of which play central roles in the film. The orderly stacked plates in the background complement the image of a Biedermeier home and point to the same time period as in Murnau's film.

Just like the cat scene, death by sunlight, and the vampire's expressionist shadow, the medallion was also Murnau's invention. It was introduced during the meeting of Hutter and Nosferatu when they talk about the vampire's real estate purchase. Hutter drops it and we see a photograph of Ellen. However, when the kittens play with it in Herzog's film, the medallion contains a painted portrait of Lucy. A photograph would make sense in Stoker's time frame of the 1890s, but Murnau's (and Herzog's) timeframe of the 1830s would make a painted portrait much more likely and realistic.

The kittens only appear at the very beginning of Herzog's film, but both the script in the Werner Herzog Collection and *Scenario III* refer to Lucy's kitten in another central scene. If the initial cat scene showed Herzog's inversion of Murnau's portrayal of Ellen, the second appearance would have illustrated and commented on the most important difference between Max Schreck's Count Orlok and Klaus Kinski's Dracula. When Nosferatu meets Lucy for the first time in her bedroom, he declares that he suffers from "the absence of love" and his inability to die. In his unpublished "Additions to the Script," Herzog describes his vampire's "deep sadness" and compares it to Murnau's Nosferatu, who, at least according to Herzog, only shows a hint of his suffering once, very briefly at the end, when Nosferatu appears at the window looking out (Herzog 1978, Ergänzungen, n.p.). Herzog's updated Nosferatu shows the vampire's sensitive side openly and repeatedly. Seen within the historical context, this emotional, suffering vampire fits in the context of the late 1970s, and is indebted to the popular New Subjectivity literary movement in Germany, as well as the introduction of the suffering vampire in literature, most notably in Fred Saberhagen's *The Dracula Tape* and Anne Rice's *Interview with the Vampire,* both of which were released just a few years before Herzog's film.

In the script and the *Scenario*, Lucy's cat was not only present during Lucy's and Nosferatu's first encounter, it also reacted physically to the vampire and warned Lucy of him. The inclusion of the kitten in the scene would have stressed the symbolic connection to Nosferatu and his rats, which Herzog had deployed by the thousands to show the vampire's path of pandemic destruction. Without the kitten, however, the scene's focus on Nosferatu's suffering is more pronounced and adds pathos to the figure of the vampire.

Herzog started his *Nosferatu* with mummies from a long-ago plague and he was going to feature them again in the scene before Jonathan Harker finds Nosferatu resting in his coffin in his castle (Herzog 1978, Script III). Just like the second appearance of the cat was cut, this was also not included in the final version. In addition, the focus on the pandemic via the mummies at the beginning of the film was supposed to be complemented with a reference to the pandemic at the end. One of the scripts in the Herzog Collection at the Deutsche Kinemathek has a final paragraph which describes the plague in an almost prophetic manner: "This is the time of the rats. Paradise is near. The city has been blessed. Let chicken sit in your chair. Let rats live in your houses. Blood shall rain from the sky. This is our salvation. You just don't know that the hour of freedom is here" (Herzog 1978, Script I, n.p.).

Herzog could have ended this way but the film's open end with Jonathan Harker as the new Nosferatu riding off into the sunset, literally expands the horizon and Herzog's vision. Rather than the vampire and Herzog looking back to the previous Nosferatu, Herzog now looks into the future and the beginning of a new story.

Herzog's motivation to make *Nosferatu: Phantom der Nacht* was to give his "generation of orphaned filmmakers" a connection with the glory days of German expressionist filmmaking. He accomplished his goal and Lotte Eisner, renowned film critic and Murnau biographer, visited Herzog on the Nosferatu set and gave her blessing. Looking back to Murnau rather than at what was happening at the time, also made *Nosferatu* Herzog's "sui generis contribution to the leaden times" of the late 70s in West-Germany, according to (Brittnacher 2006, 124). Herzog declined Alexander Kluge's invitation to participate in the collaborative project *Germany in Autumn* which involved many filmmakers of his generation and which was a reaction to the political upheaval following the Red Army Faction deaths in October 1977.

Murnau's production company Prana had spent more money publicizing *Nosferatu* than on making it. To publicize Herzog's film, a novelization by Paul Monette was released one month before the film premiered in Germany. It also included the cat scene and showed Harker before he leaves for work. The connection of cats, rodents, and the plague was immediately established when Harker called the kitten "a devil" and said to Lucy: "She's here to bring chaos. Why do we need a cat anyway? There hasn't been a mouse in Wismar in a hundred years." (Monette 1979, 11).

Just like Herzog repeatedly talked about this Murnau homage, E. Elias Merhige's also stated his intentions for making *Shadow of the Vampire*, a film about the making of *Nosferatu*:

> *Shadow of the Vampire* is not an homage to Murnau or silent cinema. It's not even totally accurate to history. I'm using Murnau as a way of communicating what the idea of creative genius has become in the 20th century. Our creativity has become so ferocious and so beyond our comprehension that we are terrorising ourselves with it... I wanted to explore the vampiric nature of the cinematic medium. ... It was also about an art form in its infancy in a Germany soon to face a dramatic loss of innocence. Irresistible. (Jones 1999, n.p.)

Shadow of the Vampire starts with an extreme closeup of a human eye and cuts to a similar shaped camera lens. The story then unfolds in a multi-diegetic setting where the playful dialogue with Murnau's film is continued and cinematic self-reflexivity is verbalized and visualized. As Caradec explains:

> As the explicit predicate of Merhige's film is to explore the origins of Murnau's, there is a juxtaposition of the two. This is made very clear from the opening shots of the film where the eye of the director and the eye of the camera are successively shown in extreme close-ups, asserting the subjective power of both, but also establishing the dual texts and dieges in the film: the eye of the director is intradiegetic, while suggesting the interplay between the different diegeses depicted in the film (Caradec 2018, 5).

But Merhige does not only reference Murnau's film. He starts his vision of Nosferatu with a slow, drawn-out, 6-minute-long pan, visualizing a sense of dread reminiscent of Herzog's introductory row of mummies. However, this is the only reference to Herzog, as Merhige explains:

> If you look at Herzog's *Nosferatu,* which I respect very much, what you see is an homage to the master, which is what Murnau is for Herzog. *Shadow of the Vampire* is much more irreverent, and more about invigorating an enthusiasm for the period, and about trying to invoke the past within the present. If those guys were working today, what would their color palette be? How would they work with sound? (Stephens and Merhige, 2000, n.p.)

Like Murnau and Herzog, Merhige begins with the cat scene, this time taking viewers back to Murnau's set and showing the filming of the scene. He leads into the sequence with an iris-in shot as an easily recognizable and typical silent movie transition, presenting Ellen dangling a string in front of a cat on a windowsill. The cat looks just as "hypnotized" as it had back in Murnau's film and we soon find out that it might have been drugged with laudanum to keep it still. The scene then switches to colour and breaks the fourth wall to begin the fictional documentary.

The shot following the cat scene in Murnau's film was of Hutter peeking into the living room with his unforgettable exuberant smile and the "dead" flowers hidden behind his back. Instead, Merhige cuts from the cat scene to a close-up of Murnau wearing his goggles, a realistic reference to what would have been worn in a 1920s film studio but also a genre reference to the visual focus in *Dracula*, with Bela Lugosi's eyes being lit by flashlights and van Helsing's heavy glasses when we first see him in his lab. While we were following the all-knowing narrator looking down at the church tower and the town at the beginning of Murnau's film, Merhige's director and his crew are now looking down on their set from a raised platform. Merhige's Murnau asks his cinematographer Müller "Wolf, have we established pathos?" and he answers with a "Perfectly, Herr Doctor. And in one take." The 'one take' of the cat scene, however, does not only establish pathos and an emotional connection with Ellen but also introduces the genre. While not a vampire comedy in the strict sense, as a mockumentary it is firmly rooted in the postmodern, playing with its intertextual material. Following Thomas Schatz' typology, Murnau had introduced the vampire film genre's "*experimental* stage during which its conventions are isolated and established" (Schatz 1981, 37). He paved the way for Herzog's "*refinement*, during which certain formal and stylistic details embellish the form" and finally *Shadow of the Vampire* which presents the "*baroque* (or "mannerist" or "self-reflexive") stage, when the form and its embellishments are accented to the point where they themselves become the "substance" or "content" of the work" (Schatz 1981, 37). The three canonical Nosferatu films move in their undead, liminal spaces from source text to adaptation, literary source to film, variations and transformations, establishing and expanding Nosferatu as a multimedia text. As Hutcheon and O'Flynn describe it:

> If we know the adapted work, there will be a constant oscillation between it and the new adaptation we are experiencing; if we do not, we will not experience the work as an adaptation. However, as noted, if we happen to read the novel after we see the film adaptation of it, we again feel that oscillation, though this time in reverse. Oscillation is not hierarchical, even if some adaptation theory is (Hutcheon and O'Flynn 2013, 14).

The Nosferatus adapt and 'oscillate' constantly and continuously. *Nosferatu*'s producer and designer, Albin Grau, compared the horrors of WWI to a "cosmic vampire" (Kaes 2009, 99). Other, more recent reincarnations of Nosferatu include a flat-sharing basement dweller in *What We Do in the Shadows*, now called Petyr, Buffy's Master in Season 1, *Nosferatu in Venice* with Klaus Kinski, Jim Shepard's novel *Nosferatu*, appearances in *The Strain*, *Blade*, *Nosferatu vs. Father Pipecock*

and Sister Funk, and the novel and TV-series *NOS4A2*. In *Mimesis: Nosferatu* we see an image of Max Schreck - and a cat. But this time the cat does not play, it just stares into the camera.

Nosferatu established the pandemic vampire on film and added numerous elements to vampire mythology that had not been part of Stoker's novel. In May 2021, the pandemic and the literary vampire were united as Nosferatu and Dracula via Vlad the Impaler became part of an ad campaign to attract people to Bran Castle in Romania where they could get Pfizer vaccinations at the historic site. Nina Auerbach in her *Our Vampires, Ourselves* famously pronounced that there is a vampire for every generation. A recent meme showed another kind of Nosferatu, one that might exactly be what we need now. It is called *Yesferatu*.

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Blood & Couture:
Dracula by Eiko Ishioka (石岡 瑛子)

Roberto C. RODRIGUES[1]

In this paper, through a bibliographical research and debate, we intent a filmic and artistic analysis of the feature film 'Bram Stoker's Dracula' (Francis Ford Coppola, 1992), specifically its costume design, signed by the Japanese designer and art director Eiko Ishioka 石岡 瑛子 (1938 – 2012). The film's critical reception as well as its consequent elevation to a 'canon' status among the adaptations of the homonymous novel by Bram Stoker were taken into consideration. This paper proposes a new approach of Ishioka's costume design legacy, that flirts significantly with the Parisian 'haute couture' for its uniqueness. Our intention is to develop an in-depth study on the elements that make the costumes of this movie so singular, such as its intentional lack of historical accuracy and the ode to an overly exaggerated symbolism and decay.

Keywords: *Bram Stoker's Dracula, Eiko Ishioka, Dracula, Costume Design, Francis Ford Coppola.*

    IV

    Rouge, rouge saigne le soir,
    Sur un merveilleux paysage,
    J'ai vu un terrible visage
    D'un majestueux ange noir.

    Red, red bleeds the evening
    In a wonderful landscape,
    I have seen a terrifying face
    Of a majestic black angel.

    (Iwan Gilkin, 1892, 78)*.*

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For Denis, of course

1. Introduction

We wittingly use the word "couture" in this paper's title with the intention of starting this analysis with one of the biggest semantic discussions around costume design: what is the difference between an elaborate costume design and a work of 'haute couture', or when a costume design could have easily been featured on the fashion week's runways of Paris.

In this research, the costume design developed by Ishioka for *Dracula* is considered as an example of when the veil that separates these two categories of fashion design becomes thinner. With a deeper analysis of the current concepts of 'haute couture' and, taking into consideration that its characteristics are already well established and fixed in the society's imagery, we will address the similarities between the work of a 'couturist' and a costume designer who seeks in their creative process to emancipate their garments from the narrative of the film, letting the costumes exist completely independently within each scene.

Ishioka believed in this emancipation and in *Bram Stoker's Dracula,* alongside Francis Ford Coppola, established a second narrative thread, accessible only to those spectators who pay close attention to the signs sewn, embroidered, or studded with mastery and perfectionism in each one of her costumes. Imbued with Western meanings and with a visuality full of caricatured orientalisms, these signs tell us secrets and sometimes even reveal the character's fate, as we will study in a specific case later.

1.1. Haute Couture

It is a well-known fact that 'haute couture' is considered a French cultural heritage, being literally a type of quality certificate issued directly by the French Ministry of Industry to 'maisons' that meet a series of specific and currently questionable requirements - often over the top and fanciful - such as the exclusivity of the garments, that must always be unique, made of high standard raw materials and fabrics, have a minimum number of French employees, produced exclusively in Paris and almost entirely by manufacture, just to name some examples.

In his irreverent essay "Haute Couture et Haute Culture" (Pierre Bourdieu 1983), Bourdieu deals with this theme in a good-humoured way by showing Haute Couture as an example of how to create luxury goods by giving it a mystical aura

and even sanctifying them somehow, making the garments inaccessible to most consumers and distinguishing them from any other type of clothing production, which is very similar to the intentional strategies of artistic avant-gardes movements,

> […] what is at stake (in haute couture) is the possibility of transmitting a creative power; [...] The fashion designer performs a transubstantiation operation. You have a 'Monoprix' perfume for three francs. The 'griffe' turns it into a Chanel perfume worth thirty times more. It is the same mystery of Duchamp's urinal, which was constituted as an artistic object because at the same time it was marked by a painter who signed it and sent to a consecrated place that, upon receiving it, made it an object of art, thus transmuted economically and symbolically." (Pierre Bourdieu 1983, 7-8).

However, the author confesses later in the same essay that his motivation to analyse specifically the 'haute couture' was driven by his belief that it is "less sacred art" (Pierre Bourdieu 1983, 1-2) than others, such as painting and classical music, since working with these artistic expressions that have already been legitimized by the 'status quo' are somehow protected from scientific criticism as they are endowed with irrational sacredness – which does not happen at all with fashion.

This subjective hierarchy that places some artistic segments over others generally features fashion (and cinema) in "lower" positions in this pseudo ranking due to its wide reach and accessibility, as explained by fashion curator of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), Paola Antonelli,

> […] most forms of design, but especially fashion design, are too often considered "lesser" disciplines in the art world (much the way film is), because no matter how extensive the scholarly literature they engender, they still manage to immediately connect and inspire—and usually delight— at levels that are accessible by the many as well as by the few (Paola Antonelli 2017, 17).

So, it is possible to understand that, when dealing with cinema and fashion, and especially with their convergence - the costume design - the researchers' approach in treating their subjects as a work of art is already an act of legitimization of such subject and contributes so that such subjects receive a more in-depth and scientific study, instead of the usually shallow, superficial, and market-focused approach.

After this first analysis, we consider the garments designed by Ishioka for *Bram Stoker's Dracula* as - also - a 'couture' design, exclusively for its originality,

spectacularization, manufacturing and aesthetic merit, and not by its economic, social, or marketing worthiness.

1.2. Costume design

We mainly based our research on the extensive work of Stella Bruzzi (Royal Rolloway, University of London) in her book *Undressing Cinema: Clothing and Identity in the Movies,* 1997.

Both Bruzzi and Ishioka propose an emancipatory analysis of costume design as an artistic, questioning, active and reactive attribute of movies, that goes far beyond the historical, social, or psychological accuracy needed for dressing the characters, with a duality that at the same time "gives the costumes a narrative purpose and allows them to exist independently of that dominant discourse" (Stella Bruzzi 1997, XIII).

Ishioka's idealistic vision about the contribution of the costume designer to a film as an independent process that has its own purposes, which often goes beyond the character, its story and even the very actor who will be wearing the garment,

> Costumes should be more than just items that explain the role of the actors who wear them. Costumes must have enough force to challenge the actors, the cinematographer, scenic designer, and director. And at times the costumes should challenge the audience and make them think about why the actor is wearing that costume (Eiko Ishioka, *Dracula: The Film and The Legend* 1992, 127.

She insisted for scenes to be rewritten and scripts be altered so that her costumes could dominate the set, as seen in the specific case of the dress (Figure 1) designed for the character Lucy Westenra, played by Sadie Frost. Ishioka used the 'frilled-neck lizard' or frilled-dragon (Figure 2), a species from the Australian deserts, as a reference for the creation. The idea was to use the dress as part of Lucy's transformation, "Because Lucy turns into a vampire wearing this dress, I wanted to make sure it would look bizarre and haunting after the transformation." (Eiko Ishioka, *Coppola and Eiko on Bram Stoker's Dracula* 1992, 70).

Figure 1. Detail of the "lizard" wedding dress of Lucy Westenra (Sadie Frost).

Figure 2. Frilled-Dragon, Australia. Photo by Travis W. Reeder, 2005.

Being a significantly large garment, richly embroidered, the dress - originally a wedding dress, in which the character was later buried due to her tragic fate - was extremely heavy, and was preventing the actress from performing her exhaustively rehearsed choreography routine. Frost and Coppola would like to have the character slide along the walls like the lizard that inspired the garment, using animalistic movements that are very common in other horror movies such as *The Exorcist* (William Friedkin 1973), which was the director's primary source of inspiration for this scene - that can be noted in the homage to the iconic vomiting scene - as he wrote in his diary (Ibid. 1992, 70).

It was virtually impossible for Frost to move properly within the garment, and Ishioka considered (against her will) creating a completely new design that would allow the scene to run as scripted but left the final decision in Coppola's hands.

The director, who was already so fond of the dress, preferred to change the scene itself so the dress could still be used in the film. (*The Costumes Are the Sets: The Design of Eiko Ishioka.* Kim Aubry and ZAP Zoetrope Aubry Productions, 2007).

As we see in Bruzzi,

> [...] the distinction between costume and couture design is the belief that clothes can function independently of the body, character, and narrative, that through them alternative discursive strategies can be evolved that, in turn, question existing assumptions about the relationship between spectators and image, not necessarily problematised through the use of conventional costumes (Stella Bruzzi 1997, 3).

On the same page, Bruzzi recounts an example - no less shocking - of when 'couturist' Coco Chanel - well-known in Hollywood for denying changes in any of her costumes designs - signed the costume design for the feature film 'Palmy Days' (A. Edward Sutherland 1931) and created a series of ostensibly identical dresses - with small changes from one to another - so that they were used in specific scenes and would always be perfectly fitted for the character, whether she was standing, moving or sitting, "a subtle way to prioritise the clothes over the narrative" (Stella Bruzzi 1997, 3).

Thus, it is possible to confirm the consonance between Bruzzi's academic point of view and Ishioka's artistic perspective on the main difference between a costume design and a 'haute couture' design. Ishioka's production for *Bram Stoker's Dracula* managed to bestow upon the film an unique aura, which differentiates it from all productions of the same period, and which to this day, gives the movie its 'canon' status among adaptations from the homonymous novel by Bram Stoker, what can be confirmed by the specialized reviews of the time and the public reception.

1.3. Reception and reviews

Film critic Richard Corliss wrote in his column in *Times Magazine* a deep and positive review of the movie in the week of its release, where he praised the reinterpretation of the vampire as a bearer of a "blood curse", precisely in the era of AIDS as a powerful metaphor, humanizing it, and highlighting that
> Coppola composes movies as Wagner composed operas, setting primal conflicts to soaring emotional lines. [...] Everyone knows that Dracula has a heart; Coppola knows that it is more than an organ to drive a stake into. (Richard Corliss 1992).

The film's reception in Brazil was no less enthusiastic. The newspaper Folha de S. Paulo covered its world release on November 13th, 1992, and on November 26th published the news that on the date of its premiere, the film "grossed US$ 11.2 million, a record for the film industry" at the time (Silvio Cioffi 1992).

In January of the following year, the traditional S*ET Magazine* (national edition) published what can be considered a 'Bram Stoker's Dracula's dossier' in a special issue on the movie, which emphasized the strangeness caused by the costumes and characterizations. José Emílio Rondeau was assertive in stating that the film could be considered the most radical cinematographic work of its time, and that forming an opinion about it "requires a definitive conviction [...] love it or leave it" (José Emílio Rondeau 1992).

Both critical and audience acclaim led Ishioka to win the Best Costume Design category at the 1993 Academy Awards, most due to her break with tradition in the visual representations of vampires in film, a rupture that has a real impact on the popular culture of a generation. In 2017, Joe Sommerlad wrote on Indepent about the legacy of her film production,

> Ishioka's costumes for star Gary Oldman brought the vampire count to life and freed him from the black cape and evening wear the character had become associated with through iconic Universal and Hammer portrayals by Bela Lugosi and Christopher Lee. (Joe Sommerlad 2017).

However, despite being a key player in the success and acclaim of the film (the only adaptation of the novel to receive four Academy Award nominations and win in three categories: costume design, makeup design and sound editing), Ishioka's work is still treated as secondary, or worse, it gets overshadowed in reviews of that time, and even from nowadays.

The movie's visual merits are almost integrally associated with its director, Francis Ford Coppola - although he praises Ishioka's participation in the entire process of construction of the movie whenever possible.

Using a ten-question form, a survey was carried out at the beginning of the 2020 academic year with 250 students of Human Sciences at the Federal University of São Paulo (Unifesp who had already watched the feature film at some point in their lives.

Of all the participants, 73.9% reported sensing a strangeness regarding the characters' costumes, and 95.6% stated that the costume design is the most striking memory they have of the film since they watched it - with 76.8% attributing their greatest memory to the costume composed of a huge red cloak and two hair buns, wore by Gary Oldman in Dracula's decrepit version (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Gary Oldman featured as the eldest version of Dracula at the beginning of the
      movie.

Still, 74.4% never questioned who was responsible for creating those garments,
75.2% were unaware that the film's costume design won an Oscar in the year of its
release, and 80.4% had never heard of Ishioka's name before the survey. At the
same time, 94.4% of them would like to know more about her work after becoming
aware that she was responsible for the movie's costume.

It is possible to conclude that such numbers - even if small when compared
to the total amount of spectators that the movie has reached since its premiere
- reveal a patriarchal and occidentalist pattern in the attribution of a film's
credits. Thus, the importance of a more in-depth critical and academic study
regarding costumes designs is clear - especially those signed by women - and,
even more when these costumes clearly have a high complexity and influenced
most of the productions that came after it, as is the case of *Bram Stoker's
Dracula,* whose costume design freed the iconic figure of Count Dracula from its
aesthetic and even philosophical chains.

2. The costumes are the sets

The friendship and mutual professional admiration between Eiko Ishioka and
Francis Ford Coppola began long before they worked together on *Bram Stoker's
Dracula*. As a graphic designer, Ishioka had been commissioned in 1980 to create a
Japanese version of the movie poster of *Apocalypse Now* (Francis Ford Coppola
1979. Her version ended up becoming the director's favourites and, since then,
Coppola had followed her work more closely, like her art direction in the film

Mishima: A Life in Four Chapters (Paul Schrader 1985) and the release from her first book *Eiko by Eiko* (Eiko Ishioka 1990).

As he ambitioned to create an unorthodox version of Bram Stoker's vampire in film, Coppola believed that Ishioka's completely fresh and oriental visual perspective could cause a sensation of "never seen before" in the audience, in some sort of cultural shock on Hollywood's North American film circuit, "By bringing in Eiko, I knew I was ensuring that at least one element of the film would be completely atypical, absolutely new, and unique." (Eiko Ishioka, *Dracula: The Film and The Legend* 1992, 126).

On the other side, Ishioka did not feel very comfortable in taking on such a large production and "only" being responsible by the costume design. In her past experiences as a production designer, she was responsible for designing the set, costumes, and lighting, which made her aware by then that if she was responsible for coordinating just one of them, she might not achieve the intended visual result.

The surprise came when Coppola presented to her all his visual references and research for the movie, especially the symbolist masters of the nineteenth century 'fin de siècle'. Beyond that, he assured her that his biggest investment would be in the costume design department, something completely new in the film industry and in Ishioka's own professional background, making her change her mind about whether or not to accept the opportunity, "When Francis told me that the costumes would be the key factor in determining the quality of the film itself, I accepted the job." (Eiko Ishioka, C*oppola and Eiko on Bram Stoker's Dracula* 1992, 21).)

However, by accepting to be part of the project, Ishioka had to suit her own views to the symbolism 'Je ne sais quoi' that Coppola and the film's art directors, Thomas E. Sanders and Garrett Lewis, intended for the project, completely based on the aesthetic concept of the book *Dreamers of Decadence: Symbolist Painters of the 1890s* (1971), by the French illustrator and art historian Philippe Jullian, who had a very specific point of view on the aesthetics of symbolism and was one of its greatest scholars. Coppola saw in Jullian's work a perfect translation of the concept of "decadent atmosphere" that he wanted to incorporate in his production:

> "The twenty-odd years known as the "fin de siècle" ... were dominated by the twin forces of mysticism and eroticism ... This eroticism was displayed with a freedom which astonishes us today, and which helps us to understand Freud, whose ideas were conceived in an environment which now strikes us as sexually obsessed." (Phillipe Jullian 1971, 101)

And, in addition to the decadent symbolism and her own visual references, Ishioka recalled attending some very peculiar requests for the film's characterization that

were inspired by specific artworks or even entire avant-garde art movements. A memorable example she mentioned in Kim Aubry's documentary was the exclusive request of the director, who wanted at least one of Dracula's costumes to be inspired by Gustav Klimt's *The Kiss* (Der Kuss, 1907-08) (Figure 4).

To accomplish this task, Ishioka established a relation between the painter's colour palette to the golden Byzantine icons of the Orthodox Church and created a Byzantine "mosaic" cloak with an enormous 'Hodegetria' (Theotokos - Virgin Mary iconography) encrusted right on Dracula's chest (Figure 5). This is yet another example of how the costume design overlapped and even clashed directly with James V. Hart's script, as in the film - as well as in the novel - the character shows a certain sensitivity to Christian religious symbols on several occasions, which happens due to his satanic nature. (*The Costumes Are the Sets: The Design of Eiko Ishioka.* Kim Aubry and ZAP Zoetrope Aubry Productions, 2007).

Figure 4. *The Kiss* (Lovers), Gustav Klimt, 1907–08. Google Cultural Institute.

Figure 5. Dracula's golden cloak with a Virgin Hodegetria icon (Detail).

Another important account of specific requests that Ishioka had to attend to was to present Dracula's three brides as elemental (and voluptuous) muses of the Art Nouveau movement, specifically inspired by the women portrayed by Alfons Maria Mucha (1860 - 1939) (Figure 6). Creating a spectral and ethereal atmosphere, the costume's fabrics give a suggestion of a body, with a wet, fresh aspect and always with wind blowing nearby (Figure 7), but using aged colours and bandages, giving an appearance of horror and decomposition to the dresses, referring to bandages used in mummifications and even the holy shroud. (Eiko Ishioka, *Coppola and Eiko on Dracula* 1992, 44).

Figures 6 and 7. *Salammbô* (Detail), Alfons Mucha, 1896 and Monica Bellucci as one of Dracula's brides, 1992.

2.2. The garments

One of the greatest achievements of the costume design created by Ishioka is the semantic union between Western and Eastern cultures in garments that often hide more references than their screen time allows us to detect. Ishioka did not believe in "literality" in her work. Everything that was designed by her had a multitude of

layers and references often as conflicting as, for example, the North American western pop culture and the Byzantine Empire, as she states,

> With my costumes I aimed for a symbolic reflection of the culture of the characters in the film. [...] Their culture was a hybrid, a mixture of East and West [...] These costumes represent my visual interpretations of this unique union of East and West. (Eiko Ishioka, Ibid. 1992, p.29)

The most memorable feature of her costume designs is the exaggeration, the excess. Ishioka does not try to perfectly recreate an era, style, or colour, instead she pays a symbolic homage by exaggerating recognizable features of a particular period or culture. Regarding this aspect of her work, the article "Eiko on Stage" (author unknown), published in 2001 in issue number 22 of *Thresholds* magazine, says that Ishioka "stretch[es] boundaries that are simultaneously cultural, disciplinary and historical" (Thresholds 2001).

Bram Stoker's Dracula was indeed a cultural breaking point in what is expected of the costume design of a period drama, as it gives a minor role to the multiple possible historical visions of an era, cultural and social differences, and the possibilities of recreating nineteenth-century clothing, which are generally the most important aesthetic guidelines for costume designers in this film category, where the costume establishes some kind of 'implied convention' with the audience, conveying the idea that at a given time people dressed "exactly" like what is shown on the screen, creating a pleasant illusion that allows for a greater emotional connection with the spectators.

That does not happen in *Bram Stoker's Dracula*.

There is no illusion or an implied convention between spectator and costume designer, on the contrary, there is a vague notion of a certain period, established by mentions of dates through diary entries, which results in some type of caricature of reality, a blurred version with more of a dreamlike - or nightmarish - atmosphere than reality.

> Costumes such as those created for Bram Stoker's Dracula, for instance, purposefully borrow from a range of divergent sources that evoke the end of the nineteenth century not through historical specificity but rather through excessiveness. [...] Such examples point to a process of borrowing that actively engages the source through a process of exaggeration as opposed to mimicry. (Ibid, 2001).

Throughout her career, Ishioka was always questioned about the possible lack of historical accuracy in her costumes. Her defence? Entertainment. "The audience

does not have the needs of a historian, the audience expects some kind of excitement." (Immortals Official Behind the Scenes, 2011).

Among the most identifiable costumes of *Bram Stoker's Dracula* is the first incarnation of the main character as a medieval warrior. Here we see an idealized version of Vlad III Drăculea and as the audience sets their eyes on the "Impaler", he is perceived as a large, strong, beautiful, and frightening figure.

His armour has an unique pattern - for which Ishioka would be recognized for the rest of her life and would later replicate in the movie *The Cell (*Tarsem Singh, 2000) - inspired by the raw human musculature, red and bloodless as seen in anatomy books illustrations. The idea was to present an "easter egg" of the half-man, half-wolf monster that Dracula transforms into throughout the film. But, still as a mortal man, this transmutation effect is created by the shapes on top of his helmet, which suggest the ears of a wolf and the half-closed eyes demonstrate his animalistic ferocity (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Gary Oldman as the warrior version of Dracula with his 'wolf like' helmet.

> I wanted to depict him in his armour as a cross between man and beast, and came up with the stylized muscle armour, like that in anatomy books. The helmet is also stylized muscles, but the effect here is a mixture of a wolf's head and a human skull. Red, the colour signifying blood. (Eiko Ishioka, *Dracula: The Film and The Legend* 1992, 18).

A possible reference to Dracula's helmet was perhaps very familiar to Ishioka, as her vision of a warrior might have been influenced by the aesthetics of Japanese culture and its Samurai 侍 (Bushi, 武士). Although Ishioka mimics the figure of a hybrid between man and wolf with the armour's helmet design, its resemblance to a "Kabuto (兜, 冑)", the traditional Samurai helmet, is evident, even more so in the

overlapping layered composition in the back (Figure 9 and 10), known as the Japanese ornament Shikoro (Figure 11).

Figures 9 and 10. A red kabuto samurai helmet (Uromachi period 1333-1568) and the kabuto of gusoku (Edo period 1603 – 1868)

Figure 11. The red 'wolf like' helmet (Detail).

Another Eastern reference for the characterization of Dracula in his first and second appearances is the possibility that Ishioka was inspired by the Nō 能 or Nōgaku 能楽 Theatre, since the most recognizable features of this traditional style of Japanese drama are its costumes, which completely covers the actor's body, only leaving small traces of humanity visible so that the acting can be performed in key points of the actor's body and movement.

This dramaturgical resource was extensively used by Gary Oldman when inside the armour costume since his movements were practically immobilized. He states that this was the most challenging costume of his entire dramaturgical experience in the film. (*The Costumes Are the Sets: The Design of Eiko Ishioka.* Kim Aubry and ZAP Zoetrope Aubry Productions, 2007).

About this characteristic of the Nō theatre, Japanese writer Jun'ichirō Tanizaki (谷崎 潤一郎) writes in his 1933 essay "In Praise of Shadows" that

> [...] the Nō actor performs with no makeup on his face or neck or hands. The man's beauty is his own; our eyes are in no way deceived. [...] Rather we are amazed how much the man's looks are enhanced by the gaudy costume of a medieval warrior — a man with skin like our own, in a costume we would not have thought would become him in the slightest. (Jun'ichirō Tanizaki 1933, 44)

The military theme of the Nō theatre, which portrays medieval warriors in their most glorious and dramatic moments, is also suitable for quotation and comparison with the film's medieval epilogue, an ode to the masculinity and virility idealized by Japanese culture, which often flirts with homoeroticism, as will be demonstrated in the next costume design to be analyzed.

It is remarkable the beauty placed in each detail of the romantic couple presented very quickly by the narration at the beginning of the film, and yet our eyes almost exclusively focus on the figure of the warrior that, as well as on the Nō theatre, evokes the struggle, the difficulties faced on the battlefield, which are present from the epilogue until the movie's tragic climax.

> The Nō sets before us the beauty of manhood at its finest. What grand figures those warriors who traversed the battlefields of old must have cut in their full regalia emblazoned with family crests, the somber ground and gleaming embroidery setting of strong boned faced burnished by a deep bronze by wind and rain (Ibid., 46).

The next recognizable vision of Dracula could not be more different from the figure of the Samurai warrior of the Nō theatre, which still resonates in the audience's recent memory. Perhaps this is the most iconic and provocative characterization of

Dracula, in his older version with a huge red cloak and two monumental white hair buns – now, very different from the 'wolf ears like' top of his helmet. The contrast between one physical representation of the character and another could not be more adverse. Ishioka had a clear intention of causing a feeling of disturbance in the audience by the manifold characterizations of Dracula, which always renews the aesthetic. She explained that "every costume was designed to be totally unique and never seen before, to cause a fresh sensation each time Dracula appeared" (Eiko Ishioka, Dracula: The Film and The Legend, 1992, p.18), a point of view very similar to the definition of haute couture, as we mentioned earlier in this paper, this uniqueness pursued to make an ever fresh and original impression could easily be used to describe a haute couture week in Paris.

In this second incarnation, Dracula is an elderly (Figure 12), exotic, and practically harmless figure. A mix of visual elements compose his costume design, from the hair characterization that is a completely strange reinterpretation of a 'Pouf' or 'Toque' - big white wigs worn by French royalty and aristocracy in the 18th century (Figure 13) - to the garments, which contains an ode to symbolic orientalism, referencing the Ottoman (Figure 14) and Chinese (Figure 15) empires. The dragon family crest designed by Ishioka to compose the garment is a mix of Chinese and Western drawings, and the red cloak evokes the figure of the "Emperor" in Chinese culture, whose symbol is the dragon itself.

Figures 12 and 13. Eldest version of Dracula as seen in the movie and Madame de Lamballe, Antoine François Callet, c.1776 (Detail).

Figures 14 and 15. Ottoman official (c. 1650) and a seated portrait of Ming Emperor Taizu (c. 1380).

> In his youth Dracula lived in Istanbul and would have been influenced by Turkish culture and dress, as seen in this costume. [...] The cloak is red [...] The enormous train was designed to undulate, when he rushes about his castle, like a sea of blood. (Ibid, p.38).

Another less subtle difference between the warrior and the older Dracula versions can be seen in the performance of a false softness and femininity, an attempt to emulate an erudite and Victorian upbringing and share the culture of his guest. Dracula exhibits a series of affected behaviours that makes us quickly forget that this creature, that now could easily be mistaken for an elderly woman, had once been a giant and strong medieval warrior, as noted by Keanu Reeves characters (Jonathan Harker) when he sees the warrior's painting - inspired by the iconic self-portrait of Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528) (Figures 16 and 17) – and can only spot a slight similarity.

Figures 16 and 17. Dracula's portrait as seen in the movie and Dürer's self-portrait at 28 (1500) (Detail).

> I chose to emphasize the androgynous quality in his character. I wanted to give Dracula an infinite variety of personality, so that his true self is not easily revealed, remaining a mystery to the audience. Is he a man or a beast? Devil or angel? Male or Female? He is constantly changing, in a different mood each time, like a kaleidoscope. (Ibid, 38).

In addition to his androgyny, Ishioka explores with this look - in a subtle way - the character's sexuality and gender identity, with "the overall effect of costume, hair, and makeup aimed for a haunting transsexuality[2]" (Ibid., 38). This clear and rational intention to cause a general estrangement around the character can be seen, for example, in his cordial expression of interest in his guest. Such interest is read as confusing, suspicious, and ambiguous, alternating between displays of elation, anger, and small delicacies, or even the implied sexual tension between the two characters, which purposely leaves the audience as confused about Dracula's true intentions as Jonathan Harker's himself.

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[2] Author's note: in both sources that I found this excerpt from Ishioka's interview transcribed, the translation of the word appeared in different ways. In one the word used was 'asexuality', in the other it was 'transsexuality', I chose the one that made the most sense for the paper.

2.3. Elisabeta / Wilhelmina 'Mina' Harker case study

When analyzing the costume designs of *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, it is necessary to make unlikely connections between references that usually would never be seen together in an artwork. This unique pool of references in Ishioka's work makes a superficial analysis of her designs practically impossible, since the visuality of a given character is developed by a complex creative process of cultural 'distillation', where Ishioka gives new meaning to images and visualities to create a unique and assertive effect on the film's audience. "Reference is only a reference, I never use a design element straight from the source" (Ibid, 127). Thus, if Ishioka used her visual references literally, without going through this critical distillation process, the effect that a certain garment would have on the audience would be completely the opposite of her primal intention.

The references used for the main character encompass millennia of human visual production, carefully combined to generate contradictory feelings on the spectator each time he appears. Another character deeply studied by Ishioka - who set up a real team of professionals to assist her in the production of the costume designs - was Elisabeta / Mina Harker (Winona Ryder).

Ishioka dedicated herself to create a narrative discourse with Mina's clothes that could establish an autonomous dialogue with the audience regardless of the actress' performance or plot, emancipating the costumes from the character. The department created by Ishioka to produce Mina's costume designs had the exclusive work of couturier Dale Wibben, as well as a budget for importing silk Taffetas directly from France and Italy for the creation of the dresses (Eiko Ishioka, *Coppola and Eiko on Dracula* 1992, 94).

This dedication to Winona's character - that in Hart's screenplay had fundamental importance to understanding the film's narrative and also has a clear role of "Deus ex machina" in its final climax, where we get a glimpse of a version of Paolo and Francesca Da Rimini[3] (Figure 18) as Vlad and Elisabeta on the celling of the castle (Figure 19) - allowed Ishioka to tell the character's side story, often giving specific directions of her destiny, as seen in her first appearance, still as Elisabeta, Vlad's fictional romantic partner in the film's prologue.

Perhaps Elisabeta is the most important character in the plot. Mentioned in some specific moments in the film, her actual screen time is extremely short and troubled, full of pain and sorrow. We only see this character at cathartic moments throughout the movie.

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[3] The tragic story of the adulterous lovers is recounted in Canto V of Dante's *Inferno* and was a popular subject with artists and sculptors from the late 18th Century onwards.

        In the prologue of the movie, a beautifully planned sequence, shows the final
moment where the character, deceived by the Ottoman army, ends up committing
suicide (believing that her fiancé, Dracula, was killed in battle). Her soul is
now doomed to wander eternally between heaven and hell due to her mortal sin,
which leads Dracula, a Christian warrior, to prefer the eternal damnation and
disown Christ than to spend an eternity in heaven without her.

Figures 18 and 19. Canto V of Dante's *Inferno,* Gustave Doré (circa 1860) (Detail) and
        the fresco of Dracula and Elisabeta as seen in the movie.

Ishioka chose "green" as the predominant colour of Winona's character, be it Mina
or Elisabeta, and based on this she started connecting the two characters through
their costume designs. Elisabeta has a forest green silk and velvet dress with puffy
sleeves and fully embroidered in gold, at first sight with a floral pattern, which
matches her crown.
        It is important to highlight that there is no certainty or affirmation that Mina
is the reincarnation of Elisabeta before the movie's climax. Easily refuted
coincidences and light suggestions mark this fundamental part of the narrative.
Therefore, the fact that Ishioka filled this gap only with the transition of costume
designs from one character to another, and thus delivering this information to the

viewers at the very beginning of the film, is one of her most fantastic and assertive decisions.

Apart from the colour green and floral patterns used in both characters designs, one other thing makes Elisabeta's gown stand out: its richly adorned tail, always positioned in very specific ways for the camera. The floral pattern of the garment soon takes on another meaning and gives the impression that the tail spreads out like peacock's feathers, a Sun bird with daily habits that is widely represented in the symbolist and decadent movements as well as by *art nouveau*, and although its presence among the artist's visual references would make total sense, as seen in this paper, with Ishioka, there is a need to unravel her references and never assume them as literal, as nothing is exactly what it seems until a visual purification is achieved.

The positioning of the tail when Elisabeta's corpse is shown to us (Figure 20) reveals a new referential layer implemented by Ishioka, very connected to the visual representation of the peacock, the Chinese phoenix, Fenghuang 凤凰 (Figure 21), which in its most iconic version takes the form of a chimerical bird with a common pheasant's head and a peacock's tail. It is important to note that the Chinese phoenix is the exact antithesis and female counterpart of the dragon, which represents Dracula, and both sacred animals are auspicious symbols in this culture seen often as a symbol of romantic love.

Figure 20. Elisabeta's gown with a tail that resemble a phoenix tail.
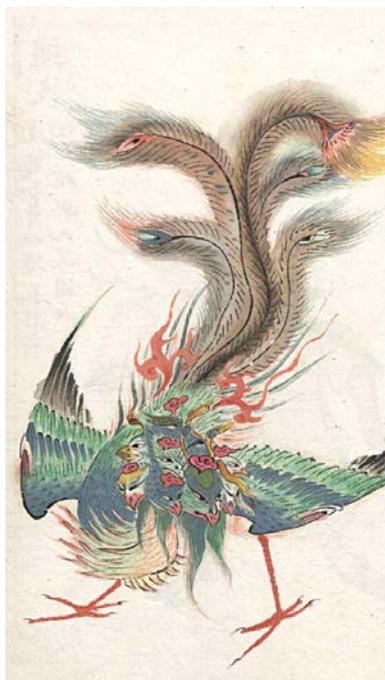
Figure 21. *Phénix à neuf têtes,* Shanhai jing, Dynastie Qing (1644-1911).

Thus, the western medieval couple is represented by the eastern's dragon and phoenix, this one lacking the resurrection powers of its western version. But if we go one step further into Ishioka's symbolic distillation we can understand that, even though she visually represented a hybrid between floral patterns and the peacock and oriental phoenix feathers in Elisabeta's gown, the artist symbolically endowed such visuality with the resurrection ability of the western phoenix. In a process of resignification, uniting the two mythological creatures into one, she gives the spectator enough material to anticipate that the character will, at some point, resurrect.

In Winona's next scene, now already as Mina (Figure 22), a young woman, fresh and full of love – and desire – for Jonathan, there is the same floral pattern, but this time not yet fully blossomed as in Elisabeta's sleeves (Figure 23), but with tiny buds and small leaves in an almost divine pastel emerald green silk. The dress no longer has the peacock's tail, however, a beautiful scene transition with a real peacock feather (Figure 24) closes the narrative cycle of Elisabeta's dress, showing us - through the connection between these identical symbols - that the character has "resurrected" or "reincarnated".

Figures 22 and 23. Mina's floral bud pattern and Elisabeta's floral pattern costume as seen in the movie.

Figure 24. Mina and Jonathan Harker in the aforementioned peacock feather transition scene.

Bruzzi explains that costumes can often create this parallel narrative and by doing that totally modify the cinematic experience, "the film possess a covert, a codified discourse centered on the clothes themselves". (Stella Bruzzi, 1997, 35). This visual narrative parallel to the main plot, established right at the beginning of the film, is one of the most notable examples of how Ishioka was able to tell a story and even provide the viewer with more information with her costume designs than the movie's predominant discourse.

A clear example of the uniqueness of this artwork.

3. Conclusion

When starting this research, our intent was to take a more in-depth look at Ishioka's work in Bram Stoker's Dracula. It is possible to observe that her work transcends the traditional idea of costume design that provides an idealized representation of reality in order to give the characters some visual credibility.

Her items establish a creative and aesthetic relation closer to fashion design and 'haute couture', with the garments themselves assuming the discourse on stage, almost independently from the actors' performance. Acting autonomously without any intention of providing viewers with historical accuracy, on the contrary, her costumes seek to generate sensations through aesthetic experimentation, characteristics that are very common to works of art.

It is not by chance that these sensations are what the audience will carry for the rest of their lives after watching the movie only once.

Ishioka's disruptive role in contemporary and specifically in horror cinema is undeniable, seeking a new visual interpretation for the image of Dracula already established by other film adaptations. Dracula's image remains unchanged in popular culture (there is even an 'emoji' that still depicts him with his eternal black and red cape like in the 1931 Béla Lugosi's iconic version of the Count).

However, the film *Bram Stoker's Dracula* has a singular atmosphere, not because of the story, the script, the character, or any 'Manichean' artifice that contributes to its originality, but because its imagetic appeal sets the production apart from others.

It is not just a vampire movie or just a Dracula movie either. It is an exclusive aesthetic experience about possible representations of goth, as we have not seen it since, and is perhaps an unique event in the North American film industry.

The idea of giving independence to the costume designs, matching their narrative importance with the acting, and bringing in an Eastern visual artist with no previous experience in projects of this size, and providing her with the ideal

environment of creative freedom and financial resources, may have sounded like a risky bet at the time, however, Coppola and Ishioka have an experimentation level and almost scientific rigor on their productions - he because of traumatic experiences in previous movies, such as *Apocalypse Now* (1979), and she because of her eclectic artistic experience, which permeated almost all media and visual art formats available.

Box office records and industry and critic awards have made Ishioka orbit her career around costume and fashion design, working until practically her last days with household names from both areas, such as Tarsem Singh, Björk and Grace Jones on her famous and groundbreaking Hurricane Tour. With a 'couturist' skills and a complex creative process that made her one of the most accomplished visual artists of her generation, Ishioka managed to connect with Dracula's viewers on an almost psychological level, giving them an experience that will last for a lifetime.

Her work achievement deserves to be increasingly studied and deepened by academic researchers, as there is still much to be discovered. "When the audience says, 'This movie would not have been good without these costumes', then the costume designer has succeeded" (Eiko Ishioka, C*oppola and Eiko on Dracula,* 1992, 29). We can conclude that by her own standards, Ishioka has succeeded.

<div align="right">In memory of Eiko Ishioka (1938 – 2012)</div>

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"Reader, unbury him with a word": The Revenant and/as Evil in Elizabeth Kostova's *The Historian*

Yağmur TATAR[1]

This research addresses the universal question of evil through an intertextual focus between Bram Stoker's Dracula *as a traditional Gothic production and its neo-Gothic counterpart,* The Historian *by Elizabeth Kostova. Through investigating the relationship between two ensuing genres, it explores the understanding of human nature and its transformative capacity for evil in Gothic and neo-Gothic fiction, as well as protagonists' need, temptation and failure to exorcise the Revenants of the past. With a theoretical framework supported by Jacques Derrida and his concept of hauntology, the present research further revolves around revealing how the monsters of the (neo-)Gothic fiction function as the manifestations of history itself by analysing the way the past haunts humanity's present and future.*

Keywords: *Derrida, Dracula, evil, hauntology, Neo-Gothic, revenant*

1. Introduction

> "[…] to tell a story is always to invoke ghosts, to open a space through which something other returns, although never as a presence or to the present. Ghosts return via narratives, and come back, again and again, across centuries, every time a tale is unfolded*."*
>
> —Julian Wolfreys, *Victorian Hauntings*

An ancient question rooted deep in the history of humanity is in urgent need of being addressed for the sake of this paper: the question of evil. During the last century, scholars – of literature, philosophy, politics and many other fields – have inevitably mingled with the topic leading to a detrimentally-general conclusion that who or what is referred or categorized as evil is a long-ongoing discussion that may or may not be answered in our near future. An initial description of the word "evil"

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further perplexes us with its obscure and heavily-interpretable nature: evil is related to "profound immorality and wickedness, especially when regarded as a supernatural force"; it is furthermore "something which is harmful or undesirable" (Oxford Online Dictionary) and overall, "something that is very bad and harmful" (Cambridge Online Dictionary). This brings a wide variety of subjective notions into the picture and long before one decides to turn the pages of man-made dictionaries, some very clear pictures are likely to flash in our minds when the word is used. With these points in mind, the present study intends to compare not only two different literary manifestations of evil, Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and Elizabeth Kostova's *The Historian*, but also the two time periods that these texts were produced in, respectively Victorian and Neo-Victorian – or more specifically, because we're now in the Gothic realm, the Gothic and the Neo-Gothic. With a theoretical framework revolving around Jacques Derrida's concept of "hauntology", which was first mentioned in his book *Specters of Marx* in 1993, the present paper further aims to investigate how the monsters of the Gothic are presented as the manifestations of history itself with a focus being evil in Gothic and Neo-Gothic fiction; their understanding of human nature and its capacity of evil; the protagonists' need, temptation and failure to exorcise this evil and/or the past.

2. Derrida, hauntology and "time is out of joint"

> "How can he be there, again, when his time is no longer present?"
> —Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx*

In *Speaking the Language of the Night*, Raducanu explains: "Fragmentation and a fascination with the forbidden are arguably among the most important characteristics of Gothic in literature" (2014, 9). This notion of trying to reach out to the 'forbidden' and embrace the obscene and the transgressive disposition that comes with even daring to speak of the specter and to let a specter speak in turn forms the general characteristics of what Derrida addresses as *hauntologie*. The term "hauntology" is coined and presented by Derrida in his *Specters of Marx*, which involves a series of lectures during "Whither Marxism?" – a conference on the question of the future of Marxism held at the University of California in 1993. Using Marx's statement at the very beginning of *The Communist Manifesto* that "a spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of communism", Derrida focuses on the very meaning of this spectral quality and suggests that the spirit of Marx and his manifesto, having the opportunity to revisit earth from beyond the grave, haunt us to our present day. With a significant wordplay, Derrida replaces "ontology" and

the superiority of presence with its near-homonym "hauntology" and the specter as something of an indefinable figure, "neither present nor absent, neither dead nor alive" (Davis 373). Derrida further explains that the notion of hauntology cannot fully function without a deconstructive process: since the "spectral logic is *de facto* a deconstructive logic", hauntology, then, referred as the closest thing we have to a *zeitgeist* at the threshold of the twenty-first century, is mainly described as a situation of disjunction in which the apparent presence of being is replaced by an absent or deferred non-origin, represented by the spectre, the revenant, the figure of the ghost as that which in itself connotes difference, iterability, trace and supplementarity (2002, 121). With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the demise of communism, Derrida believed that Marxism "would haunt Western society from beyond the grave" (Gallix 2011). In order to further elucidate the act of haunting and its effect on both the individual and the text in relation to the hauntologic discourse and its connection to time, Derrida makes use of Hamlet's father's ghost: upon encountering the ghost of his father, Hamlet, crestfallen and hot-blooded with the need to take vengeance on King Claudius, declares that "the time is out of joint – o curséd spite / that ever I was born to set it right!" (2006, 1.5.210). Time, always progressive and a linear concept that is perceived with a beginning and an assured end, adopts a quality of being broken and/or disrupted as a result of this hauntologic process that enables the spectral as an entity of the past that is unusually able to inhabit the present time. Derrida proposes that the return of the spectre as the revenant – since death as a concept halts the very existence of a being and the specter keeps its (non)existence in spite of it – marks time as "disarticulated, dislocated, dislodged…run down, on the run and run down…deranged, both out of order and mad" (1994, 20). By defying the temporal code and the natural sequence of events and reappearing where it should not be able to appear, the specter presents itself as the future, always to come, or which could come back any time. In his *Victorian Hauntings*, Julian Wolfreys explores this spectral reappearance of the revenant and its disruptive quality as follows:

> The revenant is quite literally that which is out of time, and defies time as well as the natural order. Where death is meant to put a stop to existence, the return of the   dead marks a deeply unsettling and thoroughly unnatural turn of events…Revenants that cannot be defeated – in other words, exorcised from the present – always threaten to return and are therefore already a possibility and a representation of a future-to-come (2002, 28).

In this regard, the time itself functions as one of the major issues that stand on the grounds with the concept of hauntology through its quality of being broken or

disrupted. The revenants, in this case, arrive from the past and they appear in the present, but they "cannot be properly said to belong to the past" since "the idea of a return from death fractures all traditional conceptions of temporality": "The temporality to which the ghost is subject is therefore paradoxical, at once they 'return' and make their apparitional debut" (Buse and Stott 1999, 11). Consequently, Derrida's concept of hauntology presents itself as this "dual movement of return and inauguration", considered to be "a coinage that suggests a spectrally deferred non-origin within grounding metaphysical terms such as history and identity" (Buse and Stott 1999, 11). The nearly-violent act of awakening these ghosts of the past reveals creating the scenes of history from the past, and as Davis further explains, this hauntological process in fiction further represents a call to justice: the dead return and inhabit the present as revenants "either because the rituals of burial, commemoration and mourning have not been properly completed, or because they are evil and must be exorcised," or just like the ghost of Hamlet's father, "they know of a secret to be revealed, a wrong to be righted, an injustice to be made public or a wrong doer to be apprehended" (2007, 3).

3. Neo-Gothic and revisiting *Dracula*

Victorian people, the most modern and advanced of humanity that the world had ever seen so far in their time with their Industrial Revolution, Darwin and the theory of evolution, and further social and scientific advancements, took pride in what they had become. The Victorian society was strictly built around moral codes, the search for knowledge at all costs and the rules that were established for the fear of regression, invasion or losing of power and control:

> If we strip away the gadgets and fashions, Victorian England was not unlike the United States today. There was the same unblinking worship of independence and of hard cash; there was the same belief in institutions – patriotism, democracy, individualism, organized religion, philanthropy, sexual morality, the family, capitalism and progress; the same overwhelming self-confidence, with its concomitant…And, at the core, was the same tiny abscess – the nagging guilt as to the inherent contradiction between the morality and the system (Jordan 1966, 12).

The Victorian society as the centre of the civilized world created the first examples of the great Gothic fiction with a dire need to exorcise their demons: they put their fears in monsters coming from another time, realm or reality and they successfully destroyed them at the end of their stories, saving themselves, their country and

their future. In *Contemporary Gothic*, Catherine Spooner explains this sense of danger for the past, present and the future through the characteristics of the Gothic period. According to Spooner, the Gothic text presents the past as "a site of terror, of an injustice that must be resolved, an evil that must be exorcised" and it is not invested with idealism or nostalgia: "The past chokes the present, prevents progress and the march towards personal or social enlightenment" (2006, 18). In this case, Stoker's *Dracula* poses a similar pattern of anxieties for the Victorian people: Dracula's "ancient aristocratic bloodline/bloodlust" is the danger that "threatens the ruthlessly modern young people who seek to foil his evil plans with the aid of their typewriters, phonographs, train timetables and bang-up-to-date criminological theory" (2006, 19). It is in fact this haunting anxiety and the exorcising process that paves the way for its revisionist counterpart, *The Historian*. Elizabeth Kostova refashions the Dracula myth from a Neo-Gothic standpoint with her debut novel. One of the common characteristics of *Dracula* and *The Historian* is the epistolary format – *Dracula* includes letters, diary entries, newspaper articles, and even ships' log entries while *The Historian* is piled up of all kinds of letters, passages from academic essays and pages of information from history books. In *Dracula*, Mina Murray, Harker's fiancée, undertakes this recording. The book opens with a bold statement of reality: "All needless matters have been eliminated, so that a history almost at variance with the possibilities of latter-day belief may stand forth as simple fact" – the prefatory note further claims that there is "throughout no statement of past events wherein memory may err, for all the records chosen are exactly contemporary, given from the standpoints and within the range of knowledge of those who made them" (1994, 9). Is this Stoker's voice, or Mina's? In *The Historian*, it is apparently Paul's daughter, our unnamed narrator, who makes the same claim in a "Note to the Reader":

> This is the story of how as a girl of sixteen I went in search of my father and his past, and of how he went in search of his beloved mentor and his mentor's own history, and of how we all found ourselves on one of the darkest pathways into history. It is the story of who survived that search and who did not, and why. As a historian, I have learned that, in fact, not everyone who reaches back into history can survive it. And it is not only reaching back that endangers us; sometimes history itself reaches inexorably forward for us with its shadowy claw [...] To you, perceptive reader, I bequeath my history (2005, vii).

The possibility of any kind of doubt in the reader, therefore, is eliminated even before both novels start. However, there still stands a major difference between two accounts: while *Dracula* suffices with confirming the truth of the events, our unnamed narrator, 'as a historian', goes on to warn us about some aspects of

history with an approaching feeling of danger. This danger of history's "reaching inexorably forward for us with its shadowy claw" is one of the focal points that the novel serves to its reader and this point is perseveringly emphasized by Kostova's descriptions and the details about the history of Dracula's ancestry.

Both Stoker and Kostova, albeit with different literary styles, admitted that they were heavily inspired by Vlad Ţepeş of Wallachia, the historical figure with a widely-recognized reputation of his uniquely ruthless methods in war. Vlad III takes the name Dracula (meaning "son of Dracul", deriving from the Latin word *draco* meaning dragon) when his father joins the Order of the Dragon, a group founded by the Roman Emperor Sigismund in order to defend Christian Europe against the Ottoman Empire. Vlad Dracula and his brother are taken by Sultan Mehmet II as collateral to secure their father's loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, where some sources specify that Vlad the Impaler get a first taste of his signature method by watching the Ottoman ways of torturing and impaling people. The dragon is an important symbol that represents Dracula himself in *The Historian*. Both authors take great notice to make Dracula's past life's history glaringly visible in their novels, but Elizabeth Kostova quite accurately portrays her Dracula as the embodiment of the historical figure of Vlad Ţepeş of Wallachia:

> He had long, curling, dark hair, which fell around his shoulders in a short mantle… He wore a peaked cap of gold and green collar laced high under his large chin. The jewel on his brown and the gold threads in his collar glittered in the firelight. A cape of white fur was drawn around his shoulders and pinned with the silver symbol of a dragon… His mouth, I saw now, was closed in a hard smile, ruby and curving under his wiry, dark mustache (2005, 808).

Dracula, on the contrary with Stoker's "tall old man, clean-shaven save for a long white moustache, and clad black from head to foot, without a single speck of colour about him anywhere" (25), is more of a glorious Wallachian prince more than a "Transylvanian noble" in *The Historian*. His clothing alone is so "extraordinary" that the narrator "felt as frightened of it as I did of his strange undead presence" (Kostova 2005, 809). However, this does not arise as the only difference between the two revenants. Stoker feeds on Britain's fear of colonization while he equips his Vlad with a very specific purpose: spreading vampirism through the country and get new blood that is necessary for his regeneration. He mainly targets young, defenceless women, turns them into vampires, and uses them as his minions. Apart from the first time Dracula is introduced to the reader in the first chapter, he is either done with the feeding or caught in the middle of it and blood is always included in the scene. This is also

ironically what the narrator, a teenage high-school girl at the time, desperately comes to realize while she is gathering information about Vlad III in a library:

> But there was one aspect of the story that haunted me after each session, after I'd put the book back on its shelf, carefully noting the page number where I'd left off. It was a though that followed me down the steps of the library and across the canal bridges, until I reached the door. The Dracula of Stoker's imagination had a favorite sort of victim: young women (Kostova 2005, 79).

What does then Kostova's Dracula want? The reader, after pages and pages of chasing across different churches, cities, countries and eventually continents, gets to have a glance of Dracula himself only through the end of the novel. The only time we somehow see him stained with blood is from Bartholomew Rossi's accounts. It is made clear that Dracula bites Rossi with the purpose of turning him into a historian vampire because of his relentless chase of Dracula's quest, and it is a very obvious point that Dracula has to feed in order to survive at regular intervals; however, there is not a single scene in which any kind of biting is observed. Kostova completely eliminates the component of blood in a text belonging to vampire lore and replaces this aspect of physicality with intellectuality. Hence, the purpose of Kostova's revenant interrupting the natural order of life seems to spring up from a route far more complicated than a conquer plan with imperialist undertones – evil is ghosting through the libraries and archives and what he mainly set his sights on is to have a complete control over history itself:

> With your unflinching honesty, you can see the lesson of history. History has taught us that the nature of man is evil, sublimely so. Good is not perfectible, but evil is. Why should you not use your great mind in service of what is perfectible? I ask you, my friend, to join me of your own accord in my research…Together we will advance the historian's work beyond anything the world has ever seen. There is no purity like the purity of the sufferings of history. You will have what every historian wants: history will be reality to you. We will wash our minds clean with blood (Kostova 2005, 830).

This is one of the greatest torturers of the history stating his belief that humanity carries an evil core inside, and if it is obvious that you can "perfect evil", the question necessarily presents itself as to why one would try to do any good in his lifetime. Dracula constantly tries to get the adjective of "evil" away from himself and attribute it to the humanity and their past filled with horrors; the reader and

Rossi himself finally take notice of the totality of Dracula's plan when he explains the spreading of his 1453 dragon books around the world, referring to the year of Constantinople's fall and the capture of the capital of the Byzantine Empire by the Ottoman Empire. He states that he did not just randomly spread the books to any kind of people: "They go only to the most promising scholars, and to those I think may be persistent enough to follow the dragon to his lair. And you are the first who has actually done it. I congratulate you. My other assistants I leave out in the world, to do my research" (Kostova 2005, 845).

Kostova's Dracula plans on building evil not exactly physically, but ontologically by gathering a library of humanity's evil, thus having a clear dictatorship on history. Whereas contemporary vampire stories romanticize the vampiric state, Kostova takes pains to associate that state with an indisputable evil that is closer to "real" evil than supernatural evil. She also takes pains to highlight the "real" evil committed by political figures like Vlad III in their thirst of power, and draws a direct connection between Vlad III's evil deeds during life and Dracula's evil nature in death. Once dead, Dracula does not commit evil on the same scale (if measured in the cost of human lives), but rather exhibits an ontological evil that dictates his being, and this evil infects his minions through saliva and blood. By building this library of evil, even though the revenant is exorcised, his threat to humanity does not completely disappear for his ontology stays on earth after his death. Preserving one's history in order to keep the ontological existence parallel to the physical one functions as one of the most important duties of the revenant. Consequently, Paul is the one that links Dracula's evil nature to those historical figures in the past by analysing their deeds through their lives:

> And I wonder if destroying him would make that much difference in the future. Think of what Stalin did to his people, and Hitler. They did not need to live five hundred years to accomplish these horrors.
> 'I know,' I said. 'I've thought about that, too.'
> Helen nodded. 'The strange thing, you know, is that Stalin openly admired Ivan the Terrible. Two leaders who were willing to crush and kill their own people—to do anything necessary—in order to consolidate their power. And whom do you think Ivan the Terrible admired?' (Kostova 2005, 720).

This may be one of the greatest points in the story where the characters come to realize that what Dracula has been saying so far about the evil nature of humanity might be true after all. Paul immediately questions: "You told me there were many Russian tales about Dracula" (Kostova 2005, 721). The mystery is nearly solved and the reader gets a dangerous glance through history, creating a mental link between

Vlad Dracula and Ivan the Terrible, Stalin, Hitler and every other dictator that had turned millions of people's lives into hell as well as between fictional Dracula and the historical figures. What gives the core essence of the novel is a paragraph told by our unnamed narrator from the beginning of the novel. She has grown into a historian and piled everything that happened through the quest of Dracula's tomb in order to transfer the information to the next generation, ironically serving Dracula's initial purpose of creating a library of evil by producing a text full of Dracula and his history. The temptation to further pursue this quest that takes over the historians from the very beginning to the end of the novel, then, is undeniable:

> The thing that most haunted me that day, however, as I closed my notebook and put my coat on to go home, was not my ghostly image of Dracula, or the description of impalement, but the fact that these things had – apparently – actually occurred. If I listened too closely, I thought, I would hear the screams of the boys, of the "large family" dying together. For all his attention to my historical education, my father had neglected to tell me this: history's terrible moments were real. I understand now, decades later, that he could never have told me. Only history itself can convince you of such a truth. And once you've seen that truth—really seen it—you can't look away (Kostova 2005, 51).

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William Golding and Bram Stoker – Conceptual Core and Glossing Windows (EVOLI)

Aba-Carina PÂRLOG[1], Marius-Mircea CRIȘAN[2]

As Carol Senf suggests ("Dracula: The Unseen Face in the Mirror" 1979), one of the greatest dangers which Bram Stoker's characters have to face is the evil inside them. This theme was developed in different ways in 20th century British literature. An interpretation of the background, setting and story in William Golding's Lord of the Flies can be very useful for the understanding of the darkness of one's soul and the way in which people can dread human nature. The digital tool EVOLI offers a chance for teachers and students alike to teach and learn about Lord of the Flies by transgressing the borders of language and turning affected spirituality into a reason for analysing the depths of cultural codifications. The elements connected to the novel are taken into account using various views on methodological hermeneutics so that meanings may be made transparent and the message of the author can be rendered without any bias. The importance of this approach is shown by students' feedback to this kind of a perspective on a theme of evilness, terror and death. The presence of a Beast in the midst of the action and of an overall Beelzebub influencing all characters helps one create a scale of human corruption which determines a gradation of the connotations of what haunting is.

Keywords: *Lord of the Flies, Dracula, blood, teaching, EVOLI*

1. Introduction

Our paper presents a very interdisciplinary perspective, in between literary studies – literary perception, language and literature teaching and translation and interpreting studies, and starts from central similarities between William Golding' *Lord of the Flies* and Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. We shall also deal with one of the main digital tools developed within the frame of the Erasmus+ *ELSE* project, called EVOLI, a teaching/learning feedback instrument which allows students to watch a theoretical video complementing a course in their own time and offer their

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opinions as to the efficiency of the recording in terms of its content importance, clarity and usefulness. An interpretation of the background, setting and story in Golding's novel can be very useful for the understanding of the darkness of one's soul and the way in which people can dread human nature. It is thus essential to render its ideas with accuracy when trying to gloss the text which should also suggest the necessity of an in-depth research of the book.

The "heart of darkness", as Joseph Conrad calls it, appears in different lights in Golding's book which is analysed based on Stoker's well-known creation mentioned above. The children of the night take on new roles metaphorically shaped by their 20th century author in order to symbolically show the cruelty of battles such as WWII. The transformation of human beings into hunted preys reveals the sad truth about our civilised age and the indifference of the masses as to their rulers' ideology.

Morality as a Christian cultural emblem lacks the solidity necessary for a fierce struggle and our characters consequently display similar tendencies and perform similar activities to those of the characters in Stoker's horror world. Destroying a life for personal satisfaction matters less than suspected as the British writers' protagonists develop an interest in repeatedly annihilating individuals' existence in order to prove their unmistakably ill personality.

2. Evil Spirits and Gothic imagination

As Carol Senf suggests (1997, 430), one of the greatest dangers which Stoker's characters have to confront is the evilness inside themselves. Its excess leads to miserable results. Several critics agree that the vampire is a symbol of hidden passions and forbidden desires which, in the book, are amalgamated with strange tendencies reinforced by their natural or acquired vile nature.

By breaking the (moral) restrictions, Lucy, one of the first victims of Dracula in England, cannot resist the temptation of the vampire and turns into an un-dead. The same thing is about to happen to Jonathan Harker, the solicitor protagonist of Stoker's novel, and later to his wife, Mina, if they lose control of their consciousness. In a memorable phrase, David Punter (1996, 19) suggests a Freudian reading of the narrative, stating that Dracula is the "passion which never dies, endless desire of the unconscious for gratification".

Dracula's evil force is contagious and the vampire has the power to conquer time and space. As the vampire hunter Van Helsing explains, the vampire "cannot die, but must go on age after age adding new victims and multiplying the evils of the world. For all that die from the preying of the Undead become themselves Undead, and prey on their kind. And so the circle goes on ever widening, like the

ripples from a stone thrown in the water" (Stoker 1994, 257). The vampire count becomes a symbol of the evil which threatens the entire world.

In *Dracula*, the vampire count is also associated with flies. The flies are the first offerings which Renfield, the worshiper of Dracula, gathers for his master. He feeds the flies to spiders, the spiders to birds, and then he needs a cat to eat the birds. The "zoophagous maniac", as Dr Seward diagnoses Renfield, cuts the psychiatrist's arm with a knife, and licks the blood drips off the floor. The attraction of the evil is irresistible, in the case of Renfield. He is connected "in some diabolical way" to Dracula, whom he calls 'lord and master'.

The theme of the evil inside was developed in different ways in 20th century British literature, and Golding's *Lord of the Flies* is one of the masterpieces based on this topic.

> "The title of the novel, *Lord of the Flies,* can be interpreted as Beelzebub, that is represented by Collin de Plancy in his *Dictionnaire Infernal* (1863, 89) as a huge fly with wings that carry the pirate marks of the skull, below which there lies a pair of crossed bones. It represents the devil, the evil force that becomes the engine of the book. Golding gives it a concrete representation in the form of the head of a sow on which flies swarm." (Pârlog 2011, 54).

Lord of the Flies also develops the dichotomy of civilisation and barbarism, but, this time, there is little chance for the boys who discover the island to civilise it. The opposition paradise – hell can also be discussed in Golding's novel: at first the Pacific island seems to be heaven, with all the beautiful shades of green and blue, but the characters discover that the foreshadowed evilness is there, suggested by nature, weather conditions and even their mates' shadows.

> A boy' shadow in *Lord of the Flies* is compared to "a black, bat-like creature": "(…) the eye was first attracted to a black, bat-like creature that danced on the sand, and only later perceived the body above it. The bat was the child's shadow, shrunk by the vertical sun to a patch between the hurrying feet" (Golding, 1999, 15).

This is yet another suggestion of what the boys may cause if they are not careful – the loss of life, as bats feed themselves on blood.

The religious choir boys appear as "something dark fumbling along" (idem) which Golding suggests is some less clearly visible creature that steps on the sand. The opposition morality – corruption is paradoxically represented, as it is these very boys who determine the later killings and the scorching of the island. As taught in school and church, they are supposed to be able to make the difference

between good and bad and not allow their souls to be tainted by the low energies of extreme actions.

Their heart of darkness is emphasised and therefore their imagination is presented as taking over and making them fear their own impulsive decisions. The beast that the children talk about is their inner evil. They are afraid of themselves and discover at an early age an unfortunate truth which affects all humankind – *homo hominis lupus est*.

Living among human beings who pretend to be civilised and act savagely is deemed to create unfortunate expectations which fuel the boys' imagination. As a result, Golding develops a typology of beasts in the book, according to the places where the children are when they supposedly encounter them. One can talk about a beast of the air, one of the land and one of the water (Pârlog 2011, 58). They are all envisaged as external to the children's mental conception – not recognised as imaginary – as if they try to redeem their fallen selves by a split personality syndrome mechanically determined. Like in *Dracula*, the evil has a strong power of metamorphosing.

3. Symbolic motifs and primitive protagonists

Another common ground between Stoker's *Dracula* and Golding's *Lord of the Flies* is the motif of blood. Blood is in both novels a symbol of the thirst for power and, at the same time, a threshold on whose crossing survival depends. Like the vampire, for whom blood is a condition of existence, the children shipwrecked on the island cannot survive without eating meat, so they spill pigs' blood during their hunting expeditions.

Beyond the need for food, for subsistence, hunting becomes a ritual. The vampiric effect of hunting in *Lord of Flies* is suggested by the ritual nature of pig hunting. There is, in fact, a religious transformation: a transition from Christianity, the religion of the *civilised* world, to a *primitive* religion. The transition is made by the leader of the children's religious choir, Jack. The children's choir appears from the beginning as a religious group, whose identity is marked by the Christian symbol of the cross: "Their bodies, from throat to ankle, were hidden by black cloaks which bore a long silver cross on the left breast and each neck was finished off with a hambone frill" (Golding 1999, 16). However, Christian clothing is removed, and the black coloured cloak – a symbol of discipline and rigor specific to Christian morality – is replaced by rudimentary clothing, more suitable for a desert island.

The situation is somewhat different from *Robinson Crusoe*, where the protagonist even alone on the island did not give up his clothes, a symbol of belonging to the values of the Western world that he represented. The children in *Lord of Flies*, with the exception of Ralph and the few friends who keep staying on

his side, give up the values of Western culture and renounce its symbols embracing an undeveloped behavioural pattern. "Ralph is elected leader when 'reason' is in the ascendant in the novel and he sticks to his principles of order and rescue against the overwhelming tide of 'unreason'" (Redpath 1984, 47).

The transition from Christian values to the primitive cult of hunting is gradual. If first the children are reluctant to kill a pig for food, after several trials, hunting turns into a pleasant ritualistic activity. Their Christian education is replaced by the glorification of the pig's head placed on top of a stick. The thirst for blood is highlighted in numerous sequences that describe this barbaric ritual: "The chant rose ritually, as at the last moment of a dance or a hunt. "*Kill the pig! Cut his throat! Kill the pig! Bash him in!*'" (Golding 1999, 127).

Blood becomes a defining element for the group of hunters who paint their faces in order to improve their hunting and identify more readily with the savage roles they have embraced. Jack is the first who changes his identity, and in the beginning, is surprised to see his new face:

> Jack planned his new face. He made one cheek and one eye-socket white, then rubbed red over the other half of his face and slashed a black bar of charcoal across from right ear to left jaw. He looked in the mere for his reflection, but his breathing troubled the mirror. [...] A rounded patch of sunlight fell on his face and a brightness appeared in the depths of the water. He looked in astonishment, no longer at himself but at an awesome stranger. He spilt the water and leapt to his feet, laughing excitedly. Beside the mere, his sinewy body held up a mask that drew their eyes and appalled them. He began to dance and his laughter became a bloodthirsty snarling (Golding 1999, 67-68).

The motif of the face in the mirror is also an important element in Stoker's novel. During a discussion with the vampire, Jonathan observes that the mirror only reflects his face, while Dracula has no reflection on glass – which can be seen as indicating that he represents a form of energy absorbed by sand and metal (the substances of the mirror), that stand for earth, because Dracula symbolises the world of the dead that belong to the ground. At the same time, the light which is normally reflected by the glass is absorbed by the Prince of darkness – so one cannot see him in a mirror. The identification between Jonathan and Count Dracula is also suggested by the mother who came to take her child back from the vampiric castle and who called Jonathan *monster*, confusing him with the vampire: "Monster, give me my child!" (Stoker 1994, 60). In both novels children are sacrificed by the forces of evil in their quest for power.

In *Dracula*, the thirst for blood becomes a symbol of the desire for power. Dracula intends to conquer the world, turning humans into vampires that will

follow him unreservedly into the dark universe of primary instincts. In the vampire's vision, no one can stand against him, and he tells the strongest men who try to hunt them down that they will also be defeated by his power. If in *Dracula* the trap set by the vampire is sexual attraction (because the Count first turns women into vampires, and they vampirise men), in *Lord of the Flies*, children are attracted by hunting, which is viewed like a pleasurable activity and which means the spilling of blood caused by another primary instinct: hunger.

Jack, the one who provides them with food, is the supreme leader and acts like a high priest, telling them what is right and what is wrong according to his rigid reasoning. As, in the last part of the novel, Ralph remains the only child on the island who still believes in the balanced values of Western culture, Jack comes to the idea that Ralph must be killed. Consequently, Ralph becomes the 'bad character' and, all the other children are given the mission to destroy him as Jack has manipulated them into thinking that the former is against them and their wishes for entertainment.

Even though Ralph escapes alive, two children are killed: Simon and Piggy, both representing the voice of reason – transcendental reason, Simon and earthly reason, Piggy (Pârlog 2011, 57). Piggy is the one who tries to bring order to the world dominated by instincts, and, for this reason, is killed by the children-hunters. Simon is killed by the same children before being able to tell them that he has found the body of a paratrooper, hanging on the branches of a tree because of his parachute, so there was no beast – only an impression that there was one. Breaking away from the civilized world is symbolized in the first chapters by their no longer tending to the fire in order to go hunting. As Jack's group leaves the fire, a ship passes close to the island, and if the fire had not been extinguished, the children would have been found.

The children's regret of having lost the chance to be spotted is replaced by their satisfaction of discovering the principles and values of the primitive world of hunting. When Ralph reproaches Jack for having let the fire go out, the latter replies that Ralph would have also liked to discover the joy of hunting. Consequently, ensuring one's survival by killing becomes more important than ensuring one's survival by being rescued and returning to the civilised world.

As in Stoker's *Dracula*, the relationship between hunter and hunted is very complex. The hunter turns into the hunted, and the other way round. Stoker's vampires that hunt children, women and men, are also hunted by the members of the *Crew of Light*. The vampire hunters are in turn hunted by the vampire count, who vampirises the women to whom they are related. Jonathan, who was about to be hunted by both the vampire count and his brides, is the one who (together with Quincey Morris) kills Dracula at the end of a hunting scene.

Hunting is central in *Dracula*, where the characters have an obsession with both cold weapons, especially knives, and firearms. The leader of the vampire hunters, Van Helsing insists on the importance of being properly armed: "Of course we shall all go armed, armed against evil things, spiritual as well as physical" (Stoker, 1994, 386). If the children on the island train themselves for pig hunting, the members of the Crew of Light prepare themselves for wolf hunting, as the wolf is the animal associated with the vampire. Quincey Morris suggests that, since "the Count comes from a wolf country", they should use powerful hunting rifles: "I have a kind of belief in a Winchester when there is any trouble of that sort around. Do you remember, Art, when we had the pack after us at Tobolsk? What wouldn't we have given then for a repeater a piece!' (Stoker 1994, 386).

The ritualistic function of hunting is suggested in the scene of Dracula's destruction by Jonathan and Quincy: "But, on the instant, came the sweep and flash of Jonathan's great knife. I shrieked as I saw it shear through the throat. Whilst at the same moment Mr. Morris's bowie knife plunged into the heart." (Stoker 1994, 447).

In *Dracula*, the hunted vampire is the symbol of absolute evil. The idea that the hunted represents evilness is also prevalent in *Lord of Flies*. When the children kill Simon, they are convinced that they destroy Lord of Flies, actually they destroy "imaginative and religious knowledge" (Brînzeu 2001, 41). The children hunt down Ralph with the same conviction that his killing is necessary to destroy the evil on the island. Ralph's hunting is described from the perspective of the victim, the one who hides and flees in order to survive, but is constantly chased.

The symbol of insularity is also a common point between the two novels. Stoker's fictional Transylvania is described as an insular space, different from the Western world, where archaic faiths are still alive: "I read that every known superstition in the world is gathered into the horseshoe of the Carpathians, as if it were the centre of some sort of imaginative whirlpool" (Stoker 1994, 10). The abode of the vampire, Castle Dracula, is ruled by the forces of evil (Crişan and Senf 2021, 657; Crişan 2016, 74-76). The English guest is also about to be transformed into a vampire, but he is saved by the crucifix he had around his neck, which he had received as a gift from a Transylvanian landlady in Bistriţa. In *Lord of the Flies*, Jack and the children in his group reject Christian symbols and gradually adhere to the archaic cult of the hunter, in order to adapt to the specific of the island which they discover and conquer at the same time.

The motif of the bloody ritual is developed in the Icelandic version of *Dracula* which has Swedish origins (de Roos 2017), an adaptation of Stoker's novel in which Harker discovers a secret temple hidden in the castle, where bloody group rituals take place (de Roos 2017, 36; 152). The theme of anarchy, which is central in *Lord of the Flies,* is another common point between Golding's novel and the Icelandic version of *Dracula*. As Clive Bloom (2017, 128) puts it, in the Icelandic version,

"Dracula is less interested in vampirism than in anarchism, less in individual victims than in mass conversions."

Changing the voice of reason with that of passionate desires thus leads to transformations of groups and masses in both books because the writers build upon the idea that responsiveness to lower forms of energy is always much more frequent in unusual individuals – such as Jack who enjoys killing animals and children or Dracula that seems to be a human hybrid of sorts – than in their fully educated human counterparts. By disrupting the universal balance, such characters generally have an unhappy ending – which is unclear in Golding's case as he only shows us a coward Jack in the end and quite clear in the case of *Dracula* where the count is killed.

4. Glossing Windows (EVOLI)

In order to test the importance of having adequately understood Golding's literary work, a class on literary translations was taught with the help of the digital feedback tool, EVOLI, employed in order to reveal the impact that a certain recording of a theoretical (part of a course has on students. Generally, with this type of an electronic instrument, students are given the chance to watch the course content at home, in their own time and express their opinion about the relevance of a particular teaching strand from the point of view of language level, complexity of cultural stratification, prior knowledge of the topic, practical usefulness, etc. According to Anthony William Bates (2019, 666, "The last 'fundamental' key of quality teaching and learning in a digital age is evaluation and innovation: assessing what has been done, and then looking at ways to improve on it". The MA group of students specialising in the Theory and Practice of Translations watched a YouTube video presented by Jill Dash *Why should you read "Lord of the Flies" by William Golding?* in class so as to have the plot and its implications clear in their head as they had mostly not heard about or read the novel so they could not interpret its linguistic stratification without knowing its contextual substrata. Their feedback was discussed immediately afterwards so that a preliminary debate on the exercise theme could be organised.

The focal point of the experimental class was the assessment of students' reception of this text clarifying the dark core of Golding's *Lord of the Flies* by doing an interpretation exercise about it. Without consistent knowledge of Gothic literature, students who have graduated from applied modern languages, were not at all familiar with the key issues of the novel, so it was a little more difficult for them to grasp all the secondary meanings of various words and constructions and the associations that could be made with similar or dissimilar notions or concepts. Although they had understood the inhumane context of the book and the theme of *homo moralis*, they had problems with the terminology connected to evil spirits

(Beelzebub), war (destroyer), politics (superpowers, colonialism), complex constructions referring to island stories, longer sentences, etc.

An interdisciplinary perspective on literary works is always necessary especially with translators who do not have a linguistic and literary specialisation. In this case, the consecutive interpretation exercise showed how much it is necessary for students to grasp the main ideas connected to the heart of darkness and its philosophy, so that the glossing process may unfold faithfully. Those of them who were knowledgeable when it comes to the issues of the book fared much better than those who had heard about it for the first time.

EVOLI is quite useful for teaching both language and literature as the multitude of videos present on YouTube makes it easy for one to select the most relevant one which would support the knowledge transfer that takes place during a class. Its feedback element makes it a valuable interactive tool for both students and teachers. Literature, just as language, relies on many theoretical components for which there may be less time to spare during course time, so this tool offers an ideal solution to this problem.

5. Conclusion

The conceptual core of Golding's book is heavily based on the ideology adopted by Stoker in his novel. Although the centuries when these creations were published differ a lot, the consistency of the mistaken ideas by which the included characters lead their lives proves that there is little evolution as far as the human brain is concerned. The imposed necessity of mindless conquering of time and space does not justify the lack of opposition on the part of the children and of many characters in the 19th century book.

Fear combined with the potential for evil interventions results in loss of life which seems to have also lost its importance and in loss of microcosmic spaces which are scorched literally or metaphorical. The ultimate danger of ignorance lurks in these literary creations, while indifference despite proofs brings about disastrous situations. Putting superficial necessities first, such as those of *homo ludens*, unconsciously forces the symbolical individuals in the books to leave reason behind and embrace the unreasonable, the irrational, the insane, the morbid which do not encourage survival of any sort – be it vegetal, mineral or human.

The interest in liminal experiences reflects the human tendency to achieve more under influence or pressure. In such cases, the results disappoint as deluding urges cannot support any positive enterprise. Awareness and foresight are unfashionable abilities in both centuries which encourage human beings to go by a pre-digested path (19th century) or to live the moment (20th century). The encouraging impulses of societies which undermine the importance of the brain glorifying the body pose serious

hazards which determine the annihilation of intelligence, of solutions to problems and brings us eventually closer to an untimely end. This is why we consider it necessary to stimulate the young generations of readers to reflect on the social allegories constructed in masterpieces of world literature such as Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and William Golding's *Lord of the Flies.* By an in-depth analysis of such dystopian worlds, we can make the world that we live in better.

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Dracula Metaphysics. Exploring the Vampire Motif in Contemporary Women's Fiction

Georgeta MOARCĂS[1]

Three women writers, Elisabeth Kostova, Doina Ruști, and Ruxandra Ivăncescu chose the vampire motif as the core of their historiographical metafiction. The principle of verisimilitude that dominates their prose writing in different percentages, transforms the narrative strategy into an initiation journey for interpreting various traces left behind by a mysterious character. They are blending into their prose writing historic archival facts, popular knowledge embedded in folktales and ballads, as well as important artifacts. As requested by the literary convention, their vampire becomes a time traveler, interested in maintaining power and offering protection to a few ones, a more intellectual and at times a good-natured character, stripped of his sensuality.

Keywords: *vampire, historiographical metafiction, metaphysics, initiation*

Even if the novelists belong to different cultures and literary traditions, American for Elisabeth Kostova, and Romanian for Doina Ruști and Ruxandra Ivăncescu, they are challenging through their fiction the very old core of the image of the vampire, that of immortality. This ability and desire to overcome time, the non-limitation in time is still attractive for all of them and it will be embodied in characters like Drakulya, a reinterpretation of the historical figure of Vlad Ţepeş, as in Elisabeth Kostova's *The Historian* (2005), several of Vlad Ţepeş's descendants, as in Ruxandra Ivăncescu's *Ochiul dragonului* (2007), or even a different vampire, a living witness from medieval times, Zogru, as in Doina Ruști's novel (2013).

The access to eternity is not a curse for these vampires, as they are not in danger to suffer "the inevitability of boredom" (Mahon 2015, 13). Even if Elisabeth Kostova and Ruxandra Ivăncescu use "a kind of macro-presentation of occult or

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mythological activity which is shown to control the narrative in certain ways," (Gelder 1994, 109) and engage their main characters in mythic scenarios, the minutiae of her reconstructions of distant and exotic places (the Balkans, the ancient Egypt, the Romanian Principalities) can prevent a certain sensation of tiredness in her readers, and may help her characters slip less into some existential boredoms. Another very imaginative way of surpassing this problem, of boredom, is developed by Doina Ruști through Zogru, a formless vampire, localized version of the archetypal Folkloric vampire identified by Christopher Frayling (1991), nevertheless a keen observer of his surprising bodily transformations. All these novels though, are displaying the main feature of contemporary vampire fiction, as discussed by Ken Gelder: they are "'panoramic' in both space and *time*" (Gelder 1994, 111). And because they belong to novels written in the 2000s, we will find as a common trait the fact underlined by Sorcha Ní Fhlainn that "vampire evolution also centres on the return of cultural myths and legends" (Ní Fhlainn 2019, 12).

Elisabeth Kostova's *The Historian* resembles, at a first glance, a detective story, where scholars from both West and East academia are struggling to give an appropriate interpretation to a consistent amount of signs, texts, books, inscriptions, maps and old parchment documents, scattered in several locations in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, in order to discover the truth about Drakulya (his name as it is printed in the medieval book) and his hiding place. The best reader (but reading *per se* is not sufficient, as we will see) takes it all, reaching Dracula's hiding place and getting his/her eternal prize, namely to submit under the vampire's control.

Imagined also as an alternative development of the historical figure of Vlad Țepeș, Kostova's vampire is not so much a myth of the modern world but an opening to the possibility of surviving of a frightful figure from the past. Through this hermeneutic approach Kostova camouflages in her novel a mythic scenario, the eternal confrontation between good and evil, where the forces at play are involved into a strategic game throughout historical epochs.

Dracula's surviving skills do not depend so much on blood as on his fame, carefully curated by himself, for "the key to immortality itself, [is] to live on through narrative" (Ní Fhlainn 2019, 140). He has already generated a secret history that needs to be perpetuated through old books with a dragon's imprint that are destined to entice scholars with a passion for the past. These chosen readers are attracted by the magical image of the dragon, thus conjuring Drakulya's apparitions, consequently enhancing his powers.

There is a manifested need of this damned eternal figure to be nurtured by the belief of his faithful followers, as the conventional vampire was living through blood. In this matter Kostova's image of the vampire is challenging the possibility of a postmodern one, detached itself from folkloric roots, becoming increasingly secular, as discussed by recent scholars (Ní Fhlainn 2019, 9).

As the act of reading transforms itself into a ritual connection with Dracula, so does the religious ritual, both Catholic and Orthodox, and also the popular, folkloric one. Several sacred places appear to be central in the novel, as Saint-Matthieu-des-Pyrénées-Orientales, the Catholic monastery dating from 1000 A.D., with the old sarcophagus hiding the first abbot who conquered death through mysterious ways, but also Dracula, at the end of the novel, Snagov Monastery, the first of Țepeș' tombs, now an empty one, and Sveti Gheorghi, the Bulgarian monastery protecting Dracula's crypt, tomb and library, where he is discovered by Paul and Helen, the narrator's parents. These places act a source of power and protection for Țepeș/Dracula, both in life and after his death by beheading.

Religious ritual is still meaningful in the world of the novel, constituting a founding narrative, whether it is about medieval times or contemporary ones. Therefore the vampire's connection with the sacred world makes him immune to the power of the cross and gives him the possibility to attack in these very sacred spaces, as at Rila monastery in Bulgaria, or at the French monastery in the Pyrenees.

As a dual figure, in this new life, Dracula was both revered in pilgrimages and feared in popular songs. The ambiguity raises from the ruler's heroic deeds, as a protector of the Church and member of the Order of the Dragon, as well as from his tyrannic acts of violence.

Scholars in the novel reconstitute this alternative afterlife of the Wallachian ruler, and the reader discovers, at the end of the novel, information about the beginnings of this seemingly cyclic supernatural story: Vlad Dracul the Third acquired, by undisclosed means, a book containing the terrible secret discovered by some Catholic monks from an old French monastery. Even if originally the Order of the Dragon was founded several centuries later, in 1408, the connection of the chivalric order and the heresy proclaiming that the Dragon (and subsequently those protected by him) can conquer the saint (can find another way to immortality, not by Christian sanctity) was too appealing for Elisabeth Kostova. Vlad Țepeș' blasphemous wish, confessed to the Snagov monastery abbot, not to remain dead for a long time, was nevertheless protected by the Wallachian monks, who after Dracula's death eagerly searched to reunite his beheaded body with the missing

part, already taken to Istanbul, fully aware of the danger this new creature was spreading among the living: plagues and epidemics. The monks, among them a certain ubiquitous brother Kyril, were carrying "the sacred burden" until they reached a chosen monastery, indicated by a sign, an icon where the monster is depicted equal with the saint. It was at Sveti Gheorghi monastery in a remote part of Bulgaria, where Dracula was deposited.

This extraordinary moment was not recorded in documents but remained alive in the collective memory of both monks and peasants. Dracula's ambivalence was carried further by the dragon's image reminded in popular songs:

> *The dragon came down our valley.*
> *He burned the crops and took the maidens.*
> *He frightened the Turkish infidel and protected our villages.*
> *His breath dried up the rivers and we walked across them.*
> *Now we must defend ourselves.*
> *The dragon was our protector,*
> *But now we defend ourselves against him*.

<div align="right">(Kostova 2005, 310)</div>

His actions, remembered once as protective were now harmful. They generated an entire ritual, still reenacted by the local peasants, marked by apotropaic actions (dancing over a purifying bonfire holding old icons in their hands.) Alluding to popular beliefs connected with the celebration of St. George, the image of the vampire connected the literary and historiographical side with the ethnological one, infusing the text with a hint of lived experience.

In *The Historian* we are witnessing an old confrontation between good and evil, translated as a clash between a religious worldview – Dracula as the defender of the faith – perpetuated also by the superstitious beliefs of the peasants, and the rational investigators, historians and anthropologists, irrespective of their religious confessions, who turn into vampire hunters (Professor Rossi, Paul, Helen, Turgut Bora and Selim Aksay, the last ones being old enemies of the Wallachian prince and vampire, as members of the Crescent Guard).

Nevertheless, the expansion of evil is kept as a hidden menace throughout the novel, although Elisabeth Kostova does not provide any imagined possibility of the perfection of the evil Dracula wants to achieve and how. He is not the seductive Hollywood villain, but ultimately just a repulsive creature that bears the marks of

the underworld, and uses mostly fear to assure the loyalty of his followers. The power of the vampire, preserved by monks and commoners alike is this dreadful inheritance from the past. To understand Kostova's particular interpretation of evil, perpetuated with the help of religious authorities, we can refer to Chistopher Fryling's commentary given in connection with Rousseau's *Letter to Beaumont*: "Vampires are thus yet another manifestation of the sombre and nefarious tyranny of opinion exercised by priests over the minds of men" (Frayling 1991, 60).

Even though he is not a character in her novel as such, Vlad Țepeș' image irradiates through other literary figures in Ruxandra Ivăncescu's *The Eye of the Dragon*. His image is built through features that are not all mainstream, and not all of them resemble the historical portrait of the Wallachian ruler. It is more the case of a literary influence, for his ardent desire to reign, to gain and maintain power even through very cruel means, as a way to survive the most troubled times of the medieval Balkans, is challenged by his interest in the spiritual side, which is also mentioned in Bram Stoker's novel:

> As I learned from the researches of my friend Arminius of Buda-Pesth, he was in life a most wonderful man. Soldier, statesman, and alchemist – which latter was the highest development of the science knowledge of his time. He had a mighty brain, a learning beyond compare, and a heart that knew no fear and no remorse. He dared even to attend the Scholomance, and there was no branch of knowledge of his time that he did not essay. (Stoker 1983, 302)

In its historiographical approach, the story follows closely Vlad Dracula's descendants, each of them illustrating a dominant trait of their great-grandfather, at a time when Prince Alexandru Mircea, the fearful one, rules in Wallachia, and Petru Șchiopul, the alchemist, in Moldavia. To paraphrase Ken Gelder's discussion about vampire Lestat, for Ruxandra Ivăncescu "to be vampire is to *be* initiated" (Gelder 1994, 119) as well as cultured. Therefore, the center of the novel is occupied by Petru / Pietro, more of a Renaissance prince in search of the key knowledge of the world, a contemplative sage, as he abdicated his throne only to dedicate himself to alchemy in Tirol, at the Ambras castle, and then in Bolzano, where he is buried. His inclination towards the spiritual realm, the occult,

"astronomy and other fine things"[2] is actually historically recognized by the Ecumenic Patriarch of Constantinople, Ieremia the IInd in 1588. Truly conscious of the powers beneath the surface of the world, Petru is also an initiating master for all the other contemporary characters of the novel, first through the scriptural voice of his manuscripts and then *in praesentia*, greeting them as an old and new Count Dracula. The act of reading these manuscripts while using the talisman has the power of a ritual, for it unleashes the forces of chaos.

The contemporary fictional characters pass through dramatic events that reveal their hidden essence and identity, following the Emerald Tablet hermetic precept that "all which is below corresponds to that which is above / and all that is above corresponds to that which is below," directions replaced in the novel by past and present times. Under Petru's guidance, they will discover the eternal return of the same (as the alchemical *ouroboros*, another image of the dragon alluding to transformation and returning), the meaning of the bloodline and an initiated view of the world. Designed by unseen spiritual powers, the world literally rests on a Gordian knot that gathers together good and evil in right proportions, a knot forbidden to be touched. When it is threatened by the forces of chaos – the same throughout history – descendants of the medieval knights of the Order of the Dragon, i.e. Dracula's descendants, and all those protected by goddess Isis have to fight back.

Even if Petru/Pietro is the philosophical character, that gives a superior meaning to the common events of history, at the beginning of this initiation story we find Vlad Dracula's deeds while meeting an image of the goddess, a statue he will refer to as Madonna delle rose. Impressed by the complexity of expression mirrored on a statue's face, "the kindness of a saint and the cruel wrath of an ancient divinity seemed to have been merged in the marble" (Ivăncescu 2017, 567, my translation). Vlad defends her against furious Christians, presenting it as a Christian statue, as she wears the *crux ansata*, the Egyptian cross. From that moment onwards, in the history of his genealogical tree, Isis will be his protector and spiritual guide, watching over Dracula's family with her Egyptian cross, her wreath of roses, and a dragon wreathed at her feet.

Vampires' dream of surviving through the ages is addressed here in a way that does not enhance the Gothic element of blood consumption, but rather aims to reveal the spiritual meaning of the bloodline, of immortality attained through a

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[2] Information retrieved from the article referring to a commemorative religious service held in 2013 in Bolzano, Italy, in the memory of Petru Șchiopul, https://basilica.ro/slujba-de-pomenire-a-domnitorului-petru-schiopul-in-bolzano-italia/, consulted at 10.01.2022.

succession of deaths and ressurections. Ruxandra Ivăncescu proposes an archetypal reading of *Dracula*,

> The novel [Bram Stoker's *Dracula*] is much more than a horror story. To remain in the world's hall of fame, something must be outstanding in that book, something else than a story with Englishmen frightened by vampires. (…) The novel has a secret coded history. (…) The vampirising process is a union, a wedding resembling the alchemical one. The body is the alchemical vase where the transubstantiation process takes place, which ensures life after death. (Ivăncescu 2017, 140, my translation)

The capacity to be reborn as the same or another is addressed by Pietro's belief that "histories are repeating themselves. Maybe with other people, in other epochs, or maybe with the same" (Ivăncescu 2017, 453) The novelist reflects on Mircea Eliade's ideas of camouflaging sacred scenarios into the profane, as all the characters are guided into a well of time, reaching the mythical time, protected by Isis, the bird-winged goddess, the goddess mastering the old secrets of the initiatory complex of death and resurrection. It is a taming of the image of the vampire, as Ruxandra Ivăncescu alludes to, these once sacred rites being stored in the popular imagination.

This positive vision towards history reflected by Petru/Pietro, the idea of a superior meaning of the events, of a good that should prevail, of the importance of memory and of the salvation of the world is induced perhaps by the harmonious order of the Spanish Room in the Ambras Castle Hall and certainly not by its disturbing Chamber of Art and Wonders.

With Zogru, Doina Ruști's vampire, readers experiment an intimate knowledge of history from below, from the point of view of a bodiless being that inhabits the common people from medieval times till nowadays, but also other beings, such as a dog, and even objects like the Snagov's monastery gate. Zogru is a strange combination of Zburător [The Flying Man], a supernatural being in the Romanian folklore that has a luminous impalpable nature, attacking and provoking erotic desires in sleeping young women, and a vampire, as he needs other bodies to survive. His way of entering them is a classic one, through a bite, with marks left on the neck. Being bodiless and fragile, "a thin thread of green light," (Ruști 2013, 6, my translation) he uses his hosts as a place of living and as means of locomotion. Therefore he can experience the world only through its beings and objects, being incorporated into their substance. This first feeling of inhabiting someone is truly

ecstatic, and Pampu, the young servant at a Wallachian boyar in the times of Vlad Dracula the Young, possibly one of his sons, will be forever remembered.

> He went in through the veins of his tensed neck and he entered gladly in the warm blood. He lived everything with an infinite enthusiasm. He ran through veins and vessels, taking into possession a welcoming and stimulating territory. (…) He was the master of this lad. (…) In those first weeks he never thought of Pampu as of a victim. He knew he was possessing him (…) he felt as a spoiled guest or as a tourist in vacation. (Ruști 2013, 6-7, my translation)

A special connection to his birthplace needs to be mentioned, as Zogru is a kind of exhalation of the warm spring earth. Like the classic vampires, he will keep this connection of utmost importance, as he can return to the maternal womb and regenerate through sleep. There is no Gothic imagery of coffins present here, just this special relation to land, and its people, that he enjoys. Far away from home, across the ocean, in America, Pampu can survive only as long as he finds Wallachians.

There is another folkloric trait that Doina Ruști blends into Zogru's image. As a spirit of this world, he cannot possess a person for more than 40 days, otherwise the host becomes exhausted and dies. Here, the novelist is freely fictionalizing a popular, but also a religious belief that 40 days after their death, the soul of the deceased is free to roam the world, visiting the places and people he loved most.

As soon as Zogru finds there are several types of human bodies, ones that he can enter and exit freely, some that reject him and ones that capture him, he starts vampirizing mercilessly, and thematically, murderers, conmen, women liars, politicians, and leaders. But this peregrination from body to body exhausts him and, not knowing details about his condition, he starts feeling burdened by time. Unknowingly, he can slip out of time, as in a regenerating unconscious period, losing contact with people of a certain epoch. He still finds pleasure derived from his condition of immortality, namely by following the bloodline of those he knew from the beginning.

History shapes him. Seeing the world through so many eyes of so many hosts changes him into an "immortal humanitarian," (Mahon 2015, 14) struggling to keep love and harmony in the world, preventing major conflicts, helping people suffering in hospitals during the communist period, or illegally fleeing from Romania. His voiced thoughts reveal the birth of the "new man," which is to say people

contaminated by ideology in communist Romania, and not what the communist regime dreamt about. The interesting thing here would be that Zogru cannot inhabit a host like this, seeing them as hollow men.

It might be that the discovery of his aggressive abilities, both mental and physical, that he transfers to the human body he is inhabiting made Zogru aware of his manipulative powers and, ultimately, transformed him ethically. In the way Doina Ruști imagines him, the vampire is deprived of eroticism, although he can feel love as an admiration towards a female character, but possessing her through a subdued male host does not seem to be fair. Out of his love consumed in a female's body, Zogru creates his companion, an ethereal being like himself, with whom he will feel fulfilled. This new state of being implies also a retrospective clear image of his trajectory in time, "a maze of white corridors passing from one blood to another," (Ruști 2013, 207, my translation) leading him to the revelation of his nature: "he is the unknown pulse of the world and the thrill of death" (Ruști 2013, 207).

In all the three novels analyzed so far we encountered a preference for the image of a de-sexualized vampire, along with an almost entire lack of horror and grotesque. The fascination of the vampire comes from his intellectual nature, as in Kostova and Ivăncescu's novels, a superior individual that dominates humans through the power of books and rituals. It is his ability to transcend time that horrifies (in Kostova), or is tempting ordinary humans to mimic (as in Ivăncescu). The vampire's secret is passed along to younger generations in an initiation process. Completely lacking in Kostova, attraction is understood only in terms of romantic love, and even if Ivăncescu's vampire prince is not the protagonist of a love story, there are other examples of the neophytes that consolidate this ideal androgynous view. Even if it does not have a tempting body, Doina Ruști's vampire is capable of manifesting love and good will towards people and other creatures. Ultimately, he is the more sublimated of the three, as the eternal rhythm of life.

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Bram Stoker's Dracula, a Mythological Reading

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This paper deals with mythological elements in Bram Stoker's novel Dracula. It discusses the mythical topos of Transylvania, seen as an exotic land, a scene for romantic events and characters. This place becomes a territory of passage, with mysterious forests, mountains, and a castle placed at the heart of the mystery. The un-dead / immortal Dracula is seen as a character of classic mythology / immortality, the story of life after death, and elements rooted in folklore — both Romanian and Irish. Because of the censorship in the Victorian Age, Bram Stoker placed the seeds of mythology encoded in his text. For his contemporaries, Dracula appears as evil and must be killed. The next generations disseminated the mythology of Dracula, each according to their cultural level and taste, from Nosferatu to The Vampire Diaries.

Keywords: *Bram Stoker, Dracula, initiation, rites of passage*

Bram Stoker's *Dracula* is not only a horror story, about terrifying monsters. The famous novel has an esoteric level, hidden deep in the adventure narrative. In fact, it is this mythological level of the text that made Dracula "immortal," a real sort of "undead" up to our days.

> I read that every known superstition in the world is gathered into the horseshoe of the Carpathians, as if it were the centre of some sort of imaginative whirlpool (Stoker 2006, 8).

This "imaginative whirlpool" is the real place of Bram Stoker's writing. As for legends and superstitions, they may be familiar to Bram Stoker because of their resemblance to those in the Irish and Celtic folklore.

Transylvania is a mythological place, a no man's land or a liminal territory, part of a rite of passage. It is a land covered by dark, mysterious forests. Beyond those forests, resting on a cliff, there is a castle, the heart of the mystery. The road through the forest is actually leading to another world. Thus, Jonathan Harker's

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travel to Dracula's castle is an initiation rite, similar to those found in ancient mythology and fairy tales.

Borgo Pass is, literally, a territory of passage between two worlds, as described by Arnold van Gennep (1996) in his book *The Rites of Passage*. There is no real coincidence in the fact that the land upon which Count Dracula's castle is placed cannot be found on normal maps:

> I find that the district he named is in the extreme east of the country, just on the borders of the three states, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Bukovina, in the midst of the Carpathian Mountains; one of the wildest and least known portions of Europe. I was not able to light on any map or work giving the exact locality of the Castle Dracula. (Stoker 2006, 7-8)

Real geography and history are melting in a mythical vision of the land where ancient rituals take place. Forgotten everywhere else in Europe (or maybe not in Bram Stoker's native country, Ireland), these rituals are performed in the "Carpathian horseshoe" because they belong to this place, deeply rooted in mythology.

The time of Jonathan Harker's adventure is also an exceptional one.

> It is the eve of St. George' Day. Do you not know that tonight, when the clock strikes midnight, all the evil things in the world will have full sway? Do you know where are you going, and what are you going to? (Stoker 2006, 11)

This is what the landlady of the *Golden Crown* inn, in Bistritz, is saying, trying to warn an ignorant traveler, the Englishman Jonathan Harker, who does not believe in superstitions.

In fact, Saint George is a feast of spring, full of rituals for good harvest and good health for people. But, as any turning point in the cosmic life, all forces, good or evil, witchcraft included, are at their plenitude.

Dracula, at his turn, is an archetype. Is he a villain, the main antagonist of the novel? Of course, he is. But we may find more interesting features behind the mask of a villain. Count Dracula is the "monster" and the master of an initiation rite at the same time. He is a magician, an old shaman, and a seducer. Generations after generations have developed or emphasized one of these features of Dracula, from the Victorian age to our days.

As far as reading Dracula as a shaman, Bram Stoker is offering us an interesting path to follow:

> The Draculas were, says Arminius, a great and noble race, though now and again were scions who were held by their coevals to have had dealings with

> the Evil One. They learnt his secrets in the Scholomance, amongst the
> mountains over Lake Hermannstadt, where the devil claims the tenth scholar
> as his due. (Stoker 2006, 256)

"Scholomance" means "solomonar," a powerful shaman in the Romanian folk culture. The Dracula family learned the rites of death and rebirth from "scholomance," in the mountains, near Hermannstadt. There are a lot of tales about "solomonars"/scholomance" in the Romanian folklore. Some of them are even mentioning how the solomonar's disciples must attend a seven years' school in the underworld to become "solomonars" at their turn. Altered versions are also telling that the Devil's disciples have to undergo the same seven years underground school.

The "solomonar" version is the old one, turned into a "devilish" form by the Christian rules and rulers. A "solomonar" is a powerful shaman, known especially for his capacity to bring the rain. In fact, the "solomonar" becomes the master of a dragon and he is flying in the sky riding his dragon. He can handle the clouds and bring the rain. The dragon can be seen on the armory of the Dracula family, named after Vlad Dracul, the historic father of the historic Dracula / son of Dracul. This name is a possible popular version of the dragon name, not necessarily a hint at the Devil. For Bram Stoker history was not relevant if it was not folded in fantasy and encoded in esoteric aspects. In fact, Vlad Dracul, Dracula's father, was a crusader and he wore the armory coat of the dragon.

A connection between Dracula, the literary character, and these ancient rituals is the name of the ship which brought him to England: "Demeter." Demeter is the great Goddess of the Earth in the ancient Greek mythology, mother of Core / Persephone. Is Lucy Westenra, from this mythological point of view, Persephone, Demeter's daughter, the maid kidnapped by Hades and taken to the underworld? And is Dracula the infernal bride groom, the terrible seducer?

Hades, the infernal seducer, is baptized with the name of the Devil in Christian mythology. The famous name Nosferatu, which appears in the novel, is a literary form coming from "Nefârtate," another name of the Devil in Romanian folklore, according to Matei Cazacu (2008, 24). Later becoming the title name of a famous movie directed by Murnau, Nosferatu – Nefârtatu means, literally, No-brother. He is the false, treacherous brother of God, who wants to take part in the Creation of the World. He is, in fact, an active part of the creation, as the dark side of the world, in some manichaeistic legends in Romanian folklore.

C.G. Jung connects the shadow, the Devil, to the Earth and to the Great Mother; i.e. Demeter, which explains this initiation with fangs and blood. The fact that Dracula must rest in the soil of his country confirms the connection of the character with the ancient Demeter, Goddess of Earth, but also his connection with Hades, God of Inferno.

On the other hand, Dracula's status as a magician is emphasized by his status as the master of wolves: a real shaman. The wolf is an important mythological figure in the Romanian folklore. A possible totemic animal, protective spirit, the wolf is guiding the spirit of the dead to the other world. Like his mythological brothers Cerberus and Anubis, the wolf is the guardian of the threshold between the two worlds. The old funeral songs in the Romanian folklore speak about the wolf as the guiding animal to the other world. Such a funeral lament entitled "The Song of Departure" is a real description of the path of the dead, similar to the Egyptian "Book of the Dead."

This is how it refers to the the wolf:

> You go, our dear, go,
> […]
> The night will fall
> You'll find no host
> A wolf will come your way
> Don't be afraid
> Make him your brother
> Because the wolf knows
> Every path of the forest
> Every turn of the valley.[2]

In Bram Stoker's novel the wolves are guiding Jonathan Harker – the neophyte – through the forest, to Dracula's castle. Jonathan Harker's travel to Transylvania, with a prequel in Germany, entitled "Dracula's Guest" becomes a classic initiation rite, similar to those passed by mythological and fairy tale heroes.

The initiation rite begins in the story "Dracula's Guest," where Jonathan Harker gets lost in a snow storm and is saved by a wolf. A tall man, standing on a faraway hill, is looking at the scene: he is Dracula, waiting for his guest. The story continues in Transylvania, with a plot structure that is very close to a fairy tale. Transylvania, and particularly Bargau's Pass, Dracula's place, is a no man's land, a wild place, covered by deep, mysterious forests. Here, in the dark forest, the hero has to confront his own fears, to find his magical help and cross to the other side – a place of revelation, sometimes a place of eternal youth and immortality. The neophyte must die during the initiation rite in order to be reborn as an initiate.

Jonathan Harker fails at every step of the initiation rite, proving to be a false hero. The whole novel is built around this failure.

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[2] Brăiloiu, Constantin, *Opere*, Vol. V, Editura Muzicală, Bucharest, Romania, 1981, p.111, my translation. Original "Mergi, dragă, mergi/ …/ Noaptea s-a lăsa/ Gazdă n-ai afla/ Ţi-a ieşi-nainte lupul înainte/ să nu te spăimânţi/ Frate tu să-l prinzi/ Căci lupul ştie seama codrilor/ Şi-a potecilor."

Let us see the whole process, step by step. Jonathan Harker despises any advice from the locals, in both Germany and Transylvania, calling the warnings mere superstitions. In the terms of a fairy tale, he rejects the magical or spiritual help (the cross). The lawyer is too proud of his mind, of his cleverness and reason to take into account the advice of such humble people. Then, he follows his journey into the forest. The wolves are acting as guiding animals to the other world, their red eyes shine in the night around the carriage, like a circle of fire. The horses are running in the night like ghosts. In fact, the horse is another guiding animal to the other world, mentioned in the Romanian funeral song. The driver of the "caleche" performs some ritual for taming the wolves and speaks their language, as a real shaman. He is Dracula himself.

Dracula's castle, a real fortress placed above the forest, is the heart of the mystery. Here, the neophyte has to pass another classic step into an initiation rite. He has to respect an interdiction. He may enter every room of the castle, except one. Jonathan Harker enters the forbidden room and he is confronted with another initiation part: the temptation. He also fails in this process, as a false hero. The three brides of Dracula may be inspired by other mythological creatures in the Romanian folklore: "Ielele," beautiful and dangerous fairies. They are extremely seductive and sometimes they punish those unhappy men disturbing their dance. Careless, J. Harker enters such a dangerous dance and he is almost destroyed by the three women vampires. The "Iele" may have been known by Bram Stoker from the Irish folklore, as the Banshees.

The cruel scene of the kidnapped child offered to the three women vampires may be a magical work, meant to test, once again, Jonathan Harker's abilities, or it can be another ritual of initiation, inspired by the ancient mythology. Some myths about Demeter or Isis tell the story of the goddess who, during her pilgrimage, arrives at a Royal Court, disguised as a humble servant woman. Here, while entering the service of the royal family, the goddess tries to initiate the young heir of the family, a newborn baby. The ritual presupposes that the child be held into the fire, in order to become immortal. The child's mother enters the room and is scared by the scene of the child put into the fire. The goddess reveals her real face and leaves the royal family without carrying on the initiation rite.

In the novel written by Bram Stoker's grand-grandson, Dacre Stoker, together with Ian Holt, a novel entitled *Dracula the Un-Dead* (2009, 200-201), the above-mentioned scene is otherwise seen, in a postmodernist twist. A character named Basarab who is, in fact, an avatar of Dracula is confronting Bram Stoker. His judgment about Bram Stoker's novel is ruthless. The cruel scene with the sacrificed child is considered slander, infamous accusation. In fact, after confronting the accusations of his character, Bram Stoker suffers a stroke.

For the two young girls, Mina and Lucy, the initiation is erotic, something very subversive during the Victorian age. The entire novel is, in fact, subversive. Jonathan Harker's point of view is ironically quoted. There are many narrators in the novel, so the point of view is often changed and relatively presented. The proud Englishman of the Victorian age, who collapses in front of these "superstitions of the Carpathians" and his scientific crew are undermined permanently by the subversive discourse represented by Dracula.

As far as concerning Bram Stoker's point of view, is it close to Jonathan Harker's modern, rational speech, or is it closer to the mythology in the "Carpathian horseshoe," a place full of lore resembling the Celtic and Irish Folklore? In my opinion, the mythology of Dracula is deeply encoded in the text of the novel in order to avoid the censorship of the Victorian Age. Other novels written by Bram Stoker, like *The Jewel with Seven Stars*, prove the author's interest in the mystery of death and rebirth, in immortality. Dracula, the historical character, is called by Professor Van Helsing an alchemist, and, in fact, the whole initiation rite described above may be seen as an alchemical process, meant to transform the human being into something immortal or undead.

To become a vampire, one of Dracula's disciples, does not mean to be part of a simple horror story but to suffer a spiritual elevation, the human body being seen as the receptacle of the alchemic process. The sequel novel, written by Bram Stoker's descendant, follows this path of development, if not in the spiritual way, then in the evolution of its character. In fact, in this novel, Mina Harker is in love with Dracula who is the real father of her son.

The real initiate of *Dracula* is the reader, and generations after generations of readers gave the novel an interpretation according to the mentality of their own age. And this might also be the explanation for the long lasting success of *Dracula*.

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Balkan Vampire Myth: Urban Legends or a Publicity Tool?

Tanja JURKOVIC[1]

One of the first known 'real vampires' in the Balkan area, Jure Grando, has served as a tool for expressing fears about sexual freedom in an 18th century Balkan society constrained by its own depravity. Another, more famous figure, was Petar Blagojević, a Serbian peasant who was terrorizing the local villagers by strangling them, thus representing some of the concerns of rural communities of the time. Furthermore, Arnaut Pavle, a military hero obsessed with thoughts of suicide, the act that supposedly turned people into vampires, who after his own death becomes one of them, terrorized the village where he lived. Nevertheless, Sava Savanović is by far the most famous vampire figure in the Balkans, who is still being mentioned in literature and film alike. One of the common denominators that all these historical/mythical figures have is the overall terror and fear experienced by common people about the social, cultural, and health issues of the time, that needed a plausible explanation to make them feel secure in their own homes and with their own existence. Today, all these cases still exist, either as urban legends or simply as folk tales told to young generations, but even if their purpose might still be somewhat unclear, these tales have served as a great marketing tool for developing tourism in forgotten rural parts of Balkan countries.

Keywords: *Balkans, vampire myth, dark tourism, literature, film, tradition*

1. Introduction

> Indeed, for as long as people have been able to travel, they have been drawn
> - purposefully or otherwise – towards sites, attractions or events that are
> linked in one way or another with death, suffering, violence or disaster.
> (Sharpley and Stone 2009, 4)

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The relationship between tourism and dark events exists for centuries, with one of the alleged first guided tours of this nature that took place in Britain in 1838; a trip by train to the hanging site to witness the death by hanging of two murderers. It is no surprise nor a mistake to claim that one of the main reasons for all this interest in the dark aspects of life is the fear of the unknown. The fear of the unknown implies the uncertainty and the overall fear from things that we do not understand or cannot perceive as existing in our real world. The darkness that surrounds our daily lives represents itself through various death related, sometimes unexplainable events, through literature, film, and other media. Therefore, for example, we witness the success of Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula* as being sublime, filled with religious connotations and the unknown supernatural forces that we as humans, do not have control over, which creates the fear of the unknown, and the desolate feeling of isolation and insecurity in the real world that surrounds us. One of these insecurities is the experience of death, or rather the fact that it is an uncharted area, where we do not know what to expect and what awaits us when our journey in this life ends.

‘Dark tourism’ as such might be considered as a historical phenomenon, which is of course open for debate, as to what extent this might be true, but the fact is that the human nature implies the existence of a somewhat morbid attraction to these kinds of desolate sites that exist all over the world. Since everything in the world is of dual existence, it is safe to say that human nature also has its dual identity, the feel of the unfamiliar that invades our lives, whether we want it or not. People have always had an interest in the unknown. They explore it and thus make it familiar, in that way getting rid of the primal fear that is embedded in all of us, and at the same time creating the desire to get acquainted with our Other selves. This relationship between ‘dark tourism’ and people willing to get involved in it can be a mutual appreciation of both: ‘dark tourism,’ as all forms of tourism, strives to move forward, and people have great willingness to make it happen, by visiting dark attractions, to satisfy their own curiosity, which in the end helps ‘dark tourism’ as an economic tool to flourish.

2. Categorisation of Dark Tourism

When it comes to categorising ‘dark tourism,’ it is not as easy to do so as it seems at first. There is still not enough academic research on it, and most of the previous attempts to do so usually lacked certain theoretical foundation, so most of the categorisations that we have today are of descriptive nature. There is a useful

overview of the 'scope' of dark tourism by Dann (1998), which can be viewed as rather playful in post-modernist terms.

Dann divides 'the dark' in several categories, therefore we have places, which are described as dangerous destinations from the past and present, like towns of horror, imbued in tragic and violent events that raise interest in the media and general population alike. Houses of horror, which are buildings associated with death and horror, either actual or represented, like dungeons of death and heinous hotels offer tours of descriptive nature, often fun and with a comic relief to diminish the actual horror connected to these places. Fields of fatality are areas commemorating death, fear, fame, or infamy. Places like bloody battlegrounds, hell of Holocaust, and cemeteries for celebrities tell interesting stories about lives and deaths of famous people and horrific historical events, on which 'dark tourism' strives and builds itself in the eyes of the participants. Tours of torment, tours or visits to attractions associated with death, murder and mayhem are probably one of the tamest and most popular places in the categorisation of 'dark tourism,' because they offer historical background with interesting facts that are attractive to people interested in these areas. On the other hand, category of 'themed Thanatos,' which consists of collections or museums themed around death and suffering, like morbid museums and monuments to mortality, although built on historical events, tend to have a more serious connotation, rather than just serving as a form of fun, often invading the educational sphere with representations of history.

Nevertheless, the whole issue has not been completely overlooked, as Seaton, Lennon, Rojek state:

> A number of 'drivers' of dark tourism have been suggested in the literature, varying from a simple morbid curiosity, through *Schadenfreude*, to a collective sense of identity of survival in the face of violent disruptions of collective life routines. (Sharpley and Stone 2009, 11)

New and fresh approaches to dark tourism emerge from academic and tourism circles alike, trying to add to the existing and often outdated theories and to build on the development of dark tourism in contemporary times, when its popularity is reaching its peak.

Furthermore, some academics link the attraction to dark sites with nostalgia, whether reflexive or restorative, with motives for the consumption of 'dark tourism,' such as fear of phantoms, which deals with the theme of overcoming childhood fears, the search for novelty, as something that strives to achieve the higher level as the times change. Desire to celebrate crime or deviance and basic bloodlust have been present in our lives through film and literature, that often

portray the interest for the macabre in a superb visual way that diminishes the seriousness of the violent events happening all around the world, but at the same time are making a statement that these desires and dark things that invite us to explore them through 'dark tourism' are a vital part of our culture and society. The so called 'dicing with death' describes visits to specific destinations where tourists' lives are in peril, usually acted, which has become very popular in recent years, especially in America, and as of recently, in the UK. Derelict abandoned places of urban decay are being transformed into haunted houses of horror and terror, that offer a fully immersive experience of a journey through the depths of the dark side of human mind, using urban legends and myths as themes through which the participants of the immersive experience give consent to endure imaginary horror transferred in their own reality. In that way, people can indulge themselves in experiencing different eras, being the participants in the crimes of Jack the Ripper, for example, and the Whitechapel murders, as the potential victims, which is a part of an immersive experience offered by some companies in the UK and are becoming very popular as a form of entertainment.

3. Black Spots

It is also worth mentioning the concept of 'Black Spots', which is fundamentally constructed around the representation of grave sites and sites in which a large number of people, famous or otherwise, lost their lives, meeting their sudden death often in a violent way, as tourist, more commercialised attractions, the concept introduced by Rojek himself (Rojek 1993). According to him, there are three different famous examples of 'Black Spots' in history, on which one can build further theoretical and practical aspects of dark tourism:

- Annual pilgrimage to the place where James Dean died in a car crash in 1955,
- Annual candlelight vigil in memory of Elvis Presley at Graceland,
- Anniversary of JFK's assassination in Dallas.

Rojek refers to these as "postmodern spectacles, repeated reconstructions" (Sharpley and Stone 2009, 13) of dark events popularized through media, which creates an interest in them and a certain appeal of visiting these 'black spots' to feel closer to important events that changed the course of history and perhaps to become participants of the same in a metaphorical way. The focus here is on dark sites and attractions as OBJECTS of dark tourism consumption and works well with the overall definition of 'dark tourism.' Therefore, the division to sensation sites, the 'Black Spots' as a form of commercialisation and consumption and nostalgic sites that involve

cemeteries and other places of disaster which became attractions by accident is quite appropriate here.

A different theory, by Seaton, focuses more on 'Thanatourism', the behavioural aspect of dark tourism that became a behavioural phenomenon, satisfying tourists' demand for this kind of leisure activities in which their behaviour is influenced by the representation of death and violence throughout history. However, despite these constructed theories that tried to explain the popularity of dark tourism phenomenon, there is still the need to scratch beneath the surface to expand on the existing knowledge of the topic.

As previously mentioned, the whole classification of 'dark tourism' is based on satisfying people's fascination with it, fascination with death and violence that surrounds them every day, and the need to explain mortality. Building on that fact, we can distinguish and identify the so called 'four shades' (Sharpley and Stone 2009, 20) of dark tourism, which clearly explain why dark tourism is so important to research and address:

1. Pale Tourism – tourists with a minimal/limited interest in death visiting sites, unintended to become tourist attractions (accidental sites),
2. Grey Tourism Demand – tourists with a fascination with death visiting unintended dark tourism sites,
3. Grey Tourism Supply – sites intentionally established to exploit death, but attracting visitors with some, but NOT a dominant, interest in death,
4. Black Tourism – pure dark tourism, fascination with death is satisfied by the purposeful supply of experiences intended to satisfy this fascination.

There will always be a demand for exploring the dark side, and where there is demand, there is supply, a firm relationship that exists in our consumerist society. Having said that, this relationship is visible in other parts of the world, especially in Balkan countries, whose economy is craving to develop, with existing and already established ways of consuming popular culture, often recycling them to boost interest of the rest of the world for Balkan regions.

4. Balkan Vampire Myths

The belief in vampires is one of the most interesting sensations in Balkan history.

> ...Under the name of vampire (lampir, lampijer, kudlak, tenjac, grobnik, gromlik, ljugat, ljug) the Balkan peoples conceive a dead person into whom

> enters an evil spirit during the course of forty days after death, so that he, or she, deserts the grave at night, strangles people and cattle and sucks their blood; and, in fact, turns into a vampire. (Perkowski 1976, 206)

These myths fall into the category of 'themed Thanatos,' a 'Black Spot,' a place of sensation rather than nostalgia, and the shade of grey tourism supply, as further example from historical archives will show:

The following incident concerning vampires among the Serbs in the eighteenth-century dates from the year 1731, the time of Austro – Turkish wars, and occurred in the village of Medvedja, near Svetozarevo (former Jagodina) in Serbia.

> ...The High Command from Belgrade immediately sent a commission of German officers and others to the spot. They excavated the whole cemetery and found that there were really vampires there, and all those dead found to be vampires were decapitated..., their bodies cremated, and the ashes thrown into the river Morava. (Perkowski 1976, 205-206)

This historical testimony was one of the first written accounts of vampire myth in the Balkans. However, regarding the more recent and more contemporary popularity of vampires in the Balkans, the myth mainly revolves around the names of Sava Savanović and Petar Blagojević, two of the first vampires on Serbian territory. These names have been used across media in numerous ways to popularize the vampire myth. First Serbian horror film, *She Butterfly* (Leptirica, dir. Kadijević 1973) was based on the legend of Sava Savanović, a local vampire who tortured people, sucked their blood, and was hiding in one of the mills in the village, waiting for his next victim. The film is valuable in a way that it gives its audience the most accurate visual representation of the vampire myth in the Balkans. The vampire in the film, Sava Savanović, is crude, cruel, always in the shadows. His skin is black, and he lives inside the mill. According to the Balkan vampire myth:

> ...It is believed that the body which is to become a vampire turns black before burial....
> At Podunavlje in Serbia, the Gypsies from the small town of Grocka hold the curious belief that vampires live in mills and go out at night... According to one Gypsy story... in this small town, a vampire kept appearing in a mill, who had beard like a priest. (Perkowski 1976, 211)

There are also some traces of the symbol of the butterfly that has a special meaning in Balkan vampire myth, and because of which the above-mentioned horror film is titled the She Butterfly; although, when it comes to myths on these territories, vampires were usually men, and rarely women: "If a butterfly comes from a grave they (people) think that it is a vampire whose body remained within while its spirit walked abroad." (Perkowski 1976, 212)

In 2012, the rest of the world suddenly started to show more interest in the Balkans, mainly because of the sport success of some of the countries in football, which made an impact throughout the media, and the ongoing post war political issues connected to the outcome of the civil wars in the 1990s, as well as Balkan wars in general. The countries Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro can thus be considered and analysed as 'dark tourism' sites:

> The 'touristification' of sites related to war is generally problematized through the notion of 'dark tourism' (Stone 2006; Lennon and Foley 2000), or 'thanatourism', as is that of sites linked to natural disasters or terrorism attacks. (Naef 2014, 322)

To exploit the newly gained fame and interest on the topic, locals have started to spread the story about the long-forgotten vampire legend coming back to life. The situation escalated with reports appearing in the foreign press, like The Guardian, and The Independent, with titles such as "Vampire on the loose, Serbs are warned," and in Croatia, "Croatian Dracula revived to lure tourists."

According to media reports, the watermill that Sava was inhabiting collapsed, and the locals were afraid that he will try to find himself a new home. There were even talks of municipal council of Zarožje to issue an official warning advising people to put garlic and hawthorn branches above their doors.[2] The story got through to the major international media, but the legend itself was known throughout the territories of Former Republic of Yugoslavia, mostly because of the classic novel by Milovan Glišić. His efforts to popularize the vampire legend were compiled into a novel titled *After Ninety Years*, and published in 1880, 17 years before Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. The novel, as well as the already mentioned horror film *She Butterfly*, directed by Kadijević in 1973, tells a story about unrequited love that resulted in Sava Savanović's death, and a young love that endured after his death, but was greatly influenced by it:

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[2] According to Jan L. Perkowski's book *Vampires of the Slavs*, about the history of the vampire myth in the Balkans, stakes for killing vampires were made from hawthorn branches, as the most effective weapon against them.

Local lore holds that Sava never married, and that in his later years when he had become rather ugly, he fell in love with a much younger girl who spurned his advances. One day while she was tending sheep, he once again proposed to her, but she again declined, and turned her back on him. Angered at this, he pulled out his pistol and shot her in the back, killing her. Unbeknown to Sava, his brother Stanko had suspected he was up to no good and had followed him. When Sava shot the girl, Stanko jumped out of the bushes and tried to apprehend him. The noise of the gunshot attracted shepherds, who saw the two men fighting and assumed it was a traveller being attacked by a bandit. When Stanko saw the shepherds, he feared trouble, so he ran off towards the forest, leaving Sava. The shepherds thought Stanko was the guilty party and shot at him with their rifles, killing him. When the local villagers realized what had happened, they beat Sava to death with hoes and mattocks and buried him near the scene of the murder, as they did not wish to have a murderer buried in the local cemetery. Shortly thereafter, rumours began to circulate that Sava was seen wandering about in the village in the evenings and had become a vampire. The vampire killed people in Zarožje for years and years and no one knew who the vampire was, so they couldn't find his grave and kill him. There was a young man from the village of Ovčinje named Strahinja, and there was a wealthy farmer in Zarožje with a very beautiful daughter named Radojka. Strahinja fell in love with Radojka, but he was very poor, and her father was strong and powerful and wouldn't let his daughter marry Strahinja, even though Radojka loved him. So Strahinja thought about what he could do, and one day he came to Zarožje and asked the people to let him be the miller for one night in the watermill. They didn't want to let him, because anyone who spent the night in the watermill was killed. At the urging of Radojka's father – who thought it would be a good way to get rid of this unwanted suitor – the villagers permitted Strahinja to spend the night at the watermill.

Strahinja came to the mill before dark, took a tree stump and some bags and wrapped them in a blanket and put them next to the fire so that it would look as though he were asleep. Strahinja then hid up in the rafters of the mill and watched. The mill was grinding away, when suddenly, in the middle of the night, the door of the mill opened all by itself and a large, horrible man appeared in front of the doorway and entered the mill. As he entered, he spoke out loud to himself saying 'a good dinner for me.' Watching this, Strahinja was overcome with fear. The vampire bent over to suck the blood of the sleeping man and discovered it was a tree stump, not a person. Then he exclaimed loudly "Since I became Sava Savanović, I have never gone without dinner, but tonight I've gone without dinner."

> From his perch in the rafters, Strahinja shot at the vampire with his rifle, and Sava disappeared. In the morning, the entire village came down to the watermill, expecting to find Strahinja dead. Instead, they found Strahinja sitting on the doorstep of the mill, smiling. Radojka's father asked him how he survived and asked if he had learned the vampire's name. Strahinja told him that the vampire's name was Sava Savanović. Since Strahinja had saved the village from the vampire, Radojka's father gave him permission to marry his daughter.[3]

The story is told in detail by James Lyon in an interview for the Vampirologist blog.[4] Lyon is the author of the novel *Kiss of the Butterfly* (2012), based on true historical events, meticulously researched, and set against the background of collapsing Yugoslavia, where vampires are portrayed in their original folkloric form, which is a completely different portrayal from the ones we have in our popular culture today. There is also a helpful review of the novel on Magia Posthuma blog by Niels Petersen:

> *Kiss of the Butterfly* is certainly an exciting read. The backdrop of Serbia on the brink of war, the minutiae of history, geography, and customs, combined with a well-crafted mix of fact in fiction in the findings of Steven's vampire research makes it a fascinating read as well. (Petersen 2012)

Mayor of the village which, according to the legend, was and still is the dwelling place of the oldest and most famous vampire, stated that the whole raising the un-dead story was just a gimmick to attract people to the otherwise poor, neglected, and isolated rural part of Serbia, to revive the rural tourism in the region. The trick worked at the time, but it was a short success. Nevertheless, Sava Savanović, although the most famous vampire in the Balkans, is not considered to be the first one. Petar Blagojević, a peasant from a small village Kisiljevo in Serbia, lived in the 18th century, when Serbia was a part of Austrian empire. After his death, the villagers started reporting cases of seeing Petar lingering next to their beds and strangling them, and his wife fled from the village after he appeared to her one night asking for his shoes. Two months after his death, the municipal authorities opened his grave and found his body fresh and filled with blood. They drew a stake through his body and burned it on the spot, resolving the issue of the first known

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[3] Vampirologist Blog. The. http://thevampirologist.blogspot.co.uk/2012/12/vampires-in-serbia-unraveling-fact-from.html.

[4] http://thevampirologist.blogspot.co.uk/2012/12/vampires-in-serbia-unraveling-fact-from.html.

vampire in the Balkans. It is also interesting to mention the name of Arnaut Pavle, a military hero who was obsessed with the thoughts of suicide, the act that supposedly turned people into vampires, and becoming one of them after his own death, he terrorized the village where he lived. But Sava stole the spotlight from both and thus became known as the first vampire in the Balkans.

In Croatia, there was not much difference in the portrayal of vampires, which were mainly used as a promotional tool: "No one is claiming that vampires or evil forces exist. All we want is to promote a documented legend to boost what we can offer to tourists."[5]

According to the said legend, for 16 years after his burial, a Croatian Jure Grando terrorized his former fellow villagers in Kringa village, Istria, his most common victim being his widow. All night he wandered around, knocking on doors, after which the people who lived there died a horrible death. He paid regular visits to his widow forcing her to continue fulfilling her marital duties (according to the Balkan vampire myth, if the widow gets pregnant during this unholy reunion, she will bear an extraordinary child, the one and only weapon used for vampire destruction – a Dhampir).

In 1672, a group of local men decided to put an end to Grando's terror. First attempt in killing the vampire didn't go that well because the hawthorn stake bounced off him, but eventually, in all the panic and fear, one of the men managed to decapitate him, which put an end to the era of vampirical terror in Istria. Grando stands for a cynic, someone who challenges authorities and is sexually active. All these things were a taboo in the 1600s, and quite unimaginable to tackle. It is also believed that Grando served as a model for Stoker's Dracula, and possibly other future literary counterparts. The legend was forgotten for a while, until 1999, when Croatia got its first edition of *Dracula*. Today, Kringa village has its own unique Vampire Bar, which is a part of a bigger project launched by local tourist authorities, plainly named Jure Grando, Vampire from Kringa.[6]

Information about the vampire myth in Croatia is somewhat scarce, as seen independently from the rest of the Balkan countries, but an effort is being made to change that.

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[5] "Vampire Bar in Kringa Tinjan", "Istra - Istria Blogspot", accessed March 30, 2017, http://istra-istria.blogspot.co.uk/2008/07/vampire-bar-in-kringa-tinjan.html.

[6] "Americki novinar, prvi vampir je Petar Blagojevic", "Telegraf", accessed March 29, 2017, http://www.telegraf.rs/vesti/876594-americki-novinar-prvi-vampir-je-petar-blagojevic-rumuni-srbima-ukrali-slavu-foto-video.

5. Conclusion

According to Lennon and Foley, the 'dark tourism' definition applies to sites associated with death, disaster, and atrocity, such as battlefields, graves, accident sites, murder sites, places of assassination and death camps. It is also linked to tourists' desire to satisfy a morbid curiosity. So far, research on this subject has mainly focused on hospitality management and marketing: "…An approach with qualitative and interdisciplinary methods" is much needed, "to develop an analysis that goes far beyond the tourism industry." (Naef 2014, 322)

Even though war sites are the most popular sites of 'dark tourism,' it is important to note that urban legends and myths of a country, that are a crucial part of a country's culture, should have a bigger role in the development of 'dark tourism,' especially in the lesser known and much neglected areas of the world. The fear of the unknown, in this case the fear of a distant part of the world that has been stereotyped as barbaric and deviant within the media, like the Balkans, should be dispersed with new approaches to the developing theme of 'dark tourism,' showing the potential these 'unknown' countries have, not just in their historical events, but also in the constant and rich heritage of legends and myths.

Dark tourism is very much alive in the Balkans, as well as all the urban myths revolving around vampires, death, and suffering. The region has the potential to develop all aspects of 'thanatourism' just by referring to historical and traditional events alike, and as we have already seen, reviving the long forgotten and buried myths, like the Balkan vampire myth, to enhance the economy of those countries for a longer period, especially in rural regions. There are new efforts in academia on the progress of 'dark tourism,' focusing on the things beyond hospitality and management, and the change is for the better, with a possibility to update current research. The potential is there; the only thing these countries need to make that potential a reality is proper political guidance, a more analytical approach to dark tourism phenomenon, and a skilful utilisation of available marketing tools to boost the economy of 'dark' Balkan countries.

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Two Folktales
(Vampire Beings in Greek Folktales)

Aggeliki VELISSARIOU[1]

This paper attempts to elaborate how the vampire theme is conceptualized in Greek folktales. It's a case study of the Greek folk tales: "Gelloudi" and "The Lamia bride" found in the compilation Paramythokores (2002). The folktale complies with a strict formulaic style of oral narration and the most time-resilient elements of storytelling are the motifs that create the story. We find similar or echoing motifs in folktales globally; some motifs are darker than others, enhancing the agony and thrill of storytelling. Concerning the Greek folktale, the research led to the classification of six dark motifs. Bloodsucking creatures such as Strigla (in Latin: Strigula, Strix), Gello (gelloudi) and Lamia are found in the dark motif of the supernatural. The tales, in this case study, are horror stories, in a sense, but they evolve in a broad form of narration, depriving the reader of gruesome details and delivering a cathartic ending. The vampire theme is not dominating in the first folktale as a result of the combination of three folktale types, whereas the second one focuses solely on this theme. In both cases the creatures are female attacking animals, men and community, symbolizing the heavy price of the birth of a girl in the family, as it was perceived in these traditional communities. A baby girl and a new bride, attack the world of men. They are powerful and feared, they are 'horse-eaters' symbolizing the threat of depriving the established status for men, first by eating their horse and then by eating them.

Keywords*: Greek vampires, Greek folklore, Lamia, Gello, folk tales*

1. Introduction/The Greek Vampire in legends and folktales

Dark motifs traveled through time into modern forms of storytelling both in oral and written literature. In written literature they formed a genre known as 'Gothic fiction' which became very popular especially in the 19th century mainly in England and the USA (Haggerty 1989). It is a literary genre that combined the classic romanticism novel and the new established ideas about nature through the

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physiocratic theory, wrapped in a thrilling and full of dark suspense plot (Haggerty 1989, 1-2). Main characteristics are a dreamlike world, familiar settings – urban and countryside – bringing out unfamiliar and familiar terrors, the forces of nature are overwhelming and have strong impact on the psych, the presence of the supernatural, a macabre and morbid atmosphere creating a state of psychological tension, even madness, for the characters (Haggerty 1989). It is in these realms that we find once again folklore entities, such as vampires, coming back to life in a new elaborate, stylish and personalized form through each writer's perspective. This era gave us fiction masterpieces such as *Dracula* by Bram Stoker and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, also the important works by E. T. A. Hoffmann, Edgar Allan Poe and Charles Dickens, just to name a few.

In Greece, due to the particular historical conditions at the time, namely the Ottoman occupation and the upcoming revolution of the Greeks in 1821, fiction literature at that time was in hibernation. The newly established country from 1830 and on, had many political, economic and practical issues to solve, all related to the shaping of a new Greek identity. This subject is vast, multifaceted and will not be further presented in this paper. However, concerning the dark motifs thriving at that time in popular oral narrations, they remained in the realm of myths and oral compositions, as a characteristic sign of the provincial mentality, still believing in superstition; whereas, the emerging urban culture, considered itself too sophisticated to believe in such stories. So, by the 1840's there is a distinct rotation towards the development of an urban, educated upper class and a lower – mainly agricultural – class, which actually speaks in different linguistic idioms than the upper class. It was not until 1880 and due to the influence of Nikolaos Politis, historian and folklore researcher, when an acknowledgment and interest towards laic culture began to develop among writers and researchers[2].

Because of these circumstances, themes like 'the vampire' appear in a different aspect in comparison with the western Gothic aspect. The vampire characteristic derives from Greek myths embodied in folk legends with creatures like Strix, Empousa, Gello (gelloudi) and Lamia. According to Kakridis (1986), Ekati is a fierce Titan of the night, her signature object is a burning torch, she rules the underworld, the moon and she's feared and respected by humans; in folklore she's linked to witchcraft. One of the creatures she sets upon humans is Empousa, to hunt and feed on babies and children. Gello, is also a type of Empousa; she was a young woman who died as young virgin and ever since she comes back attacking newborn or young children and women in labor or in post labor period. In folklore

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[2] This paragraph is based on the analysis provided by Kiriakidou-Nestoros (1978), in the reference book: *Theory of Greek Ethnography. A critical analysis* (original title in Greek, provided here is the author's translation)*.

'gelloudia' were considered synonymous to the Stryggai/Strix (Greek: *στρίγγαι, Στρῦγγαι*) and they were described as beings that flew nocturnally, slipped unhindered into houses even when windows and doors were barred, and strangled infants[3]. Lamia was a mythical creature, half woman, half serpent, she ate children, new mothers but was also capable of transforming into a beautiful woman in order to seduce young men and suck their blood[4].

These creatures have a wide spread of folklore stories all over Greece, according to the documentation of Politis in *Traditions[5] (Vol. A')* (repress 1994, 423-450). The Greek vampire (*vrykolakas*) appears in many folklore legends and stories, but is quite different from Dracula, as we know him. The origin of the Greek vampire according to Politis (1994) documentation, is linked to Greek burial customs and it's a direct result of a person not being buried with the proper ritual or a person having suffered a cruel or unjust death, so he comes back as a vampire to get revenge. Sometimes though, a dead man comes back as a vampire for no apparent reason or just because they want to continue their life. Often, vampirism is seen as punishment from God due to a sinful life. In some legends vampires attack and eat the living, in others they merely scare and annoy them, in others they cause damages to the household. They are also seen as carriers of disease, especially the plague, they breathe fire, they can transform into fire, shadow and animals. There is also a small category of children, even babies, turned vampires that died before being baptized. Generally, all these creatures roam about during the night, so, by day, as they lie vulnerable in their graves, they are dug up and the body is destroyed by puncture, burning, boiling with vinegar, exorcism, slashing, being chopped in pieces or they are re-located on islands because they cannot cross salt water.

These vampires didn't find their place in magic folktales. One could argue that the Greek vampire, being linked to death and burial customs, to sin and the Orthodox religion, has no place as a creature of magic. If, according to legends, in order to become a vampire, one must first die, the folktale does not perceive death, sin or injustice in the same way as legends. According to Luthi (2011), death in magic folktales exists as the final punishment of the antagonist or it is temporary and the deceased comes back to life. Sin is never called upon, because things just happen with no explanation (somebody is good or bad, not sinful) and the Orthodox Church never comes to the rescue. On the other hand, Lamia, Strix and 'gelloudi' fit the characteristics of magical folktale creatures, because *they are,* they exist without reasoning. They are mythical, their origins are lost in time like

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[3] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gello
[4] https://www.theogonia.gr/onta/ll/lamia.htm
[5] The original title is in Greek, provided here is the author's translation.

dragons, goblins, fairies, giants and others alike. So, they are often portrayed as the villains in a folktale, and this is the case of the two tales analyzed in this case study: *Gelloudi* and *The Lamia Bride,* found in the compilation *Paramythokores* (2002).

2. Defining the Greek folktale

In the Greek language the word *παραμύϑια* /paramìθia/ is commonly used for folktales and fairytales and it derives from the verb *παραμυϑούμαι* /paramiθùme/ which means 'to encourage, to comfort, to soothe, to give advice.' The word itself as a noun, *παραμύϑι* /paramìθi/, means 'encouragement, consolation' and that is exactly what it provided for its audience (Xatzitaki-Kapsomenou 2002, 41). Greek folktales thrived during the 400 years of Ottoman occupation, in the many villages that existed across, what is now, modern Greece. They were a means of keeping alive the Greek myths, traditions, beliefs, orthodox religion and Greek heritage in general. They were oral narrations past down by gifted self-taught story tellers within the agricultural and stock-farming communities (Audikos 1994, 32). According to Kanatsouli (2007) these stories were not meant for children's ears, but 'childhood' until the 1900s was not conceived as a significant period in a person's life, rather than an unavoidable stage towards adulthood. As a consequence, children were exposed alongside adults in all kinds of folktales, when the community gathered in the long and idle winter nights to warm up and be entertained by the local storyteller.

These oral compositions emerge from the collective experience of the laic culture (Kanatsouli 2007) and according to Milman Perry (Kiriakidou-Nestoros 1978, 174), only oral composition can be truly collective. To elaborate on this concept, 'collectiveness' doesn't mean 'all together' in the sense that everybody adds a chip of narration and a story comes out, this was a task meant for the story tellers only. Wesselki and von Sydow (Kiriakidou-Nestoros 1978, 137) detect active and passive agents of laic culture; the task of preserving and passing on traditions falls upon the active agents. Such agents were the gifted storytellers who had a deep knowledge of their heritage, they were familiar with the 'codes' of the folktale and were able to adapt, enrich and alter them according to the geographical area, the circumstances of narration and the audience's feedback. That is why we have so many variations on each folk tale type spread across all regions of Greece.

As a genre and according to the classification of Nikolaos Politis in the first issue of his periodical *Laografia* (1909) (in Loukatos 1992, 21), folktales are placed in the first of the two categories in which he divides Greek folklore in general. So,

the first category is 'Monuments of oral literature' such as songs, anecdotes, myths, legends, blessings and of course folk tales. The second category is 'Traditional acts' such as architecture, clothing, recipes, birth, marriage, death, worship, laic law, medicine, oracles, witchcraft, spells, games, music and so on. Since folktales were scientifically engulfed as part of each country's folklore tradition, they've been documented, recorded and published several times by profound scholars, thus allowing further research and comparative analysis. The rich body of folktales in Greece and generally in the world, led scholars to view this aspect of the laic heritage as autonomous folk literature that has been established as a specific artistic genre (Audikos 1994).

3. The genre characteristics of folk tales

Folktales are imaginary narratives that are conceived as such by the audience, whereas legends, for example, were conceived as real events (Loukatos 1992, 151). According to Bolte-Povlika (in Audikos 1994, 29) "folktales are a narration created by poetic fantasy, inspired especially from the magical […] where the rules of everyday life don't apply but it is perceived as telling the truth by the audience."[6] Moreover, folktales are drawn both by forces of conservation and change at the same time. They are open to change because they travel in people's 'baggage's' and in that process they are molded with new/different narrations, altering the stories either by enrichment, as local elements are incorporated, or reduction, as former elements are replaced and forgotten (Audikos 1994, Kanatsouli 2007, Luthi 2011). On the other hand, they show an outstanding resilience to morphological change, maintaining their genre characteristics, which are presented using the method of analysis provided by the theory of 'New Criticism' (Eagleton 1996). Folktales, according to Aarne-Thompson[7] (in Aggelopoulou and Brouskou 1994, 12) are classified in 4 categories: animal tales, ordinary/magic tales, jokes/anecdotes and formula tales. This case study features two magic tales and these are the literary characteristics of this category.

3.1. Theme

Magic tales are about characters performing tasks in a world where the natural and supernatural meet, creating the realm of fairytales. The surroundings are not

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[6] This quote is the author's translation.
[7] Book of reference: *The Types of Folktale. A classification and bibliography*. 1961 (English edition of the work by Antti Aarnes translated and enlarged by Stith Thompson).

surreal, it's business as usual for the personas living out their adventures by tangling dragons, witches, beasts, evil parents, mothers, mothers in law, talking animals, talking objects or even the Devil himself. The protagonist is usually poor yet honest, the smallest of the siblings or the only child, the offspring of kings in disguise, a small or disabled/deformed child, generally it's always the underdog that thrives. There is a main antagonist, magic helpers or suspicious looking characters pretending to be helpers and a task to be carried out by 'the one' (Audikos 1994; Luthi 2011).

3.2. Structure

The narration has "clarity, stability, precision" (Luthi 2011, 112) and the unfolding of the events is linear on the principle of opposite values. There is a status quo/a place where an event occurs throwing off the balance, so a problem, a need, a disequilibrium is created. The protagonist sets off to make it right and the narration concludes with the success of the endeavor and a new happy situation, usually a marriage, is taking place (Luthi 2011).

3.3. Timeframe

Time is not realistic or significant for the narrative, it is relevant and merely symbolic. Sleeping Beauty slept for 100 years, a character could walk for 40 days and 40 nights or simply cross mountains and seas in no time at all. No one gets old, tired or ill -unless this works for the plot- and we never know exactly when 'Once upon a time' is set. Everything and everyone in the folktale are static (Luthi, 2011, 143). The duration of events is clearly symbolic in relation to the importance of the events narrated.

3.4. Stylistic characteristics

Every storyteller narrated in his/her regional dialect. A vivid, fluent and uninterrupted narration was of most importance to catch the attention of the audience. The narration became to life through the use of dialogical parts, pausing at the right moments allowing both storyteller and audience to recruit their thoughts and sometimes people commented on the story. The length of the story could be adjusted by including or excluding episodes from the narrative and by the rhythm of narration. The humor, the violence and the profanity could also be adjusted by the storyteller, considering the composition of the audience and the momentum (Anagnostopoulos 1997, 20-42).

3.5. Morphologic characteristics

The stability and precision of storytelling relies mainly on the use of formulaic features, persistent in every folktale such as the use of motifs, the three repetitions of an episode (usually when performing a task, where the first two tries fail and the third succeeds. It's an example of the opposite values). The magical/symbolic number 3 and its derivatives are ever present, also 40 and 7. The storytellers always recite formulaic intros and outros to signify for the audience that they are entering the world of misbelief and at the end to signify the departing from the imaginary world back to the real one (Luthi 2011). The narration itself is broad, lacking of stylistic details, consisting mainly of verbs, nouns and blunt adjectives, eg. a high mountain, a wide sea, a beautiful daughter, a poor man, an old woman. It's the storyteller's wise way of leaving creative gaps, allows the audience to fill in the narrative with their imagination and at the same time is giving him/her creative freedom. The characters are sketched out like paper cuts, flat and consistent in their primary characteristics (Audikos 1994) e.g. the protagonist will not lose faith or be frightened or disappointed, he will take action all way through the narrative. Occasionally there are plot twists and inversions, like an antagonist becoming a helper, evil beautiful women turning good, evil mothers, fathers, brothers or sisters being portrayed as villains.

Lastly the folktale's aesthetic is established on borderline/absolute and opposite values (Luthi 2011), there are no grey areas concerning trade characteristic, only firm adjectives (good/bad, rich/poor, beautiful/ugly, failure/victory, punishment/reward) and no second thoughts concerning actions (what must be done, is always done). The pairing of opposite acceptations is a crucial semiotic function by which we understand and make sense of the world. The folktale utilizes this function instinctively, in order to be clear, understandable and at the same time stint on the narrative (Xatzitaki-Kapsomenou 2001, 101). Opposites represent the way folktales perceive the reality within them, as highly idealized, stylized, strictly structured and absolute. Opposite notions complement each other integrating the meaning and presenting something whole, perfect in a way (Luthi 2011).

3.6. Plot

The plot is driven by the actions of the characters, whose feelings are not important for the narrative (Luthi 2011, Xatzitaki-Kapsomenou 2002). According to Dawkins (in Xatzitaki-Kapsomenou 2002, 108) the plot, meaning the narrative, should be distinguished from the episodes, through which the narrative unfolds.

3.7. (The significance of) motifs

Each episode entails several motifs, which according to Thompson (in Xatzitaki-Kapsomenou 2002, 107) are the smallest, independent elements found in folktales. They are time resilient, they are stereotypic in their form, they have numerous and similar variations in neighboring folklore traditions echoing each other and they can be found in all kinds of oral literature such as folktale, folksongs and poems (Meraklis 1993; Audikos 1994). The literary function of motifs is to introduce, bring out and, in the end, create the theme, the plot and the meaning of the tale (Luthi, 2011). Motifs are the means introducing magic, wonder, thrill, fear, agony and katharsis in the narrative.

Many scholars pointed out the significance of motifs in the weaving of the stories, but the Finnish historic-geographic method of folklore studies was developed around the motifs in the tales, rather than the tales themselves. The founders where Julius Krohn (1835-1888), his son Kaarle Krohn (1863- 1933), Antti Aarne (1867-1925) and among other collaborators, Stith Thompson (1885-1976) stood out. Their search focuses on finding the original version of each tale and the original location it was developed (Audikos 199; Kiriakidou-Nestoros 1978). They introduce the term "folklore type" which is the corpus of variations of a single folktale, put together by the similarity and cohesion of the motifs in each narrative (Aggelopoulou, Kaplanolglou and Katrinaki 2004, 10). As mentioned above, folktales were classified in four subgenres: animal tales, ordinary/magic tales, jokes/anecdotes and formula tales. Within these categories, they were put in groups according to the similarity of their context (motifs) and the geographical proximity, under a generic title with a specific letter/numeric code, the folktale type, going by the initials "AT" or "ATU" for Aarne-Thompson-Uther, the latter being a French researcher. Through this research several catalogues were put together, where each folktale type is broken down to episodes and each episode to the motifs documented in the numerous variations of the same tale, as it is told in various geographical regions.

This method, although it received critique, provided the most solid scientific way, until now, of documenting, analyzing and studying folktales. It created a common ground/language among folklore researchers so as to communicate, share and compare their work (Audikos 1994, 74). This paper uses the Finnish method of breaking down and analyzing the two folktales as presented in chapter 3.

3.8. Dark Motifs

'Dark motifs,' in comparison with the rest motifs, incorporate certain characteristics which, as the narrative unfolds, create an atmosphere that suggests danger, fright, thrilling events and agony. When narrating, enhancing the impossible tasks and dangers in the story, brings out the importance of the achievement of the protagonist and the satisfaction of his/her triumph is even greater for the audience, the katharsis is greater. This literary function of dark stories is as old as time and in this way the audience, including -and especially-children, learn about fearful aspects and the danger of loss as part of life; but also learn that we are equipped to overcome such situations, through the paradigm of the protagonists in the stories (Abbruscato and Jones 2014). According to Bruno Bettelheim and Peter Hunt (in Abbruscato and Jones 2014, 41-47) dark tales help built the psychic of young people and lead to psychological maturity and the development of a healthy emotional world. Also, according to Kate Bernheimer (in Abbruscato and Jones 2014, 41), "it is precisely the inclusion of such motifs that make the fairy tale world real: it is violent; and yes, there is loss. There is murder, incest, famine and rot – all these haunt the stories, as they haunt us. The fairy tale world, is the real world."

Research of references and research within the four volumes of *The Greek Folktale Catalogues*, put together by Aggelopoulou, Kaplanoglou, Katrinaki and Brouskou (1994, 1999, 2004, 2007), in continuance to the work that A. Megas began and M. Meraklis inherited and passed on, under the influence of N. Politis back in 1910 (Aggelopoulou and Brouskou 1994, 12), led to the distinction of six categories of dark motifs in Greek folktales (Velissariou 2020):

3.8.1. The supernatural
In folktale the natural and supernatural world are not distinct, nor separated. Supernatural creatures coexist with humans, which often themselves possess extraordinary powers. The encounters between them are nothing short of ordinary and the reaction is always a firm action. A folktale character, especially the protagonist, doesn't get scared or ambiguous of the task at hand. Any supernatural antagonist is met with certainty and effectiveness (Xatzitaki-Kapsomenou 2002, Luthi 2011). So, in the Greek folktale, one finds creatures and entities like fairies, Lamia, Strix, Gello (gelloudi), Satan, dragons (in some cases it means giants, in others the beast), hobgoblins, demonic animals etc. We also come across humans with extraordinary powers, like witches (using spells and enchantments) and oracles, as well as talking animals. These accountancies, due to the kindness or manipulation of the protagonist, often become 'magic helpers' providing him/her

with advice or magic objects like disappearing rings and hats, swords that attack on demand and hand mills that produce whatever is wished. Lastly in folktales there are magic natural elements, like springs with immortal water or trees with immortal apples and fruit or nuts that become garments or jewelry.

3.8.2. Dangerous beauty
In certain folktale types there is the motif of an evil/demonic beautiful princess, usually she's the daughter of a queen witch or Satan. She takes pleasure into witnessing her young pursuers fail in the task thrown to them – in order to win her hand in matrimony – as they end with their head chopped off or impaled. These princesses' beauty is so dangerous, yet so magnetic, that the protagonist will do anything to win her. He succeeds at the impossible tasks, usually with the assistance of magic helpers, and manages to turn her either by some skillful trickery or by disenchantment, literary pulling out of her demonic creature that possessed her, like worms, snakes or bugs (Luthi, 2011).

3.8.3. Cruelty
In folktales there is cruelty, but not unnecessary cruelty or violence just for the sake of it. In the folktale there are actions and reactions. Cruelty is introduced in the form of punishment for unjust or malevolent actions, and it is equivalent to the gravity of the act itself. If a cruel act is bestowed upon an 'innocent' it's always corrected before the end. In compliance with the formulaic rules of storytelling, cruelty and violence is broadly narrated, sparing the audience of any gruesome details, thus making it a non-traumatic experience (Luthi 2011, 288-292). Moreover, the characters are so paper cut, lacking of phycological depth and humanity, that we can't imagine them bleeding or even hurting; we do not become attached to them in any way, so cruelty doesn't really affect us. The therapeutic aspect of folktale is that when evil is defeated and punished, the natural order of things falls into place, justice is done, kindness triumphs and the audience is left with an afterglow.

3.8.4. Murder
Death is an ambiguous notion in folktales. Actual death comes only through the punishment of evil or the early, and frequent, loss of one or both parents of the protagonist. The notion of murder, applies in the case of an 'innocent' being killed. An 'innocent' could be a member of the family of the protagonists or the protagonist himself/herself, killed by a relative. In some cases, innocent children are being send to be eaten by witches, dragons or are even cannibalized by their

parents. Murder in folktales is usually a family affair. In any case and in the known accordance, order is restored and the unjustly killed are brought back to life.

3.8.4. Cannibalism
Cannibalism is a common motif in myths baring an ethical prohibition redrawn from the social, human aspect. They are perceived as metaphors, symbolisms that give a pedagogical paradigm about ethics and hubris (Aggelopoulou 2004). Folktales, descending from the long line of oral narration, from the time of myths carrying the motif of cannibalism but with a differentiated literary function. Myths were a 'holy' narration about Gods, heroes and man, whereas folktale, even though it is an imaginary narrative, it's about the world of man only (Audikos 1994). So, in folktales, cannibalism becomes less of a symbolic, ritual act and more of a gruesome, dark motif fit for villains only.

3.8.5. Incest
Incest is also a motif found in myths, but it was always perceived as a breach, a moral violation of kindred relations. It's a global common ground that incest is a diversion (Aggelopoulou 2004). In folktales, incest is mostly attempted between father and daughter, after the loss of the wife/mother. The daughter in order to escape this terrible fate either fleas in disguise or in hiding, either cuts off her hands to become undesirable. The heroine suffers great ordeals, until she meets her rescuer, but then suffers in the hands of her mother-in-law before her final redemption. It's evidential of woman's place in traditional communities, and unfortunately in many modern ones, that the female victim is seen as the offender, in the sense of being provocative by nature, due to her sexuality, instigating the forbidden desire. Only when she's acknowledged for her innocence by another male, her husband, she regains her dignity.

4. Presentation of the two folktales

The two folktales presented here, according to Aggelopoulou (2002, 287-291), are listed under the same folktale type (AT 315A: The Cannibal Sister) but they are combined with two more folktale types (AT 300: The Dragon Slayer, AT 590: The Prince and the Arm Bands) and there are 114 documented variations all over Greece.

4.1. The plot of 'Gelloudi' (AT: 315A, 300, 590)[8]

Once upon a time a King and a Queen with 12 boys prayed for a daughter. They didn't know that the baby girl that was born, was a 'gelloudi.' The cattle started dying mysteriously. The king asks of his sons to take turn in guarding the stable to find out who's responsible for the deaths. They all fail except of the youngest son, who connects the killings to their baby sister, by following the trail of blood leading from the stable to the cradle. The King asks everyone to leave and orders the Queen to leave with the youngest son. They stopped to rest and the son ate three magic fruit and from their seeds three trees grew. They came upon a castle where 40 dragons lived. The son kills them all but one, who hides only to be found by the mother Queen sometime later. The son had found a fiancé in a nearby castle and often left his mother alone to go hunting. The mother secretly begins an affair with the surviving dragon and soon plots to kill her son before he finds out about the affair and kills the dragon.

She sends her son on three impossible missions. First, she asks for the immortal water (guarded by 40 dragons) pretending illness. When the son succeeds, she asks for the immortal apple (guarded by 40 dragons also) pretending she's not well yet. When the son succeeds, she asks him to visit their old home to find out what has become of their family and secretly hopes that he will be eaten by the gelloudi. His fiancé has been helping him all this time (she's the magic helper) with advice and by secretly replacing the immortal elements with regular ones. Before he leaves, he asks her to watch his bow and if it bleeds, she should send his hounds for assistance.

He meets his gelloudi sister, she has eaten everything and everyone in the surroundings. She eats his horse bit by bit while he's banging a drum so she can hear him. A magic helper in the form of a mouse appears and replaces him in banging the drum while he escapes. She runs after him and they come across the three trees. He climbs on the first but she cuts it down, he jumps on the second she cuts it down and while on the third the bow bleeds and the fiancé sends his three hounds. The hounds eat the gelloudi making sure that not a little bit is left behind, or she will be reborn.

When he returned to his mother she wants to know where his bravery/strength derives from. He finally reveals that he has three golden hairs on his head. The mother cuts them off, the son loses his strength and she and the dragon cut him in 40 pieces and bury him. The fiancé digs him up, reassembles his body, pours the immortal water on him, places the two immortal apples on his eyes

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[8] Found in Aggelopoulou 2002, 210-219.

and he is revived. Time passes, the three golden hairs grow back and he regains his strength. Then he enters the castle and cuts up his mother, the dragon and their two children. The hounds eat their remains and he happily marries his fiancé[9].

4.2. The Plot of Lamia Bride (AT: 315A)[10]

A wealthy father marries his first-born son to a beautiful bride which is indeed a blood sucking Lamia and starts drinking the blood of the cattle. The brothers take turns in staking out to find who or what is killing the cattle and fail. The youngest son finds out eventually and asks to leave the castle, without warning anyone. His parents give him their blessing in the form of blood in a small bottle. He travels and eventually marries. In the meanwhile, the Lamia ate everyone and built a castle from their bones. He goes back wondering what has happened to his kin and warns his wife that if the blood in the bottle changes, she should send his dogs to rescue him. He confronts his Lamia sister-in-law. She eats his horse bit by bit while he's banging a drum so she can hear him. A magic helper in the form of a mouse appears and replaces him in banging the drum while he escapes. As she's running after him the blood in the bottle foams and the bottle brakes, but his wife is chatting with a neighbor and doesn't notice. Instantly though, three trees spring in his path and he climbs on the first but the Lamia cuts it down, he jumps on the second, she cuts it down also and while he is on the third his dogs chew their bonds and run to help their master. The dogs eat Lamia making sure that not a little bit is left behind, or she will be reborn. At the end he happily returns to his wife[11].

5. The analysis of the two folktales

These two folktales are basically variations of the same story/theme (The Cannibal Sister), but the first tale, *Gelloudi*, is a combination with two more folktales types (The Dragon Slayer, The Prince and the Arm Bands), which are also found as autonomous themes in other tales. This is a very common literary function in storytelling, which helps expand the stories and gives greater freedom to the storyteller to evolve and retell stories in different ways. The tale of *Lamia Bride* consists only of the Cannibal Sister theme, which plays out in the same structure in both tales (the female creature appears in the family, brothers stakeout in turns

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[9] Narrated by Euaggelia Xatzi, from Otho in Karpathos.
[10]Found in Aggelopoulou 2002, 219- 222.
[11] Narrated by the grandfather (age 84, illiterate) of Maria Sabani, from an undocumented village in Viotia.

and fail, youngest is protagonist, leaves castle, finds wife/ fiancé, goes back to confront evil sister, horse is eaten, banging drum, magic helper, chase, three trees, warning objects, the dogs eat creature). Minor variations are found in small details of how these elements/motifs are developed in both stories but these variations don't change the structure nor the theme. In the *Greek Folktale Catalogues,* in accordance with the Finnish historic-geographic method, each theme is analyzed into folktale types and each type into episodes and each episode into motifs; it's like a Russian Doll. Motifs are versatile and it's in the formulation of motifs that we find all these little twists and differences since, according to Thompson (in Xatzitaki-Kapsomenou 2002, 107), "[…] motifs are the smallest structural elements in folktales. They are autonomous units, thus capable of thriving in various literary habitats"[12].

The dark motifs featuring in both tales are various and plenty, creating a thrilling, reach and dense narrative. Firstly, in both *Gelloudi* and *Lamia Bride*, we find the dark motif of the 'supernatural' in the creatures featuring in the story which are: gelloudi, Lamia, 40 dragons, magic helpers (fiancé, mouse, dogs) and magic objects (fruit, bow, bottle of blood). There is also the dark motif of murder, in the killing of an innocent. This motif is found only in *Gelloudi* and it concerns the murder of the son by the dragon and the mother; of course, he comes back to life by the assistance of a magic helper, his fiancé, to take revenge and do justice. The third dark motif, 'cruelty,' comes as punishment with no remorse for all the villains in both folktales. Gelloudi and Lamia are devoured by the dogs, the mother and the dragon are chopped, as they did to the innocent son. The fourth dark motif is 'dangerous beauty,' this time found only in *Lamia Bride,* which is consistent to the characteristics of these creatures, since they can transform and hide their grotesque nature, in order to seduce men and kill them.

Last but not least, we find the dark motif of 'cannibalism', because both gelloudi and Lamia eat everyone, except the youngest brother, and this is presented forehand in the title of the folktale type itself (AT 315A: The Cannibal Sister). In this particular motif we locate the theme of vampirism in Greek folktales. Further analysis reveals the true nature of the superstitions surrounding the Greek vampire and the differences between folklore and folktales. So, in folklore the Greek vampire feeds mainly on animals, the male vampire threatens to do harm, scares and annoys people or in some cases assists them; he's capable of making people sick if they consume food that he has touch and he's linked to the plague. He can also blend in among the living, even marry, and only a suspicious eye could notice the details that betray his true nature or be recognized by a familiar face as

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[12] This quote is the author's translation.

decided (Politis 1994, A', 423-450). In these laic stories there is no mention of cannibalism, or even consuming humans in any way.

The female Greek vampires known as Strix, Lamia, Gello (gelloudi) are a different species. According to Politis (1994, A', 363-374), Lamia dwells in forests, cricks, gorges, springs where she usually brushes her long fair hair or weaves, both actions are characteristic to the perceived feminine gender. They are described as unusually tall and beautiful but their true nature is grotesque, because their form combines both human and animal characteristics (goat or donkey legs). So, their beauty is misleading and dangerous because they actually kill and eat animals, men and children, they even bake them in the oven. When a human comes across their presence, the consequences are catatonia, fever, nightmares and madness. The Strix resembles more the witch's image and whatever supernatural powers they have derive from their affiliation with the dark forces. They are old, sometimes there are three sisters each with one tooth, one eye, one ear, forming again a grotesque incomplete form of a human split in three. Strix cannot transform like Lamia, because they are born this way within human families or maybe their mother was a Strix as well, whereas Lamia are related to fairies and possess such supernatural abilities. Gelloudia are basically babies being born as Strix, which can kill from a very young age. In some legends Strix 'borrow' boats at night and sail like men (in traditional societies there were no women captains). They fly on canes (like the brooms of witches), they suck the blood of newborns and they cannibalize on men, women and children.

A safe assumption that we can derive from the above, is that when it comes to introducing the theme of vampirism in the Greek folktale, due to its characteristics concerning the blending of the natural and supernatural world, as well as the literary function of death, the Greek vampire does not fit the formulaic characteristics of folktales. They are not perceived as magical creatures due to their 'after death' vampirism, which resembles the ghost spectrum, the uneased souls of the dead. Lamia, Strix and Gello on the other hand acquire the specifications of magical, supernatural beings and fit the literary context of Greek folktales. To elaborate more, firstly there is no reasonable explanation of the origins of gelloudi and Lamia, which fits to the absolute and stylized nature of storytelling. We do not know why things happen, at least it is not explained in the narrative, they just do and the personas in the story react to them. Also, their existence is not linked or presupposed to the physical death, gelloudi is born just like that in the family and Lamia deceives the family she marries into presenting herself as a beautiful bride. Death in folktale is either non-permanent or serves as punishment and is absolute, that is why there are no ghosts or hauntings in folktales. For these reasons the Greek vampire is a legend, to be found only in some religious tales, but the female

vampire, dissenting from myth is proper material for the ordinary/magic tales. The folktale after having established formulaic features and strict rules about the narrative, gives storytellers the freedom to include whichever folklore elements they find fitting. In this sense we locate the interesting detail featuring in both tales, about the total devouring of the creatures, because, as documented by Politis (in Aggelopoulou 2002, 289) they can be reborn from the slightest bit of their body.

Another very interesting aspect of these tales and the characteristics of both Lamia and gelloudi, is the commonality of the two episodes featuring the encounter between brother and 'cannibal sister.' The episodes begin with the motif of the horse being eaten bit by bit, while the 'cannibal sister' announces to the brother that she first ate a thigh, then another thigh, then the front legs, then the head, then the whole horse. Each time she playfully asks him "How many legs did your horse have?" "Four," "I recon it has three now" and so on, until she says "How many horses did you have?" "One," "Well now you have none!" Then comes the banging drum motif and the magic helper, because she decides to eat him tomorrow after filling up with the horse and gives him a drum to bang so she can hear him, noted that the brother suggests the devouring of his horse first, in order to win time. There is a touch of black humor here, which appears often enough in similar episodes, maybe so as to lighten the atmosphere in the audience or to show that the protagonist is not afraid. This episode is so common in similar stories that Lamia and gelloudi are referred to as 'horse-eaters' and, as noted by Aggelopoulou (2002, 290-292), this has a specific symbolism. The horse in traditional communities symbolizes the established impowered status of men. On the other hand, according to folklore, these female creatures threaten men either by seducing and killing them or by taking their place e.g. as boat captains[13], and by depriving them of their symbols.

In male dominant societies women are often seen as a threat towards the status quo. Domination, in any form, is established by rules oppressing certain groups and this dynamic, sets a constant fear towards the oppressed revolting. These rules are translated in traditions, beliefs, religions, social behavior and constitutional laws that conserve the desired status. Nevertheless, the oppressed always tend to rebel domestically, within the established status, or socially, clashing head on the oppressing status. A classic example and fitting to this analysis is the witch hunt of medieval -and not so medieval- times. In the Greek society at the time that folktales evolved and were very popular, witch hunting was not a practice for the Greeks, due to the Ottoman occupation and the Orthodox religion, which did not take guidelines from the Pope. But consistent to patriarchy,

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[13] Documentations 827 and 828 in Politis 1994, (volume A'), 371-372.

ignorance and illiteracy, the narrative of female demons and witches thrived in the local communities. Consequently, and according to Aggelopoulou (2002, 290-292) these tales suggest, that women within a male dominant, traditional and provincial society are actually feared and are considered a threat. They eat cattle, horses, their family, the whole community. This symbolizes the birth of a girl in the family baring a heavy toll on the domestic savings, because of the dowry the family has to provide to get her married. An unmarried woman at that time would carry the stigma of a spinster, bring shame on the family, expose herself to gossip and probably would end up being called a 'witch.'

Gello and Lamia, according to myth, attack mainly women and children, which probably derives from the dangers of childbirth for both mother and newborn, due to high infant mortality at that time and the unforeseen complications of childbirth (Puhner 1996). It was a very delicate period for the household when a new baby was born because mother and child were very vulnerable and due to lacking of professional medical care, they were basically helpless. In these communities medicine was usually practiced by elder women who used herbs to make soothing decoctions, ointments and other traditional methods with a pinch of superstition, blessings and prayers. Depending on their character and place in the local community, in some cases they were thought of as witches. Generally these methods were often inadequate[14]. There was also the fear of a child being born disabled in some way, which is portrayed in the many motifs in folktales about children being born deformed but baring extraordinary abilities (Puhner 1996, 86-87). But, especially in *Gelloudi,* there is an inversion of traditional belief about infant vulnerability, creating a local motif, an ecotype, instead of a baby being attacked, it's the baby gelloudi that is attacking the world of adults (Aggelopoulou 2002, 290). It must be noted that in Karpathos, the Greek remoted island in the Dodecanese, where *Gelloudi* is narrated, local women form much empowered communities retaining century old traditions, especially in the mountain village Olymbos, where the everyday dress is still the traditional outfit.

The significance and the literary function of blood in these folktales is somewhat different than one would expect in a cannibalistic-vampire story, but it is consistent to formulaic characteristic of non-actual and non-realistic violence in folktales. Cruelty is served only to the well-deserving villains and gruesome, splatter storytelling is excluded. Only rough, broad narrations suggest the violence, the cannibalism, the blood bath that actually takes place. In both tales it is stated that the creature feeds on the blood of the cattle, so vampirism and then cannibalism, since they proceed in eating everyone, is a fact. Vampirism is linked to

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[14] Traditions and superstitions concerning birth, new mothers and infants as well as traditional medicine practices are documented in Politis 1994 (volume A' and B').

blood but cannibalism is not, there is no documented Greek folktale, at least to my knowledge, where cannibalism is narrated as a bloody incident. In *Gelloudi*, blood clearly suggests danger and it is used as a warning. The youngest son, the protagonist, follows the trail of blood leading to his baby sister's cradle, thus making the connection between her and the animal killings. There's no blood nowhere else in the scene, only where it serves the continuance of the plot. This motif is found in similar hunting episodes. Nothing is superfluous in the narration for the sake of building up the tension. This function is served by the three repetitions of this episode, because it's at the third one that the family solves the riddle and the youngest son is acknowledged as the protagonist. The audience was warned about the gelloudi from the storyteller and all this time it's in anguish over the uncovering of the gelloudi by the poor family whose cattle is being eaten, and possibly them later on. The second significance of blood is to warn the fiancé for the imminent danger her beloved is in. A magical bow bleeds, foreshadowing a possible death and the hounds are set to the rescue. This motif is also very common in similar episodes, where the protagonist is in danger and back up arrives from a helper (brother, sister or a beloved partner).

In *Lamia Bride,* the presence of blood functions in a similar way. The beautifully put trail of blood leading to unravel the identity of the cattle killer, is missing and it has been replaced with the motif of the Lamia entering the barn in total silence and sucking the blood of a cow. Silence in folktales, according to Luthi (2011) increases the tension in a scene because it suggests danger, whether someone is entering a big, silent castle or a dark, silent forest, it's unnatural and eerie. So, blood is mentioned only to signify the non-human nature of the woman. The protagonist, decides not to worn anyone and to leave his home. This surprising development is justified by the narrator because he refers to the protagonist with the word 'child' or 'boy,' automatically implying a character not fully matured and of poor judgement. His parents, in their ignorance, give him their blessing to go and make his luck, in the actual form of a small bottle filled with their blood. So, in this episode blood signifies family bonds and the actual blood line of the boy. At the episode of the final confrontation with Lamia, blood again is used as a warning when it foams and breaks the glass bottle once the protagonist climbs the third and last tree. But, unlike *Gelloudi*, his wife takes lightly of his request to closely watch the bottle of blood and send his dogs. So, when the times comes, she notices nothing due to her chattering, a demining alleged female characteristic, but his dogs sense the danger and run to his aid. It seems that this protagonist is less of a righteous hero and disserves a lesser bride than the protagonist in *Gelloudi*.

6. Conclusions and thoughts

There are many similarities and some crucial differences between the two tales. They basically narrate the same story, but *Gelloudi* is a richer narration knitting together three folktale types. They are both rich in dark motifs, especially *Gelloudi,* and cannibalism is the one that identifies with vampirism in the form of two mythical blood sucking creatures. Blood has the literary function of a sign of warning, instead of being used to enhance acts of cruelty and cannibalism. These scenes are dry of blood and emotion; they are narrated in a simple manner. Also, black humor is used to lighten the tension and the eerie atmosphere. We find strong female characters but also a threatening female presence spreading chaos among the family in *Gelloudi*, depicting the traditional, patriarchal perspective of the troubles daughters bring upon the family having to keep their virginity, to get married, the accumulation of a much-needed dowry in order to do so and so on. But there was also the danger of the deceiving and treacherous woman, in *The Lamia Bride*, who seduces with her appearance or is indifferent to her husband, in either case males come out as victims of these female characters.

The portraying of the male and female characters in these two narrations is very interesting. Could it be that the narrator's point of view influences the episodes and the motifs she and he chose to narrate? Obviously, it does. *Gelloudi* is narrated by a woman from the unique Greek island of Karpathos. Her narration portrays strong female characters both in villains and companions. Two female antagonists, gelloudi and the mother, attack the status quo. A baby is killing adults and a mother plots to murder her own son. Opposite them stands a young woman with all the foresight and knowledge to pass the correct information, take the correct actions and defeat them by supporting her partner. He wouldn't have been able to succeed in the tasks or be revived from death without her help. He knows that and trust her with his life, asking her to watch out for him when he leaves to confront his sister. *Lamia Bride* on the other hand, is narrated by a man, who warns about the deceiving and dangerous beauty of women in the character of Lamia, justifies poor decision-making by implying the immaturity of the protagonist and portrays an uncaring, unworthy woman by his side, vicariously giving him all the credit for his heroic act. The narration is concluded with the praising of the dogs saving him from 'the Lamia bride', whereas Gelloudi, concludes with the protagonist returning to his fiancé, free to marry her. They are both formulaic endings but they each leave the audience with a different sensation.

The main theme of both folktales and main theme of the majority of ordinal/magic tales and myths globally, is the eternal battle between good and evil.

According to Ricouer (2005), myths and symbols attempt to decode and create a narrative to rationalize the silent and confusing experience of man and evil. Evil, as a matter of ethics, is correlated to sin, but it is also a matter of causing unbalance/disturbance to the natural laws. Evil, as an immoral act, brings suffering and pain for the victim (obviously) and the offender, in the form of punishment, that formulates in psychological and actual pain. Myths and folklore connect the existence of morale evil to the allure of man to the dark forces. Evil is demonized and has to be defeated (Ricoeur 2005). Demons are grotesque figures, they are a molding of creatures creating a physic incomprehensible to logic (Harpham 1982). So, deviating and deformed physic is the main characteristic of demons, because it states the non-human, the liminal (Puhner 1996). The demonic nature is an inverted nature, where normal demonic behavior such us drinking blood, killing enfants and children, children killing adults, is abnormal human behavior (Johnston 1995). Once again, the formulaic feature of inversion and conceptual opposites appears as a key literary function creating the plot, the characters and giving meaning to the story itself. The inversion doesn't stop at the definition of human and non-human, but it is sometimes used to inverse the inversion. This means that in folktales, characters perceived as typically villains, even Strix, can turn out to be magical helpers and demonic beautiful maidens are turned to kindness. It's the wise way of the folktale to tell us that man has both goodness and evil in him, and the choices we make feeds either the one or the other, revealing our nature. The psychoanalytic perspective of Karl Jung (in Luthi 2011, 311), interprets the actions taken by the characters in the folktales as the multiple aspects of man -the one man-. "The foul and the unworthy belong to me and form my existence and being, they are my shadow […] Even darkness appertains to my gestalt."[15]

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[15] This quote is the author's translation.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Dracula: An International Perspective –
Marius-Mircea Crişan - 2017

Reviewed by Magdalena GRABIAS[1]

Rooted in the British literary tradition of the 18th century, the field of Gothic Studies has been experiencing a rise of popularity abroad. This can be proved by the fast-growing number of publications on Gothic aspects in literature and cinema. Within the last five years alone, a number of foreign authors published significant academic books on the Gothic. This, among others, includes Xavier Aldana Reyes' *Spanish Gothic*, Roberto Curti's *Italian Gothic Horror Films, 1970-1979*, or Anna Depta's, Szymon Cieśliński's and Michał Wolski's edited volume in Polish entitled *Faces of Vampirism*.

The Gothic constitutes the background of Romanian Marius-Mircea Crişan's book, *Dracula: An International Perspective*, published by the prestigious British publishing house Palgrave Gothic (part of Palgrave Macmillan). The volume consists of fifteen chapters by international scholars, studying Count Dracula and various aspects of representation of Dracula and his vampiric descendants in Gothic literature, film and culture.

In his book, Crişan gathered a number of well-established Dracula specialists, as well as new names in the field of vampire studies. As a result, the book constitutes a well-balanced study of the ever-popular myth of Dracula, a Transylvanian aristocrat born on the pages of the 19th century novel by Bram

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Stoker[2]. In the 20th century, the character became an object of research of numerous academic disciplines, ranging from literature studies and history, through imagology and film studies, to tourism, sociology and psychology. Crișan's book offers a variety of intercultural perspectives, providing a multidimensional interdisciplinary volume.

The book begins with Crișan's introduction re-visiting significant critical approaches and theories which over the years have influenced and shaped the understanding and interpretation of the Dracula myth. Crișan recalls the importance of the 1970s book by Raymond T. McNally's and Radu Florescu's *In Search of Dracula: A True History of Dracula and Vampire Legend* (1972), which instigated the debate on the relation between Bram Stoker's literary Dracula and a historical figure of Vlad the Impaler[3]. This theory quickly spread out of academic classrooms onto other spheres of culture, resulting in a massive increase of interest in both Stoker's novel and the real Wallachian prince. This in turn, let to the rapid growth of tourism in the Romanian geographical regions of Transylvania and Wallachia (Light 2016).

In time, McNally's and Florescu's theory was contradicted by a Canadian scholar, Elizabeth Miller. In one of her articles, she presents the following opinion:

> I do not dispute that in using the name 'Dracula' Stoker appropriated the sobriquet of the fifteenth-century Wallachian voivode. Nor do I deny that he added bits and pieces of obscure historical detail to flesh out a past for his vampire. But I do vehemently challenge the widespread view that Stoker was knowledgeable about the historical Dracula […] and that he based his Count on the life and character of Vlad. While it is true that the resurgence of interest in Dracula since the early 1970s is due in no small measure to the theories about such connections, the theories themselves do not withstand the test of close scrutiny (Miller 1998, 179).

Anna Gemra, author of a monumental Polish book on Gothic literature, supports Miller's conclusion by means of the following claim:

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[2] The first edition of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* was published by Archibald Constable and Company on 26 May 1897 in London.

[3] Vlad the Impaler, also known as Dracula (Romanian: Vlad Țepeș, Vlad Drăculea), lived between 1431-1476. The Wallachian prince, famous for his hatred towards the Turks, is till this day famous for his apparent love of blood and impaling his enemies. (Melton 2011, 790-796).

> Although many scholars are willing to compare Vlad the Impaler and Count Dracula, in fact, the world's most famous vampire has taken not much from his historical archetype. […] [Vlad the Impaler] has merely lent the name to his literary descendant, together with the fame of a notorious brute. All the rest is a mixture of old legends, stories and myths – a 'wonderful Dracula folkore' (Gemra 2008, 163).[4]

Nevertheless, a vast number of films and other texts of popular culture keep cultivating McNally's and Florescu's theory and refuse to part with the idea of merging the character of Stoker's Dracula with Vlad the Impaler[5].

A large variety of interpretations of the literary Dracula initiated a trend of studying vampire figures, ultimately leading to a revival of interest in the subject of the Gothic. Crişan's book presents the development of the phenomenon chronologically, starting with the beginning of Gothic literature and its impact upon the diegetic world of Stoker's *Dracula*, through the novel's subject and themes, its 20th century interpretations and developments, finishing with the birth of the vampire myth and its evolution in the third millennium.

The first four chapters are devoted to literature. William Hughes discusses the subject of Irish Gothic in reference to works of Charles Robert Maturin, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu and Bram Stoker. The subject is continued by Donatella Abbate Badin, who analyses the representation of Italy as a Gothic space in the 19th century works by the chosen Irish writers. Lucian Vasile Szabo and Marius Crişan examine different ways of depicting Eastern and Central Europe in Edgar Allan Poe's short stories. The literary section is concluded by Sam George and her analysis of the vision of Transylvania in the German legend of *The Pied Piper of*

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[4] Quotation translated by the author of this review.

[5] Over the years, a large number of films and other texts of popular culture have consolidated a popular image of Dracula as proposed by McNally and Florescu, in which the fictional character has been merged with the historical figure of Vlad the Impaler. Among the most popular cinematic examples are: *Bram Stoker's Dracula* directed by Francis Ford Coppola (Columbia Pictures 1992) and *Dracula Unknown* directed by Gary Shore (Universal Pictures 2014). In both films, the character of Dracula constitutes a mixture of fiction and history.

Hamelin[6]. Sam George presents the characters of the Pied Piper and Dracula as metaphors of otherness.

The next section of the book addresses historical elements of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and their interpretations in the context of geography and tourism. Hans Corneel de Roos traces the location of the fictional Castle Dracula Bram Stoker had in mind, and shows that the author took measures to make sure that his fictional Count could *not* be identified as the historical voivode Vlad III, thus taking the debate about the vampire's identity and the way Stoker incorporated (and concealed) historical and geographical facts one step further. Clive Bloom presents the study of stereotypical and metaphorical meaning of Transylvania, as well as the vision of East London in literature, resulting in political interpretation of *Dracula*. Travel and tourism in Bram Stoker's novel is the subject of Duncan Light's chapter, continued by Marius Crișan's theory on the relation between Dracula myth and the Transylvanian Hunedoara castle. Kristin Bone discusses the influence of literature classics upon the settings for the contemporary novels.

John Browning focuses on the evolution of the narrative voice in *Dracula*, while Nancy Schumann studies emotional evolution as well as identity issues and gender consciousness of vampiric characters in literature and film. Cinema is the main topic of the chapters by two Polish scholars, Magdalena Grabias and Dorota Babilas. Both chapters indicate the change of perception of vampire characters. Magdalena Grabias analyses a new dimension of Gothic space in cinema and television, with special focus on the 21st century films and shows. Dorota Babilas offers a chapter on family values as presented in contemporary vampire films.

Crișan finishes his volume with a chapter by an American scholar, Carol Senf. The readers are offered a detailed study of history and evolution of Gothic space and aesthetics in literature, from the birth of the genre until today. The author interprets the changes from the social, geographical and philosophical perspective and stresses the role of Bram Stoker and his iconic novel in forming the Gothic canon. Senf posits that it is the novel's intercultural aspect that opened the door for the evolution of the Gothic into its contemporary form.

The book has met with enthusiastic reactions from both academic and non-academic circles. Its interdisciplinary approach and international perspective allow

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[6] *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* (German: *Der Rattenfänger von Hameln*) is a German legend told in writing, among others, by the Brothers Grimm in *Deutsche Sagen* (1816/1818), as well as in English by Robert Browning in *Dramatic Lyrics* (1842).

for a variety of interpretations of Dracula and his vampire descendants. In Crişan's own words, "the development of the Dracula myth is the result of complex international influences and cultural interactions" (Crişan 2017, 12). Hence, the book presents a new research perspective explaining the unfaltering popularity of the Stoker's hero and the consequent new trends and ways to interpret the world and the multicultural reality.

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Postmodern Vampires. Film, Fiction, and Popular Culture
Sorcha Ní Fhlainn – 2019.

Reviewed by Cristian PRALEA[1]

Popular culture criticism is not an easy thing to do. Depending on which schools of thought are trailing us, it may look facile, perhaps trivial, or even as a more or less necessary act of cultural hygiene, but nothing can be further from the truth. Of course, we can be sure that there are such cultural spaces where the study of popular culture still needs to prove its worth, but by and large the tradition pioneered by Ray Browne and his associates at Bowling Green has gone global, to the point that its origin may now even be obscured. It is a tradition that looks at popular culture outside of the "high" and "low" distinctions, and one that brings complexity to its studies by rejecting the idea of a monolithic mass culture, and by granting agency both to popular culture consumers and makers, without dismissing the nebulous movements of cultural discourses running through them. In this tradition, the popular culture critics need to get very close to their object of study, which, given that we are talking about a work carried without hypocrisy outside of "high" and "low" distinctions, can prove to be, although not necessarily, an insurmountable difficulty. In popular culture studies there is a fine line between actual criticism and fandom.

Sorcha Ní Fhlainn's book, *Postmodern Vampires*, is an excellent example of such popular culture criticism that manages not only to avoid its inherent pitfalls but to actually thrive on them. Citing Ellen Berry in her introductory argument, Sorcha Ní Fhlainn seems to signpost her alignment with the Bowling Green tradition already from the start. Perhaps we can ask then if her account of contemporary vampire fiction in film and literature stands in the genealogy started

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by John Cawelti's *Six-Gun Mystique* (1984) or, like in the case of, say, Marilyn Motz's study of Barbie dolls (Motz 1992), if she manages to unearth larger shifting underlying discourses. The answer would be yes, to both these questions. Sorcha Ní Fhlainn's dive into contemporary vampire fiction is not a first, of course. She cites Nina Auerbach's 1995 study *Our Vampires, Ourselves* as inspiration, but she also distances herself from it by repositioning her interpretations in a larger cultural context. It is exactly this larger cultural context that which gives weight to her study, and also that which makes it a fascinating read.

The difficulty of popular culture criticism does not stem only from the closeness of its object. Inherently, the critics need to work already immersed in the object of their study. Projecting that object in a different geo-cultural space may help (Sorcha Ní Fhlainn comes from Ireland and works out of Manchester Metropolitan University, while her study is mainly concerned with the United States), but given the contemporary permeability of national popular cultures it is not really that different of a situation. However, in order to truly work outside the "high" and "low" distinction, to avoid patronizing popular culture as mass culture, and in order to truly grant agency to those involved in the production and consumption of popular culture, the popular culture critic needs to be aware of another fine line: that between being an actual critic, and being an enlightenment provider. Popular culture studies do not explain away its object, lest it turns into something it did not want to be to begin with.

Elsewhere (Pralea 2012), I was using Michel De Certeau's insights to better reveal this difficulty. Popular culture consumption belongs to our practice of everyday life, and, thus, popular culture studies need to look at the ways in which users (we) operate. To explain away, would mean to draw these practices (which, in De Certeau's terms, are tactics) into strategic fields, and thus we would simply miss the point completely. Instead, popular culture studies need to turn towards a certain kind of narration that would be able to unveil the interplay of strategies and tactics within a given operation. That narration is a setting up of a field upon which the tactics in question can be called to become manifest. Not approaching a reality, but opening up a (discursive) space in which that reality may manifest itself.

Sorcha Ní Fhlainn's *Postmodern Vampires* does exactly this. It is not an all-encompassing study, and she warns us right from the start that she does not want to be exhaustive. She does not set out to provide us with the infinite representation of all things vampire in the last several decades. Instead, she sets up a narrative field in which the ways we tell our vampire stories become manifest.

With a few exceptions, she is concerned with American vampire fiction, and so the way she sets up the field is by taking the various strands of vampire stories in recent history and connect them with the cultural epochs defined by the succeeding American administrations. As with any democracy, administrative politics (if we can allow ourselves this wordplay) are a part of everyday life. Not only that the stream of elected officials reflect the movements and discursive changes in society, but their own mediated discourses shape back the public agenda. Popular culture, so intertwined with everyday life, is obviously not immune to these changes and trends. It becomes then really interesting to take one such popular culture element and draw it through this particular filter, and, perhaps, the more seemingly disconnected it is from the continuously reshaping administrative discourse, the better our choice would be. The only way to decode what these overt politics are shaping in the people that live through them is exactly through this set up narrative field in which the stories will start to tell themselves.

The postmodern vampire is symbolically born (how else?) with a parody, Roman Polanski's 1967 film *Fearless Vampire Killers*, and starts to develop throughout the 70s during Nixon's administration. Sorcha Ní Fhlainn's observations here are pertinent, as we see how, in tune with the social turmoil of the age, the vampire character suffers an ontological shift, suddenly acquiring subjectivity. We are talking, after all, about an American society just transformed by the Civil Rights movement, or still enduring the trauma of the Vietnam War, a society in which marginalized voices have finally started to get louder and louder. Vampires are suddenly starting to speak in this age, they are now confessing, and are being interviewed. With a brilliant twist, Ní Fhlainn projects Nixon's own post-resignation interviews as a vampire-like image (meaning as another set of vampire interviews), two years after Saberhagen's novel *Dracula Tapes*, itself influenced/inspired by Nixon's infamous White House tapes. Vampires in this age multiply beyond Dracula and his mirror images, and also change shape and display new details. Something that perhaps tends to be forgotten is the fact that Nixon's administration changed the American diet on a radical and national level. His agricultural reforms lead to new ways to mass produce food, which in turn make it both cheaper and with less nutritional values. The results of that change are still present to this day, and it is throughout the 1970s that we start seeing the American society obsess over dieting. In another nice twist, we see Nixon's vampires riddled with nutrition problems and obsessing over the quality of their blood diets. By the end of the 1970s the multiple and diverse vampire voices are more and more American and

less and less Old World, and they leave behind their marginality to become quite ubiquitous in the American popular culture.

It is perhaps this ubiquity that leads to a bit of a backlash in the 1980s, this time, under the age of Reaganomics. Sorcha Ní Fhlainn's analyses are on point once again. This time it is not so much what vampires become under Reagan, but rather what happens with vampires' popular culture neighbors. The unstoppable rise of horror slasher fiction that, together with serial killer fictions, seem to smother everything else, may perhaps tell us something about the void left behind by the vampires' 1970s transformations. The talking vampires make room in the 1980s to mute irrational killers, incomprehensible monsters once again. When we do meet vampire fiction, we do indeed meet Reagan vampires: conservative fables about the perils of "immoral" life – single parent families, or queer sexualities. What is interesting in this age is the new idea that vampirism may in fact be reversible: a mere condition, akin to a disease. If there is anything the 1980s vampires reflect more than anything, is probably the AIDS crisis and all its associated social fears and stigmas.

The 1990s as the end of the century decade saw a resurgence of Gothic themes and fiction. For Sorcha Ní Fhlainn the 1990s seem to be an age of the Gothic double, both a continuation but also a mellowing down of Reagan's 1980s, something that even his successor, George H. W. Bush, announced in his inauguration address. She turns to the success of hybrid horror (*Silence of the Lambs*) in order to explain the sudden Hollywood green-lighting of new vampire products. Thus we have the lavish adaptations *Interview with a Vampire*, or Francis Ford Coppola's *Dracula*. The 1990s vampires reflect the age's public trials (O. J. Simpson, Michael Jackson, Bill Clinton) that exposed these dual personalities, and so we have a continuation of the romantic vampire image yet somehow merged with its shadow monstrous self.

The 2000s vampires are intimately attached to the new paradigm brought about by the 9/11 events. There is also a more or less subtle ontological shift in that they become more and more entwined with science and technology, and less and less with unexplainable mysteries. Sorcha Ní Fhlainn spends a lot of time here analyzing the *Blade* series, with good reason, as its blend of vampire revisionism with its projections of cultural others seems to be, indeed, unique. The vampires of the 2000s have also gone global, their shadowy communities stretching under every nook and cranny of the entire world. As George W. Bush's United States

projects itself outward in search of terrorists, fictions of vampires and their hunters follow through without too much of a second thought.

Perhaps the most interesting decade discussed is that of Barrack Obama and Donald Trump. Of course, it may be interesting because we have just came out of it, but this is not the only thing. On the one hand we seem to be dealing with a return to origins, to the postmodern origins to be precise, of vampire fictions: the rebooted vampire subject. On the other hand, the decade is simply dominated by two huge fiction spaces existing in almost perfect opposition to each other: *Twilight* and *True Blood*. One is conservative and chaste, aimed at teenage audiences, the other is progressive and sexually liberated, aimed at adult audiences. However, beyond the intended audiences of these two sagas, they gather around them images and values, again, almost in perfect opposition. This, together with the two presidencies that could not be more different than each other, speaks volumes about the deeply polarized state of the American society and culture today.

Sorcha Ní Fhlainn ends the book with a short piece of Donald Trump's presidency that seemingly managed to chase away the vampire fiction from popular culture, which is another very interesting observation all together. Trump's presidency is itself a deeply postmodern act, although, surprisingly or not (depending on where one looks for signs), it comes from a twisted version of postmodernism, one that stems from the postmodern right identified by Michelle Goldberg already in 2006. No longer religious though, we see how out of Trump's relativism stems a new fundamentalism. It is the uniqueness of this new fundamentalism, with its gaslighting effect, believes Sorcha Ní Fhlainn, the one that chases the vampires away, rendering them mute due to "shock and awe." She remains hopeful though, that in the years to come, we will see new instances of vampire fiction, telling new stories about our new future selves.

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