



Introduction

The Vampire as an Imperial Category

Here one understands dead human bodies, which walk up out of their graves, suck the blood out of the living and, in so doing, kill them.
—Zedlers *Universal-Lexicon*, 1745

This is the name for alleged demons, who draw the blood out of living bodies at night, transferring it to corpses from which it flows visibly from the mouth, nose and ears.
—*Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné*, 1765

The definition of vampirism has been shaped, up to the present day, by an intersection of Enlightenment misunderstandings and misinterpretations from the Romantic period. Throughout all of this, negative stereotypes about Eastern Europe have continuously been reproduced. Where does this come from?

On the Balkan Peninsula, the first two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed revolts against Ottoman rule, first by the Serbs and then the Greeks. These developments were followed with interest and sympathy among nationalist and romantic-minded intellectuals elsewhere in Europe. Debates about power political constellations in this period were accompanied by the stereotyping of exotic local characteristics, and this discourse found a symbolic expression in the notion of 'The Eastern Question'. Since, following the failure of the Siege of Vienna in 1683, there could no longer be serious talk of the 'Turkish Threat', the Southeast European periphery came to be seen in Western perceptions as a refuge of backwardness.¹

In 1827, in keeping with this view, the French author Prosper Mérimée anonymously published an anthology of the fictitious work of the imaginary bard Hyacinth Maglanovich, entitled *La guzla, ou choix de poésies illyriques, recueillies dans la Dalmatie, la Bosnie, la Croatie et l'Herzégowine* (*The Gusle, or a Selection of Illyric Poems Collected in Dalmatia, Bosnia, Croatia and Herzegovina*).

A gusle is a necked-bowl lute, traditionally played in the performance of heroic ballads and that, in Mérimée's interpretation, was not only used to evoke the centuries-long struggle for liberation from the Turks, but also in the performance of ancient rituals seeking to ward off vampires.

Although the French author focused upon the Adriatic seaboard in the northeast of the Balkan Peninsula, making reference to the Illyrians of antiquity, therefore excluding both the Bulgarians and the Serbs as well as the Albanians and the Greeks from his consideration, the German poet Wilhelm Gerhard took over the lion's share of the fabricated material in his 1828 collection *Wila: Serbische Volkslieder und Heldenmärchen* (*Vila: Serbian Folk Songs and Heroic Tales*), which was centred on the Balkan highlands. Rather than the gusle, Gerhard chose to name his work after the *vila*, a female spirit of nature from Slavic folklore.

At the turn of 1832/1833, himself also duped by Mérimée's hoax, the Russian national poet Alexander Pushkin also took on this material (although he did admittedly catch wind of the ruse shortly before the publication of his work in 1835). The geographical attribution in Pushkin's title *Pesni zapadnykh slavian* (*Songs of the Western Slavs*) is somewhat misleading, since the tales are less concerned with the fate of the Poles, who had suffered the partitioning of their territory by the continental Great Powers at the end of the eighteenth century, than with the lot of the Orthodox Christians under the 'yoke' of Ottoman rule.

All in all, whether disseminated deliberately or handed down unconsciously, this Balkan fiction reflected the fact that the examination of vampirism in both Western and Eastern European literature was characterized by misdirected projections. The vampire functioned as an imperial category in the sense of a cultural code that could be applied anywhere. We are dealing here, both in a literal and in a figurative sense, with a border phenomenon, situated on the margins of the multinational empires or in the grey zones of the Western hemisphere. This distorted view of the Balkan periphery in the European cultural capitals of Paris, Leipzig and St Petersburg is particularly evident in the tale of the unexpected guest who visits the family of the Croatian Konstantin Jakubović (or 'Constantin Yakoubovich' for Mérimée, 'Konstantin Jakubowitsch' for Gerhard and 'Marko Yakubovich' for Pushkin) in the Dalmatian highlands.

Out of nowhere, a Serbian soldier, who had been fatally wounded in the struggle against the Turks, arrives at Konstantin Jakubović's house and, immediately upon his arrival, falls dead in his yard. Thanks to his military service, he is buried in a grave in the Catholic cemetery, despite his Orthodox faith. Events then take a sinister turn. Shortly after the burial, Konstantin's son falls gravely ill and begins to wither away. Eventually, a wise hermit discovers a red mark on the boy's throat, which he attributes to the bite of a vampire. Suspicion immediately falls upon the strange foreign soldier. Upon opening his grave – as perhaps should not have been surprising so soon after internment – a seemingly

fresh body is revealed, with bloodstained lips. His crimes thus exposed, the alleged vampire faces impalement, but manages to flee from this fate. Nevertheless, the ill boy and all his family members are now able to smear themselves in the soil of the vampire's grave, thus strengthening their bodies' defences. Furthermore, through incense and prayer, the hermit successfully wards off the return of the revenant three times, which he attempts in the form of a giant, a soldier and a dwarf, thus bringing an end to the nightmare.

How, then, did the representatives of Enlightened Europe imagine these South Slavic folk legends? Disregarding the fact that this seemingly authentic story was actually a 'fabrication', the interpreters of this tale did hold views that were symptomatic of the wider reception of vampirism. Therefore, in a footnote answering the question 'What are vampires?', Pushkin, in keeping with his creed of brevity and precision and in a style that is much less excessive than that of his Western counterparts, drew upon two constructed, supposedly South Slavic terms and one Old Russian or Ukrainian term – 'vurdalaki, vudkodlaki, upyri' – and summarized the debates of the Enlightenment: 'Deceased persons who arise from their graves and suck out the blood of the living.'² This, in a nutshell, was the European perspective.

While the concept of vampirism connoted a further orientalizing stereotype in the 'mental mapping' of the Enlightenment period, its significance was transformed in the era of Romanticism and Nationalism into a Slavophobe cliché. Furthermore, it should also be mentioned that Prosper Mérimée can also lay claim to the copyright for the vampire's fangs. Through his portrayal, he provided for the cognitive anchoring of the lurid presence and bearing of the vampire, long before Christopher Lee conquered the cinema with his portrayals of the shadowy Count Dracula, winning over viewers with the visualization of the 'kiss of the vampire' on the silver screen. It is striking, after all, that the French Mérimée and the German Gerhard – though not the Russian Pushkin – both arrived at the same explanation for the rising up of the soldier's corpse from the grave, namely the internment of a 'Greek', that is, a follower of the Orthodox Faith, in sacred and consecrated 'Latin' soil. It is also telling that in Pushkin's case, with regard to the Tsarist Empire in the context of the aftermath of Napoleon's Russian campaign of 1812 and the failed Decembrist Uprising, the Russian officers' revolt of 1825, in refusing to acknowledge any shortcoming in the progress of his country, he has fully taken on Catherine II's famous dictum: 'Russia is a European power!' According to Pushkin, therefore, Europe was defined both by military strength and by political enlightenment, but not by confessional distinctiveness. Nevertheless, in Mérimée's and Gerhard's interpretations, it is the Catholic soil that spews out the Orthodox corpse following its burial. The phenomenon of vampirism was thus placed within the broader context of cultural contradiction between East and West. In all this, it is worth remembering that we are referring to works of literature

emerging from the pens of supposedly progressive and forward-looking minds, which clearly points towards a ‘clash of civilizations.’

From Village Monster to Vampire Count

The definition of the vampire presented by Mérimée and his associates may have had little or nothing to do with the Danube-Balkan region, but, from the final third of the eighteenth century onwards, there has been a return of this concept to its original cultural-historical environment. The ‘vampire’ began his triumphal march into the learned debates of Western Europe in 1732 as the result of a ‘media event’ on the Habsburg Military Frontier to the Ottoman Empire and then, initially through Heinrich August Ossenfelder’s *Mein liebes Mägdchen glaubet* (*My Dear Young Maiden Clingeth*) of 1748 and John William Polidori’s *The Vampyre: A Tale* of 1819, the prototype of the Gothic novel, found his way into the fashionable Western salons as a poetic figure. In his adoption by the West European public, the vampire was robbed of his identity, but nevertheless continued to serve as a contrasting foil. From the perspective of the rulers, seen from this angle, internal political unrest and diffuse social relationships at the imperial peripheries were threatening. As a result, vampirism, as the expression of superstition and popular folk traditions, was an unwelcome phenomenon for the elites of the European Great Powers, that is, Britain, France, Prussia, and the Habsburg and Tsarist Empires.

In this context, a French-language compilation, drawn up in 1840 by the Russian diplomat and author Aleksey Tolstoy, a cousin of Leo Tolstoy, proves to be instructive. In keeping with Prosper Mérimée’s example, Tolstoy, in his novel *La famille vourdalak* (*The Family of the Vourdalak*, first published in Russian in 1884 and in the French original in 1950) also drew upon the work of an anonymous chronicler who had allegedly written down the report delivered in a reputable salon by the Marquis d’Urfé, shortly after the Congress of Vienna. In his terminology, Tolstoy remained true to Pushkin’s formulation. Here he refers to a fictive incident, which is supposed to have taken place in the following manner in 1759.

On a journey to Moldova undertaken for diplomatic purposes, d’Urfé makes a stop in a Serbian village. He finds shelter in a house whose owner, a man with the artificial name of Gorća (derived from *gorčina* – bitterness), has been away for ten days, taking part in a punitive action against Turkish bandits who have been wreaking havoc in the border region through their criminal deeds. The mood in the village is tense since, before departing for this action, Gorća had predicted to his family that he would only come back alive if he returned within ten days. After this time had elapsed, they should reckon only with his returning in the form of a ‘vurdalak’ – a word invented by Alexander Pushkin.

According to the narrator, a *vurdalak* is a type of vampire found among the Slavs who, in contrast to the European species, primarily kills his own kinsfolk and thereby also animates their imperishable bodies to vampirism. This is already an implicit reference to the ‘threat from the East’ that was to be cultivated, at the latest, by Bram Stoker. In this way, entire communities in southern Hungary and northern Bosnia were condemned to a neverending existence as *vurdalaks*. As such, Gorća’s machinations following his metamorphosis into a vampire have far-reaching implications. ‘Vampirism is contagious,’ a hermit in a nearby monastery pronounces when d’Urfé returns to the scene of the crimes following a sojourn in Moldova. Unexpectedly, Gorća’s daughter Zdenka, in whom he believes himself to have fallen deeply in love, attempts to lead him into ruin. Since d’Urfé already appears as the storyteller in the Viennese salon at the start of tale, it is clear from the outset that he manages to escape this ordeal with nothing worse than psychological injuries. He manages to flee from the fate hanging over him by pulling off a risky escape, leaving behind him a seething Balkans, less a powderkeg than a witch’s cauldron.

It remains unclear what became of Gorća’s family and there is no answer to the question of whether the vampire epidemic spreads beyond the Balkans. In his story, Aleksey Tolstoy ostensibly leaves this problem with the ladies of the Vienna salon, without addressing the broader European public. It is significant that this text was only published posthumously.

As an author, Tolstoy is known only for his tale *Upyr* (*The Vampire*), published under a pseudonym in 1848, which refers back to a concept from East Slavic folklore, but in reality only tackles the quarrels of Russian aristocratic families, without addressing these issues to any extent in their anthropological dimension.

What motives drove Aleksey Tolstoy’s literary activities? On the one hand, he was inspired by the subject of the vampire to temporarily quit the diplomatic service in order to pursue his literary ambitions in around 1840. On the other hand, this was precisely the time at which the vigorous debates in Moscow between Westernizers and Slavophiles about the relationship between ‘Russia and Europe’ were at their peak. Like his fellow writer Ivan Turgenev, who was living abroad from 1855 and who presented a vision of a love-giving and bloodsucking beauty in his 1864 work *Prizraki: Fantasiia* (*Ghosts: A Fantasy*), Tolstoy clearly hoped to underscore the rightful place of Russian literature in European culture. Seeking to surmount the East-West opposition, he integrated the ‘Vampire’ of Western literature into Russian culture in a curious manner, whilst, at the same time, and in keeping with Pushkin’s coinage, stylizing the ‘*vurdalaks*’ of Southeast European folklore as a symbol of Otherness. In tethering Orthodox Russia to the Latin West in this manner, he consigned the Ottoman Balkans to the Orient.

Surprisingly, both the Croat Konstantin Jakubović, who resisted vampirism, and the Serb Gorća, who succumbed to it, remained exceptional phenomena in

the prose of the nineteenth century. In European literature, following Gottfried August Bürger's poem 'Lenore' (1773) and Johann Wolfgang Goethe's 'Die Braut von Korinth' ('The Bride of Corinth') (1797), the motif of the vampire was strongly bound up with that of the undead bride or the undead bridegroom and, above all, with the interrelationship between Eros and Thanatos, Love and Death. Therefore, the works of authors from the Slavic world, less well known in the West, should not be completely disregarded. In his national patriotic drama of 1823, *Dziady* (*Forefather's Eve*), the Polish national poet Adam Mickiewicz reflected on the spirits of the dead in the popular legends of his Belarusian-Lithuanian homeland (see the section entitled 'Investigations in Eastern Europe' in Chapter 5). Furthermore, in his collections of stories *Večera na khutore bliz Dikan'ki* (*Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka*) from 1831/1832 and *Mirgorod* (the euphemistic place name could be rendered in English either as *City of Peace* or *World-City*), the Russian-Ukrainian author Nikolai Gogol drew upon the Ukrainian legends of his childhood, with their devils, witches and nymphs. Particularly worth reading in terms of vampirism is Gogol's story 'Vi', with its flavour of fantasy and nocturnal magic, about the experiences of a student with a demonic witch – a succubus or undead body who conjures up evil spirits. Evidently, the subject of the vampire was not only common in the heart of Southeastern Europe, but also on the margins of East Central Europe.

Whereas the vampire initially entered the poetry of the eighteenth century as an expression of animalistic and blasphemous tendencies, the Gothic novel of the nineteenth century saw the immortal bloodsucker's metamorphosis from a village monster into a decadent dandy. One rare exception to the aristocratic and male-dominated tradition was the figure of Carmilla, a lesbian vampire from Sheridan Le Fanu's 1872 novella of the same name. In this context, it is striking that the 'Father of the Modern Vampire', Bram Stoker, should choose to return the action of his novel *Dracula*, first published in 1897, to the vampire's 'authentic' location, even if Transylvania, Wallachia and the Balkans are depicted as a somewhat hazy geographical region. Whilst the echoes of the historical Dracula in the vampire count are more or less marginal, it is clear that, where the novel speaks of him as an anti-Turkish warrior or a crusader, this is a reference to Vlad the Impaler, the Prince of Wallachia at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople.

If one bears in mind the 'Eastern Question' and the Congress of Berlin of 1878 as the backdrop to the *Dracula* novel, as well as considering the Russian-British rivalry over the territorial restructuring of the Balkans and control over the shipping routes between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, it is evident that the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the 'Straits Question' find resonance in Stoker's work. Indeed, following the multiperspectival interpretations of New Historicism, literary scholars began to see the Dracula figure as a 'symbol of Europe'³ and to consider the leitmotif of 'reverse colonization' as central

to understanding the novel.⁴ Thanks to this approach, the key theme is that of the threat posed to the civilized world by primitive forces from the peripheral spheres of influence. The irreconcilability of cultural conscience and geopolitical adventurism leads to an internal conflict in the definition of guiding principles. To some extent, one of the subtexts underlying the *Dracula* novel is that of the interdependency between sin and atonement. The criminal ignorance about the Balkan Christians is punished by the importing of an uncontrollable vampire epidemic. Seen in this way, the slaying of Dracula by representatives of the Western world can be read as a collective action on the part of the Great Powers, undertaken to restore internal order and to cement the territorial status quo. In this view, whether consciously or not, Stoker supported measures that were directed both against Balkanization and against the Russification of Southeastern Europe.

Beyond these geopolitical considerations, which are more evident on a meta-level, an empirical reading of the *Dracula* novel reveals a more or less exhaustive catalogue of vampirism, which draws both upon the clichés that were common at the time and upon Stoker's own notions of horror. Among his sources was a report by Emily Gerard, first published as a newspaper article in 1885 and then in book form in 1888, entitled *The Land beyond the Forest*. From 1883 to 1885, Gerard lived in Transylvania in the Saxon towns of Hermannstadt (today Sibiu) and Kronstadt (today Braşov), where her husband had been stationed as an officer in the Austrian cavalry.⁵ In essence, Stoker borrowed the artificial term 'nosferatu' from Gerard, as a designation for the Romanian variant of the vampire, as well as information she had provided on the defensive measures undertaken by the local population to ward off vampires.

Here, however, Gerard was mistaken. From a terminological perspective, the Romanian designations for revenant corpses is *strigoi* or, alternatively, also *moroi* (see the 'Attributions in Germany' section in Chapter 5), which refers to the unsettled soul of a deceased person; however, Gerard only attributed a secondary importance to these concepts. Her choice of term possibly derives from a misunderstanding of the word *necuratul*, which is still in colloquial use today, which literally means 'the impure' and that is commonly used to refer to the devil. In fact, the purpose of Gerard's book was not by any means to provide ethnological insights into a multicultural region, but rather to cater to the tastes of a broad readership who wanted to learn about the 'hillbillies' of Transylvania, which had been settled by German-speaking colonists since the Middle Ages. The bite of the revenant was contagious and meant eternal damnation, claimed Gerard, in her portrayal of the region as an exotic realm. Only an exorcism could provide relief, either through the impaling of the corpse or the firing of a pistol shot into the coffin. Even more radical measures included decapitation and the filling of the bodily orifices with garlic, or even the removal and burning of the heart. In the Romanian villages, professional mourners were at the ready,

who would carry out defensive rites during the burial ceremony, including the placing of the thorny stem of a wild rose upon the coffin.

In the *Dracula* novel, Professor van Helsing defines the vampire count as the personification of evil and the embodiment of stealth. He is indestructible and immortal, and draws superhuman strength from blood, which he sucks out of the living. A whole range of characteristics equip him with a tremendous superiority: he has power both over the dead and the elements; he can also transform his shape, rejuvenate himself and even render himself invisible. In this way, he is able to gain entrance anywhere and everywhere, and, at the same time, to pierce through the darkness with his vision. As a further deterrence, he also allies himself with all manner of vermin and beasts, from rats to wolves. However, humans are not completely defenceless and at his mercy. For all his powers, the vampire can be identified immediately, as soon as he moves among the living, by the fact that he casts no shadow and produces no reflection in a mirror. Furthermore, he has to submit to certain rules that restrict his scope for action. First, his influence depends entirely upon winning over the trust of the living, and he cannot enter a house until he has received an invitation to do so. However, following a first invitation, he can then come and go as he pleases. Second, he is predominantly nocturnal in his activities, since his powers wane away during daylight hours. Moreover, outside his habitat, he can only transform his shape or leave his lair at sunrise, midday and sunset, and he can only cross running water at the incoming and outgoing tide. Finally, he also reacts allergically to garlic and the crucifix. All things considered, therefore, Stoker portrays the vampire count as an 'Übermensch', or as a monster. The prerequisite for his eternal life is stilling his thirst for blood. Reference is admittedly made to the threat of contagion, but, by contrast, the danger posed by a neverending chain of reproduction remains implicit. His living victims experience the vampire above all as a night demon, but they do have the ability to ward him off.⁶

With this canon of characteristics, *Dracula* was to serve as the dominant prototype of the Western vampire figure for the majority of the twentieth century. However, the gradual emancipation of the undead from the vampire count has led to a gradual decline in the significance of the historical location. Transylvania became downgraded by the public to a more or less fictitious place, just as *Dracula* was increasingly transformed into a figure of fun.

Metamorphoses of the Vampire in Fiction

The Americanization and domestication of the vampire is most clearly expressed in the bestselling novels of Anne Rice (*Interview with the Vampire* from 1976) and Stephenie Meyer (*Twilight* from 2005). In Rice's book, the frustrated protagonists from mid nineteenth-century New Orleans set off for Europe

in order to resolve the mystery of their vampiric identity. In 'Eastern Europe', which is reminiscent in certain respects of Bram Stoker's Transylvania, they are confronted initially with the barbaric customs and rituals that the local villagers follow in their struggle against the vampires. The only European – that is, 'authentic' – vampire whom they encounter reveals himself to be a monster, and they are forced to destroy him on account of his bestial nature, without first having had the chance to pose their existential questions. Nevertheless, they do then encounter a civilized clan of vampires in a Parisian theatre, whose internal conflicts also plunge them into peril. Stephenie Meyer, by contrast, stands for the humanization of the vampire. Her heroes are noble creatures, who follow a certain fundamental asceticism in their interactions with normal mortals.

Other works deliberately referred back to the original settings of vampiric action and were written by authors who were keen to demonstrate their training as professional historians by writing novels located in the grey zone between magic realism and fantasy literature. Whilst *The Historian*, the debut novel of the American author Elizabeth Kostova published to great media fanfare in 2005, allowed the medieval Wallachian ruler Vlad the Impaler to come into his own as the alter ego of the vampire Count Dracula, the German fantasy author Markus Heitz, in his 2007 vampire novel *Kinder des Judas* (*Children of Judas*), and the French archaeologist and novelist Frédérique Audoin-Rouzeau in her 2008 crime novel, written under the pseudonym of Fred Vargas, *Un lieu incertain* (*An Uncertain Place*), both incorporated actual events that had taken place on the Habsburg Military Frontier in the eighteenth century into their storylines. Regardless of the fact that there seems to be a trend back towards historical novels in vampire literature, the central themes of bloodsucking and immortality continue to be undisputed.

The Vampire as an Imperial Category

In this light, with reference to *Dracula*, it seems necessary to raise the stakes again and hold up the mirror to the vampire anew. Not immediately evident on first sight, but discernible at least in its outlines if one drills deeper, is a picture that – so the hypothesis claims – shows the bloodsucker to be a creature of the Latin West. Habsburg military physicians imposed a terminological cloak upon a hazy Southeast European bogeyman, first in an inconspicuous headline of 21 July 1725 and then in a sensational report from 7 January 1732, which rendered the phenomenon of the living dead more tangible in terms of its content. They did so by adopting the colloquial Serbian term *vampir*, for the etymology of which there are all manner of fantastic interpretations, but for which there is no one convincing explanation, particularly since the alternative term of *vukodlak* ('wolf-fur' or 'werewolf') had managed to establish itself in the modern Serbian language being formed in the nineteenth century.⁷ In this context,

it is remarkable that the Greek *vrykolakas*, who dominated the public discourse up to the end of the seventeenth century, gradually fell by the wayside. Álvaro García Marín therefore offered a convincing answer to the interesting question as to why the literary figure of Dracula should come from Transylvania rather than Greece. Whereas Western Philhellenists denied otherness and orientalism as not applicable to the cradle of Europe, national enlighteners acknowledged the dual identities of an ancient civilized and a modern backward Greece under the premise of self-colonization. The peoples of Southeastern Europe constituted ‘haunted communities’ in a twofold sense: on the one hand, emancipation from the Ottomans resulted in a process of Westernization, whilst, on the other hand, the educated public believed that the superstition of the common people found its archaic expression in the appearance of the vampire.⁸

The question of why and how the vampire should have enjoyed such a ‘triumphal march’ into the Western media is directly related to the question of why, and when, Eastern Europe came to be stylized as a ‘Refuge of Superstition.’⁹ Therefore, we will now turn our attention to the emergence and development of a discourse that took place in the area of tension between Eastern European popular beliefs and Western European clichés.¹⁰ Here it becomes evident that vampirism is a phenomenon located in the border regions between the Latin West and the Byzantine-Orthodox world, an area that the Austrian literary and cultural scholar Clemens Ruthner rather appropriately designated as the ‘European vampire belt’ (see Map 0.1).¹¹

In order to provide the reader with a degree of orientation through the dense thicket of terms, concepts and figures of thought, I will now offer two further guiding theses. These refer to the attempted rehabilitation of the scapegoats of East and Southeast European rural communities, and to the revitalization of a European mythology that, as a central subject, focused on no less a topic than the inexplicable fate of the dead.

The belief in ‘living corpses’ is a universal phenomenon. Fantasies about revenants who return to wreak havoc and carry out nefarious deeds following their death have been present in all ages and in all cultures. The tales told about them have a great deal in common, and only really seem to differ from each other in terms of certain nuances. Whilst the so-called *nachzehrer* of Central Europe attempts to entice its kinsfolk to follow them into the grave, the family of the Southeast European vampire are condemned to eternal damnation through the sucking out of their blood (see Map 0.2). In contrast to the *nachzehrers*, who were particularly present during times of plague and who have long since sunk into oblivion, the vampires can thank the Enlightenment for their continued popularity. They became stylized into the personification of a barbaric world, from which civilized Europe could distinguish and demarcate itself. The ‘mental maps’ of the eighteenth century, with their assessment of backwardness and progressiveness, witnessed a shift in focus from a North–South divide to

an antagonism between East and West. In this way, the supposed homeland of the vampire shifted in the educated discourse from Serbia and Hungary, via Moravia and Silesia, to Poland and the Ukraine.

The term 'vampirism' is an imperial categorization. It is particularly applied to the border regions of the multinational empires that faced each other at the heart of Europe. The phenomena of incorruptible corpses and the epidemics of vampiric infections were considered dangerous by the centres of power, since they were accompanied by unrest among the subject population. Accordingly, strategies had to be developed for stabilization and the restoration of domestic peace. Whereas the containment of vampire cases in Southeastern Europe fell under the jurisdiction of the military administration, in East Central Europe it was the responsibility of the Church authorities. One aspect of the diachronic cultural transfer contributed to an intensification of the problem, as Gábor Klaniczay remarked: whereas the witch hunts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gradually spread from the West of the continent to the East, it seemed that, by contrast, the posthumous impalement and burning of suspected vampires in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries travelled from East to West.¹² From a colonial perspective, therefore, vampirism could be construed as the invasion of primitive forces and became connected with Slavophobe attitudes.

Notes

1. See Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, updated edn (New York, 2009).
2. A.S. Pushkin, 'Pesni zapadnykh slavian', in *Sochineniia v trekh tomakh*, vol. I (Moscow, 1958), 371, fn 19.
3. See Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven, 1998), 83–84; Eleni Coundouriotis, 'Dracula and the Idea of Europe', *Connotations. A Journal of Critical Debate* 9(2) (1999/2000): 143–60; Jimmie E. Cain Jr., *Bram Stoker and Russophobia. Evidence of the British Fear of Russia in Dracula and the Lady of the Shroud* (Jefferson, NC, 2006); Matthew Gibson, *Dracula and the Eastern Question: British and French Vampire Narratives of the Nineteenth-Century Near East* (Basingstoke, 2006).
4. See Stephen D. Arata, 'The Occidental Tourist: Dracula and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization', *Victorian Studies* 33 (1990): 627–34, reprinted in Glennis Byron (ed.), *Dracula: Bram Stoker* (New York, 1999), 119–44; William Hughes, 'A Singular Invasion: Revisiting the Postcoloniality of Bram Stoker's Dracula', in Andrew Smith and William Hughes (eds), *Empire and the Gothic. The Politics of Genre* (Basingstoke, 2003), 88–102.
5. See Emily Gerard, 'Transylvanian Superstitions', *The Nineteenth Century* 18(101) (1885), 130–50, at 142; Emily Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest: Facts, Figures, and Fancies from Transylvania*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1888), vol. I, 310–24, at 319–20.
6. See Thomas M. Bohn, 'Der Dracula-Mythos. Osteuropäischer Volksglaube und westeuropäische Klischees', *Historische Anthropologie* 14 (2006): 390–409.

7. See Katharina M. Wilson, 'The History of the Word "Vampire"', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46 (1985): 577–83, reprinted in Alan Dundes (ed.), *The Vampire: A Casebook* (Madison, WI, 1998), 3–11; Peter Mario Kreuter, 'The Name of the Vampire: Some Reflections on Current Linguistic Theories on the Etymology of the Word Vampire', in Peter Day (ed.), *Vampires. Myths and Metaphors of Enduring* (Amsterdam, 2006), 57–80; Kamil Stachowski and Olaf Stachowski, 'Possibly Oriental Elements in Slavonic Folklore. Upiór ~ Wampir*', in Michał Németh, Barbara Podolak and Mateusz Urban (eds), *Essays in the History of Languages and Linguistics. Dedicated to Marek Stachowski on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (Kraków, 2017), 643–93.
8. See Álvaro García Marín, 'Haunted Communities: The Greek Vampire, or Uncanny at the Core of Nation Construction', in Teresa Cutler-Boyes and Marko Teodorski (eds), *Monstrosity from the Inside Out* (Oxford, 2014), 109–42.
9. See Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA., 1994).
10. Cf. Thomas M. Bohn, 'Vampirismus in Österreich und Preußen: Von der Entdeckung einer Seuche zum Narrativ der Gegenkolonisation', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 56(2) (2008): 161–77, reprinted in *Kakanien Revisited*, 20 January 2009. Cf. also Andrew Mackenzie, *Dracula Country. Travels and Folk Beliefs in Romania* (London, 1977); Andre Gerrits and Nanci Adler (eds), *Vampires Unstaked: National Images, Stereotypes and Myths in East Central Europe* (Amsterdam, 1995); Tomislav Z. Longinović, *Vampire Nation: Violence as Cultural Imaginary* (Durham, NC, 2011); Duncan Light, *The Dracula Dilemma. Tourism, Identity and the State in Romania* (Farnham, 2012).
11. Clemens Ruthner, *Am Rande: Kanon, Kulturökonomie und die Intertextualität des Marginalen am Beispiel der (österreichischen) Phantastik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 2004), 137; Clemens Ruthner, 'Untote Verzahnungen. Prolegomena zu einer Literaturgeschichte des Vampirismus', in Julia Bertschik and Christa Agnes Tuczay (eds), *Poetische Wiedergänger. Deutschsprachige Vampirismus-Diskurse vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 2005), 11–41, at 20.
12. See Gábor Klaniczay, 'Decline of Witches and Rise of Vampires in 18th Century Habsburg Monarchy', *Ethnologia Europea* 17 (1987): 165–80. See also Karen Lambrecht, 'Wiedergänger und Vampire in Ostmitteleuropa – Postume Verbrennung statt Hexenverfolgung?', *Jahrbuch für deutsche und osteuropäische Volkskunde* 37 (1994): 49–77.