DRACULA IN THE DARK

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The Dracula Film Adaptations

JAMES CRAIG HOLTE

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PREFACE

"It was a dark and stormy night."

—Snoopy, *Peanuts*

It was a dark and stormy night. Thunder boomed in the heavens outside while flashes of lightning repeatedly lit up the wet spring night sky. Bats flew from the stone tower of the Gothic castle, the night I met Dracula. Really.

In 1973 I was studying for graduate examinations in English literature at the University of Cincinnati and, as it so happened, beginning my first year as the caretaker of an abandoned Catholic girl's school, Sacred Heart Academy, the main building of which was a replica of England's Kennilworth Castle. Sitting high on the crest of one of Cincinnati's seven hills, the castle—complete with tower, chapel, creaking floors, endless corridors, abandoned furniture, and a legend of a ghost in the basement—had been empty for several years, but the new owners, investment bankers intent on turning Sacred Heart into condominiums, wanted someone to live in "the castle," as it was known to the residents of Clifton, the

university area, to keep watch over the property, protecting it from vandals or, perhaps, the ghost in the basement. "Yes, Masters," I thought to myself when I accepted the position.

In those days one part of the examinations consisted of a series of identifications from all of English and American literature from, as we used to say, Beowulf to the Beatles. Successful graduate students learned such significant information as the name of Beowulf's sword (Hrunting), the Green Knight's horse (Gringolet), and Lord Byron's physician (Polodori). Such knowledge led to doctorates, jobs, and, one hoped, eventually tenure. It was on that dark and stormy night, alone in the castle with only my guard dog, Olaf, who indeed was glad and big, that I decided that I should at least skim through a book that had appeared on the examination once in the past, Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, a novel I had never read but thought I knew from television reruns of Tod Browning's 1931 film adaptation starring Bela Lugosi. There might be a question about the vampire on the examination, I thought. I expected to spend an hour turning pages before I moved on to something more central to English literature and more likely to appear on the exam, such as Joyce's *Ulysses* or Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, works of social and aesthetic merit that had appeared on numerous previous tests and in all the study sessions. Several hours later I finished Stoker's novel, carefully checked and rechecked the three locks on the large oak front doors of the castle, and brought the dog into the caretaker's apartment. I couldn't sleep the rest of the night; *Dracula* was that good. I had been bitten by Stoker's vampire.

Not everyone has such a dramatic first encounter with Dracula, and not everyone is so affected by the novel. In some circles a taste for Stoker, like a taste for Poe, is considered the mark of an inferior mind. Some critics dismiss *Dracula* as mere escapist trash or simply a popular thriller intended to frighten the immature and the uneducated. Popular it is. For a century *Dracula* has never been out of print, and Stoker's novel has been adapted and transformed by filmmakers, television producers, novelists, advertising agencies, and comic book creators with such enthusiasm that the name "Dracula" has become synonymous with vampire. This century of sustained popularity of Stoker's tale suggests that many readers, and many viewers of the numerous film adaptations of *Dracula*, have been and continue to be mesmerized by Count Dracula.

Just as Jonathan Harker's meeting with Count Dracula changed his life, my encounter with Dracula has had an impact on my life

and work. Interest in Stoker's vampire narrative led me to hundreds of films and novels about the undead, providing me with a source of endless delight and my colleagues and family with a source of endless amusement. Imagine, a grown man reading and writing about vampires. My collection of vampire memorabilia—containing Transylvanian earth, countless postcards and T-shirts, photographs of Count von Count, Christopher Lee, Bela Lugosi, the Transylvanian Castle Dracula (one of three) vampire puppets, and shelves of paperback novels, university press literary criticism, and slick magazines-continues to grow, and my daughter is never without a clue as to what to get me for Father's Day or Halloween. Sometimes vampires are quite useful.

On a more serious note, my encounter with the Count has given me the opportunity to study hundreds of vampire films, novels, short stories, plays, and poems. I have had the opportunity to be present during the development of a new literary genre, the dark romance, a literary form that combines the elements of horror and romance, turning old narratives to new ends, as readers and viewers find the figure of the vampire ever more attractive as we move to the end of the twentieth century. Finally, I have been able to spend both time and energy examining why horror narratives in general and vampire narratives in particular are so popular in the late twentieth century, and I have come to the conclusion that in postmodern Western society, horror, and vampire narratives in particular, serve as morality plays for the readers and viewers, defining the constantly shifting ground between good and evil that is one of the hallmarks of American culture as it moves toward the third millennium. As Andrew Delbanco has observed eloquently in his popular study *The Death of Satan*, in an ironic age traditional standards of virtue and morality have been called into question, and the vampire, the figure of the dark other, the foreign, the threatening, the sublimated, has become a hero. At a time when the central political and cultural conversation appears to be what is of value, the vampire narrative, with its emphasis on masking and unmasking, the defiance of convention, and the assault on such middle-class institutions as law, medicine, religion, science, and marriage, provides a perfect tool with which to chronicle the contemporary culture wars raging in American society.

No work of substance is attempted in isolation, and while I have played at being Professor Van Helsing in search of the vampire, many people have helped me. I would like to thank Professor

Andrew Horton of Loyola University in New Orleans, whose interest in and knowledge of both classic American and European cinema were a constant source of inspiration to me when I was learning how to combine an interest in literature with a love of film. I would also like to thank Professor George Stade, a wonderful undergraduate teacher who taught me to appreciate Victorian literature.

Also most helpful have been the Department of English, the Honors Program, and the College of Arts and Sciences at East Carolina University. The Department of English and my chairman, Don Palumbo, have indulged my interest in the undead by permitting me to offer graduate seminars in horror, the fantastic, and film history. I have learned much from my colleagues and the students in my classes. Also supportive have been David Sanders and the Honors Program of East Carolina University. The Honors Program has continued to sponsor my Horrible Honors Seminar, an introduction to the study of the horror genre with an emphasis, of course, on *Dracula* and other vampire narratives. In all of these courses, I have had the opportunity to test my theories, some of which have survived to be included in this book and some of which have been staked by perceptive students. The College of Arts and Sciences has been supportive as well, providing me with research and travel grants to follow the vampire to both London and Romania. I would especially thank my friend and colleague C. W. Sullivan III, master of the fantastic whose knowledge of film, myth, fantasy, and science fiction is unbounded, and whose interest in things strange matches my own.

My search for the vampire has taken me many places—New Orleans, London, Bucharest, and often Ft. Lauderdale. Along the way many kind strangers have helped me, and some have become friends without whose interest and support this work would not have been possible. I would like to thank the members of the International Association for the Fantastic in the Arts and the Lord Ruthven Assembly, especially Ray McNally, Radu Florescu, Margaret Carter, Elizabeth Miller, David Van Becker, David Skal, Katie Harse, Stephanie Moss, Bill Senior, Carl Yoke, and Roger Schlobin. The International Association for the Fantastic in the Arts has provided a home for those who take the fantastic seriously, and the Lord Ruthven Assembly is made up of scholars, writers, and artists who know their vampires and take them seriously. Members of both groups are good friends, good critics, and always cheerful

sources of information. Also deserving of thanks are the participants in the First World Dracula Congress, held in Romania in both Wallachia and Transylvania in 1995, whose intelligence, patience, endurance, and willingness to share scholarship helped in the attempt to bridge the differences between those interested in the historical Dracula and those interested in the fictional one. Somehow both the Voivode and the Count managed to survive the inquisition. As we learned, there is merit, and passion, in studying both.

I must also thank my family. I owe thanks to my mother and father, who took me to the library early and often and encouraged me to read anything and everything I wanted. The results of that reading follow me to this day. I owe much to my sister Ellen, a fantastic artist who has joined with me in this vampire madness, whose bats were the hit of Bucharest and who made a necklace for a baroness. Most of all I want to thank my wife, the recently named Honorable Judge Gwyn Hilburn, whose patience with my project has been heroic, and my daughter, Molly, for whom all good things are done and who thinks this may all be very silly. Nevertheless, she puts up with me and my fondness for the "children of the night."

INTRODUCTION: THE SHAPE-SHIFTER

> "Listen to them, the children of the night, what music they make."
>
> —Dracula, *Dracula*

Vampires have always been shape-shifters. Throughout their long and varied history, vampires have been able to transform themselves to satisfy their own needs, and the needs of readers and viewers as well. Even in its most ancient past, over three thousand years ago in the Himalayan mountains, the earliest vampire lived in a multiplicity of forms, including that of the mother goddess, Kali, and the Tibetan lord of the dead, Yama. From this homeland, according to some scholars, vampires and vampire legends moved outward into India, China, Japan, and then westward into Eastern Europe, Greece, Arabia, and Africa, eventually reaching Western Europe and the Americas. In every culture they entered, vampires adapted, taking on different shapes and habits, feeding on fish in Malaysia, elephants in India, virgins in nineteenth-century European literature, and evildoers in the later works of Anne Rice.

As Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu have demonstrated, the vampire has always been a creature of many faces, and the Western vampire tradition, influenced heavily by Eastern European folklore, has always associated transformations with vampires. Vampires have been thought to be able to take a variety of shapes, including those of the dog, wolf, cat, and bat, all animals associated with witchcraft and the demonic. In addition, it has been believed that vampires can take the form of mist, smoke, and fog.

Even within the much more confined context of the literary vampire narratives, the image of the vampire is continually changing. In nineteenth-century British fiction, for example, there are a variety of famous vampires, each unique. In *The Vampyre* in 1819, John Polidori introduced Lord Ruthven, a vampire as typical gothic villain, and established the vampire craze of the nineteenth century that resulted in a flood of German poetry, French drama, and British fiction. In the mid-1840s British readers were treated to *Varney the Vampire or the Feast of Blood*, which appeared in 109 weekly installments and later was published in a single, successful 800-page volume. Varney is far more cruel and bloody than Ruthven. Sheridan Le Fanu published "Carmilla" in *In a Glass Darkly* in 1872, introducing readers to an erotic lesbian vampire. In 1897 Bram Stoker published *Dracula*, fixing the character of the Transylvanian nobleman as the archetypal vampire forever in the public imagination. Each of these major nineteenth-century vampires resembles the others in some apsects—cold white skin, blood hungers, mesmeric powers—but each is a unique character. Despite their differences, all the nineteenth-century vampires are figures of evil.

The transformations of Dracula, however, are different. In Bram Stoker's novel, Dracula is a white-haired Eastern European patriarch with bad breath and hairy palms. He is also a powerful aristocrat who dominates both men and women. In the film adaptations of *Dracula*, however, the character shifts shapes constantly, creating in the public imagination a composite Count Dracula who has become a universally recognized cultural icon. As Barbara Belford noted in her recent biography of Bram Stoker:

> *Dracula* will be one hundred years old in 1997. Had Stoker achieved the physical immortality of his creation, the now-150-year-old writer would be amazed that his novel has been translated into forty-four languages; that

> Count Dracula, the most filmed character in film history after Sherlock Holmes, has usurped the red devil with the pitchfork and pointed tail as the preferred icon of evil; that members of "fang" clubs subscribe to newsletters extolling vampires and even in the age of AIDS, self-styled vampires drink blood, but from monogomous donors. (1996, x)

Bram Stoker used many sources in writing *Dracula*: previous English vampire narratives, the conventions of the gothic novel, Eastern European folklore and history, and travel accounts. Stoker's novel was popular, and it has remained so. Readers were captured by the novel, and the dramatic possibilities of the novel, first recognized by Stoker himself, who organized a dramatic reading of the novel upon *Dracula*'s publication, were seized upon by a host of later adaptors, each of whom refashioned the Count in his or her own image. As a result, the images of Dracula that have appeared in darkened theaters, and later on television sets, of the twentieth century are quite different from one another. Max Schreck's emaciated Count Orlock from the 1922 *Nosferatu* is the antithesis of Bela Lugosi's Eastern European aristocrat from Tod Browning's 1931 *Dracula*. Christopher Lee's powerful Dracula of the popular Hammer Films series stands in sharp contrast to Frank Langella's romantic portrayal of the vampire in the popular 1979 adaptation of *Dracula*. Gary Oldman presents Dracula as both a monster and a handsome prince in Francis Ford Coppola's 1992 *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, and Leslie Neilsen plays Dracula as a comic character in Mel Brook's 1995 *Dracula: Dead and Loving It*. Even a single actor shifts shapes when playing the vampire. In the eight films in which he played Dracula, Christopher Lee portrayed the title character in a variety of ways, from an inarticulate killing machine to a suave seducer. It is obvious that it is dangerous to enter the world of vampires and make any generalizations, because as soon as a theory is developed to fix the figure of the vampire, the creature transforms itself into something new. Like Van Helsing's notes, however, this study is an attempt to search out and discover the truth about Dracula.

Theories about *Dracula*'s popularity abound. Critics and scholars have pointed out the obvious attractions of the vampire narrative. Dracula is a powerful authoritarian figure who has few restraints; he is a creature of great hungers who rejects all of the conventions

of a civilized society in order to satisfy his urges. In his representation of the other, the foreign other and the other within, Dracula celebrates self-gratification and self-assertion.

There is no doubt about the increasing visibility and popularity of vampires in general and Dracula in particular; in the last decades of the twentieth century, vampires are everywhere. In fiction, the enormous popularity of Anne Rice's Vampire Chronicles as well as the continued success of the vampire narratives of such fine contemporary writers as Suzy McNee Charnas, Kim Newman, Chelsea Quinn Yarbro, and Fred Saberhagen clearly demonstrate the existence of a large audience for vampire narratives. As usual in the popular culture, film follows fiction, and both large- and small-screen vampires have appeared with increasing frequency throughout the century. Over the past twenty-five years, dozens of vampire films have been released each year, ranging in quality from such dreadful movies as *My Grandpa Is a Vampire* (1992) and *Vampire Cop* (1990) to such interesting films as *Innocent Blood* (1992) and *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (1992). The increase in the number of vampire films in general as well as the adaptations of *Dracula* can be explained in part by such factors as the change in the Motion Picture Production Association (MMPA) code, the explosion of the video industry, and the continued growth of the youth culture. There is, however, something about the nature of the vampire and the character of Dracula that has made the Count the most popular horror character of the late twentieth century. Vampire narratives have, in fact, become a genre of their own, and if genre theorists are correct in seeing genres as structures of narrative conventions carrying out a variety of cultural functions in a unified way, the popularity and development of vampire narratives is worth careful examination.

The vampire narrative, best known in the *Dracula* adaptations, both on paper and on screen, and now moving into cyberspace, has established itself as a genre, a discrete narrative type with its own history, conventions, and audience expectations. Although the core structure of the narrative has remained consistent—vampires feed on humans, may live forever, and are not bound by the conventions of society—audience's attitudes toward vampires have changed. Dracula has been evolving from monster to hero. In Bram Stoker's novel, Dracula represents both subversive violence and a threat to order and progress. Victorian readers, believers in order and progress and, at least theoretically, uncomfortable with subversive

sexuality and violence, read the vampire as a monster. Modern ~~or~~ perhaps postmodern would be more accurate ~~r~~readers and viewers, however, disillusioned by the failures of order and progress and more comfortable with sexuality, read *Dracula* quite differently. For contemporary readers, Dracula is an attractive figure, as the proliferation of Dracula societies and fan clubs clearly attests, as do the popularity of such contemporary critics as David Skal, Nina Auerbach, Raymond McNally, and J. Gordon Melton. Contemporary filmmakers view Dracula in a similar way.

The early adaptations of *Dracula*—F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu*, Tod Browning's *Dracula*, and Terence Fisher's *Horror of Dracula*—although different in their portrayal of the Count, all emphasized the monstrous elements of Dracula. More recent adaptations, however, following the more positive depictions of vampires in the works of Rice, Saberhagen, and Yarbro, depict Dracula as a romantic hero, and in doing so help establish a new narrative form, the dark romance.

Three recent adaptations of Stoker's *Dracula* illustrate this development. The first was the critically acclaimed *Count Dracula* made for television in 1978 and shown on PBS. Louis Jourdan portrayed Dracula as a romantic hero rather than a blood-sucking monster, and the 2 1/2-hour production was both faithful to Stoker's text and sympathetic to Stoker's title character. The second is the 1979 *Dracula*, directed by John Badham and starring Frank Langella. Based on the authorized 1927 Deane/Balderston adaptation, the film was planned after Langella played Dracula in Massachusetts and on Broadway. On stage Langella combined romanticism with comedy, but in the film Langella's Dracula is a wise, sensual lover, aware of the limitations of his immortality. Rather than revelling in his condition, as did earlier Draculas, Langella's Dracula suffers, and as a result he becomes a sympathetic figure. Francis Ford Coppola takes this reading of the text even farther in his 1992 *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, which is actually a love story disguised as a horror movie. Gary Oldman's vampire is a more handsome Prince Vlad than a Count Dracula, as the film's Mina correctly concludes, and by providing the historical background for his title character, Coppola removes some of the mystery and menace from the story. The result is a dark version of *Beauty and the Beast*, a romance, even with all of the blood and fangs that Coppola provides for his audience.

Other vampire films have followed the pattern established by the writers of fiction and the adapters of *Dracula*, and as a result filmmakers and audiences make meaning of these narratives through a century of shared experiences and expectations. Contemporary vampire narratives draw on the conventions and images created by Stoker, Lugosi, and Lee, but they are developing new conventions as attitudes toward authority, power, gender, and eroticism change. All Dracula narratives are about sexuality and violence, and the contemporary Draculas, whether appearing in visually stunning, operatic films such as *Bram Stoker's Dracula* or less expensive movies like *Dracula: Dead and Loving It*, are far more sympathetic and self-aware than early ones. In some vampire films, such as *Innocent Blood* (1992), this development has gone so far as to suggest that the vampires are good and the vampire hunters evil, a complete reversal of the vampire narrative's original conventions.

This continuing development of the character of Dracula is possible because both filmmakers and audiences are aware of the history and conventions of the genre and are willing to participate in their adaptation. Part of the appreciation engendered by any genre is the recognition of the familiar and the delight in the variations. When we watch a contemporary vampire film or adaptation of *Dracula*, we are witnessing a variation of an ancient and honorable theme—the confrontation between good and evil. At a time when there is more than a little uncertainty about the nature of good and evil, Dracula, in all his forms, provides readers and viewers with some useful signs of the times. In the following pages, we shall follow, like Professor Van Helsing and his company of fearless vampire hunters, in the footsteps of Dracula.

Enter freely and of your own will.

1
THE SOURCE

> "Welcome to my house. Come freely. Go safely; and leave something of the happiness you bring."
>
> —Dracula, *Dracula*

In his now-classic history of the gothic novel, *The Gothic Flame*, Sir Devendra Varma, one of the first modern scholars to demonstrate an interest in gothic and horror literature, proclaimed, "The prince of vampires is Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, round whom centres probably the greatest horror tale of modern times" (1966, 160). Varma's one-sentence comment, written almost half a century ago, was one of the first serious critical recognitions of the power of Bram Stoker's famous novel. Although, as Carol Senf points out in *The Critical Response to Bram Stoker*, *Dracula* received favorable reviews upon publication and was popular with general reviewers and the reading public from the day it was published, until relatively recently few literary critics or scholars paid serious attention to Stoker's popular vampire novel (1993, 38-40). Fantasy fiction, especially horror fantasy fiction, was considered by many in the

literary establishment to be outside the mainstream of twentieth-century British and American writing, outside the realm of realism, and as such not deserving of serious study. Fantasy fiction was escapist fare for children and the unsophisticated, ran the traditional argument. The more popular the work, the less literary value, it seemed. Despite this critical attitude, however, *Dracula* remained undead and in print, transforming itself into an almost infinite variety of plays, films, novels, short stories, and poems. Stoker's story of Transylvanian vampirism assaulting Victorian England has become, primarily through the medium of film, one of the central metaphors of modern culture, and the figure of Stoker's most famous vampire, complete with cape, evening dress, and fangs, is one of the most widely recognized visual symbols in the world. In a variety of forms, the figure of Dracula graces cereal boxes, greeting cards, and clothing. He endorses products, and he even teaches children mathematics on *Sesame Street*. In the last decade of the twentieth century, vampires are everywhere, and Dracula, Bram Stoker's king of vampires, lurks behind all of them, defining the undead, despite the fact that there have been many vampires, in both legend and literature, long before Stoker brought his vampire count to the public's attention.

Vampires are also taken more seriously. Margaret Carter's excellent anthology of critical responses to Stoker's novel, *Dracula: The Vampire and the Critics* (1988), demonstrates both the depth and the breadth of recent critical commentary on *Dracula*, as does Nina Auerbach's insightful *Our Vampires, Ourselves* (1995). In addition, contemporary scholars in the fields of literature, literary theory, fantasy, horror, film, and popular culture have followed in the footsteps of Professor Van Helsing in the hunt for the vampire. The research and scholarship of such diverse critics as Margaret Carter, Leonard Wolf, Raymond McNally, Radu Florescu, David Skal, Clive Leatherdale, Nina Auerbach, J. Gordon Melton, Elizabeth Miller, and James Twitchell have provided contemporary readers with a treasure of information on the folklore of the vampire, the historical Dracula, the life and times of Bram Stoker, the literary history of vampire fiction, and twentieth-century popular and critical responses to Stoker's novel. Interest in vampires continues to grow, marked by an explosion of production of vampire films and the phenomenal popularity of Anne Rice's Vampire Chronicles, Fred Saberhagen's Dracula novels, Chelsea Quinn Yarbro's St. Germain series, Nancy Collins's Midnight Blue series, and a host of other

novels, magazines, television programs, and games. At the heart of the interest, however, remains *Dracula*, the book that Leonard Wolf (1993) describes as "one of the most terrifying in the world" (vii).

Published in 1897, *Dracula* is the best-known work of vampire fiction. It was not, however, the first, nor did it appear, as legend has it, from "a nightmare brought on from a too generous helping of dressed crab at supper one night" (Wolf 1993, xiii), although strange feeding is a central aspect of the narrative. As Devendra Varma observed and other literary critics noted, Dracula is essentially a gothic romance, a literary form popular in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In his useful introduction to *The Essential Dracula*, Leonard Wolf defines the gothic romance as

> a species of writing that first appeared in England in the mid-eighteenth century and flourished in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The typical Gothic romance has a beautiful young woman in it, who is pursued by wicked, dark, usually Italian, men whose intentions are strictly dishonorable. Her flight takes her to a variety of dismal or dangerous places: subterranean corridors, vaults, crypts, ruins, caves, secret rooms, graveyards. Usually the young woman is well-bred, sensitive, frail. Clearly she deserves a better fate than the one that threatens her, and it almost goes without saying that she is rescued from it (sometimes repeatedly) by a handsome but sexually unthreatening young man with whom, as the book closes, she settles down to live happily ever after. (1993, ix)

Among the more famous early gothic romances are Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and *The Italian* (1796), Mathew Lewis's *The Monk* (1796), and Charles Maturin's *Melmouth the Wanderer* (1820). The conventions of the gothic romance permitted writers to explore the dark side of human nature, specifically violence and sexuality, in a popular and culturally acceptable format. The gothic romance is, like its modern descendants the horror novel and the horror film, a morality play in which vice can be examined and enjoyed for a time, before it is punished and virtue ultimately rewarded. The form also permits readers to indulge in forbidden behavior, at least at a distance, and, of course, escape from the obligations and

limitations of the real world for a time. The conventions also invite an open reading of the narrative, allowing readers to sympathize with almost any or all narratives' characters. Gothic novels, like much of Romantic literature, explored the dark side of human nature, or the "other," emphasizing intuitive, emotional, nonrational elements of humanity, and in doing so called into question the conventional wisdom and morals of society, especially the conventions that emphasized reason, order, and control. Gothic writers emphasized the manifestations of the horrendous and monstrous, creating a sense of dread, a complex mixture of terror, horror, and the mysterious. Although popular with general readers throughout the nineteenth century, gothic fiction was dismissed by most literary and cultural critics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They stressed social and political viewpoints in their commentary and criticism of literary art; their theories marginalized all fantasy. Renewed interest in gothic literature developed in the 1970s and continues to this day.

Vampires appeared in literature during the same period that produced the gothic romance. The first literary vampires were German. In the early eighteenth century, the vampire became a subject of great interest in Europe. Religious, medical, and political studies were commissioned, and poets followed where scholars led. In 1748 Ossenfelder wrote "The Vampire," in 1773 Burger wrote "Lenore," and in 1797 Goethe created "The Bride of Cornith." All three poems were popular and were often translated. Interest in vampires spread throughout Europe. French and Italian vampire poems, stories, and operas were popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including such well-known works as Prosper Merimee's *La Guzla* and Baudelaire's vampire poems. "Lenore," the story of a dead crusader returning from the Holy Land to claim his bride, inspired such early English Romantic poets as Robert Southey and John Stagg to write vampire poems.

The English Romantic poets were more interested in the vampire as metaphor or symbol than as a realistic character. The image of the vampire in Romantic poetry appears in two forms: the male vampire as sexual predator and the female vampire as sexual seductress. In both types, evil, sexuality, and violence are combined. In such works as Keats's "Lamia," Coleridge's "Christabel," and Poe's "Ligeia," the female character with features of a vampire is a grand seductress—passionate, unfeeling, and eternal, an object of adolescent sexual desire. The male character of the vampire,

which appears in such works as Byron's *Manfred* and *The Giaour* and Shelley's *The Cenci*, is an extension of the Byronic hero, himself a development of the gothic hero-isolated, moody, powerful, and threatening. Whether male or female, the vampire in English Romantic poetry usually is used imaginatively rather than literally; the vampire is the representation of the sexual and psychological uneasiness within the individual. The Romantic poetic vampires draw on much of the gothic tradition, but they remain metaphors. Although given the traditional characteristics-bloody, sexually attractive, and demonic-the Romantic vampire itself is not of primary concern to the poets. It is to the novelists.

In April of 1819 the first vampire story in English prose appeared in Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine*. Written by John Polidori, Lord Byron's physician and traveling companion, *The Vampyre* was a tremendous and immediate success. Polidori had studied at Edinburgh University and received his medical degree when he was nineteen. In 1816 he accompanied Byron on a tour of Europe, during which they were joined by poet Percy Shelley and his wife Mary Godwin Shelley in Switzerland. During a period of bad weather when traveling was impossible and the four were confined, Byron suggested that each member of the party create a ghost story. Mary Shelley began *Frankenstein*, and Byron provided an outline of a vampire story. Polidori took that outline and created *The Vampyre*. *The Vampyre*, partly because readers thought it had been written by the age's prince of darkness himself, Lord Byron, was an immediate international popular success. It generated numerous French and German vampire dramas and began the tradition of vampire fiction (and adaptation) that continues to this day. Polidori took a creature of folklore and legend and transformed it into a cultural icon. As James Twitchell noted, *The Vampyre* is a full-blown gothic novella, complete with "local color, melodrama, suspense," and horror (1981, 107). More important, *The Vampyre* established the conventions of the modern vampire story and made the vampire a popular literary figure.

Polidori's vampire, Lord Ruthven, seems familiar to modern readers weaned on *Dracula*. Ruthven is an adult male sexual predator who can mingle undiscovered with humanity while he stalks and kills young women. Polidori included elements that later writers and directors have made standard features of the vampire narrative convention-retelling Eastern European vampire legends, young innocents caught in the vampire's power, glittering

social gatherings, the discovery and hunt of evil, and perhaps most important, the combination of sexuality and violence. In the novella Ruthven is an actual vampire, not merely a metaphor for evil in the culture. He is a bloodthirsty monster who is the embodiment of the destructive power of sexuality masked by wealth, intelligence, and culture. Like many later vampire stories, Polidori's tale is as much a culturally significant morality play as an entertaining horror story.

Polidori's tale is simple but effective. The narrator, an innocent young man named Aubrey, falls under the influence of an older aristocrat, Lord Ruthven, who happens to be a vampire. Ruthven reveals himself to Aubrey, but swears him to secrecy. Ruthven kills the woman Aubrey loves, and later he kills Aubrey's sister as well. Unlike many of the central characters in later vampire narratives, Ruthven survives his story. Aubrey is bound to Ruthven because of his oath and because of his fascination with the mysterious, powerful figure even though Ruthven destroys the women in Aubrey's life. Polidori's narrative is rich in the sexual and social unease that permeates most successful vampire literature. *The Vampyre* calls into question sexual codes, aristocratic privilege, and the concept of honor. Adaptations soon followed, including J. R. Planche's 1820 popular melodrama, *The Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles,* which moved the setting of Polidori's narrative to Scotland. Even the early vampires refused to be confined to the page.

The first full-length vampire novel written in English, and one of the most popular of all vampire novels, was *Varney the Vampire: or, The Feast of Blood*, first published in 1847 and reprinted in installments in 1853. *Varney* has been attributed to Thomas Peckett Prest and/or James Malcolm Rymer (the latter is now favored by some scholars as the major author), but there is a good probability that the novel was produced by several writers working in collaboration. Such collaboration may help explain the novel's lack of consistency. *Varney* is important for more than its popularity; it continued the motifs established by Polidori and influenced many later vampire writers with such elements as "the initiation of the heroine through sex, the vampire's middle-European background, the quasi-medical-scientific explanations, the midnight vigils, the mob scene . . . and the hunt and the chase" (Twitchell 1981, 124). Unlike *The Vampyre, Varney* never attempts to be a psychological study; it is a horror story pure and simple, with a fusion of magic and terror similar to that in the works of Anne Rice.

Varney the Vampire opens with Varney, fanged and white skinned, crawling into the bedroom of a female victim to attack her. Later, he appears as the elegant Sir Francis Varney, combining the horrific and the aristocratic elements of popular vampire tradition. Throughout the long, two-volume novel, Varney, acquisitive for both wealth and blood, infects his victims, turning them into potential vampires. In the second volume of the tale, readers learn that the aristocratic Varney was turned into a vampire during Cromwell's rule, and that, eventually tired of his unlife, he despairs and commits suicide.

Varney is a significant source for *Dracula* for a number of reasons. First, Varney is the first literary vampire who can turn his prey into other vampires. Second, Varney's association with an earlier aristocracy, the Stuarts', sets the pattern for Dracula's noble family history. Finally, Varney's ability to transform himself from a monstrous bloodsucker to an attractive member of the aristocracy will become a central part of Stoker's novel and the stage and film adaptations that follow.

The prototype of the female vampire appeared in Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's 1871 novella, "Carmilla," a tale that inspired Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. Le Fanu was an author of numerous horror stories, creating twenty-three stories and two novels between 1838 and 1853, including an early vampire narrative, "Strange Event in the Life of Schalken the Painter." He became a major figure in Anglo-Irish literary circles, publishing and editing the *Dublin University Magazine*. In 1872 he published a collection of his stories, *In a Glass Darkly*, which included his best-known work, "Carmilla." Le Fanu deliberately adapted Coleridge's "Christabel" into a prose narrative, recognizing and emphasizing the elements of sexual unorthodoxy in Coleridge's narrative. James Twitchell observes that "Carmilla," like "Christabel," is "a story of a lesbian entanglement, a story of the sterile love of homosexuality expressed through the analogy of vampirism" (1981, 129). Carmilla also continues the gothic tradition of creating a sense of dread by calling into question traditional gender roles and the effectiveness of the patriarchal power structure to protect itself from an assault by the "other."

"Carmilla" is a powerful story of seduction and addiction. Laura, the narrator, writes of an experience that occurred more than ten years prior to the tale's opening. After a stagecoach accident, a young woman who has been injured in the accident is left by her "mother" at Laura's father's castle. During her recuperation, the

woman, Carmilla, draws Laura to her, first attracting her with erotic dreams and then transforming herself into a cat and biting Laura on the breast. Laura begins to succumb to Carmilla's attraction, but it is discovered that Laura is in fact a vampire, actually the Countess Karnstein, who has been terrorizing the surrounding countryside for nearly 150 years. Three male authority figures, a doctor, a general, and a local clergyman, join forces to hunt her down. Eventually they discover her coffin and destroy her. The narrative ends with Laura observing that often in a reverie she has fancied hearing Carmilla's footsteps at her door. The reader is left to imagine whether Carmilla has returned or not, leaving the closure, or reimposition of authoritarian order, in doubt. "Carmilla" was immediately popular and has continued to be so, providing readers and adaptors with a narrative with a different emphasis than Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. Although Le Fanu's literary reputation declined after his death, his work remained popular with such writers as Henry James and Dorothy Sayers. In recent years, however, appreciation of his work has grown. In 1964 an edition of his supernatural fiction, *The Best Ghost Stories of J. S. Le Fanu*, was published, and in 1977 the *Collected Works of Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu,* edited by Devendra Varma, was published. In addition, numerous adaptations by both writers and film directors have made "Carmilla" well known to modern audiences.

Stoker's debt to Le Fanu has been noted by numerous critics. Stoker drew on two other traditions, however, the Eastern European folklore about vampires and the actual history of Vlad Dracula, or Vlad Tepes, the fifteenth-century Wallachian prince otherwise known as Vlad the Impaler. The success of *Dracula* is a result of Stoker's combining elements from all three traditions.

As Leonard Wolf, among others, has noted, Emily Gerard's travel book, *The Land Beyond the Forest*, provided Stoker with a great amount of information about the life, history, and folkways of Transylvania, an exotic distant country chosen by Stoker for the setting of his novel rather by chance. In early drafts of the novel, Stoker had not set Dracula's castle in Transylvania. The choice, however, was a fortuitous one, as Stoker's decision to set Dracula's castle in Transylvania, a real place, rather than in some imaginary Eastern European country connected a real monster with a fictitious one. It also helped to establish modern Romania's major tourist industry. In addition, as Joseph S. Bierman notes in "The Genesis and Dating of *Dracula* from Bram Stoker's Working Notes,"

Stoker was familiar with William Wilkinson's *Account of the Principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, Etc.* as well as Gerard's "Transylvanian Superstitions," which appeared in the July 1885 edition of *Nineteenth Century* magazine (1977, 39-41). In fact, Stoker merged traditions that only recent scholarship has unearthed and made public.

Looking to explain the continually growing popularity of the figure of the vampire in modern popular culture, contemporary scholars and folklorists have discovered both the ancient lineage and widespread belief in vampires. Devendra Varma, in his introduction to *Varney the Vampire*, traces the vampire to the Himalayan mountains, where over three thousand years ago the earliest vampire lived in a variety of forms, including the bloodthirsty mother goddess, Kali, and the Tibetan Lord of Death, Yama. From his homeland, according to Varma, vampires and vampire legends moved westward into Eastern Europe, Greece, Arabia, and Africa. Whatever the origins, vampire myths and legends existed long before Christianity in such diverse places as Egypt, India, China, and Greece. In addition, vampire myths have been unearthed in Malaysia, South and Central America, and Southern Africa.

Specific references to vampirism abound in the records of Babylonia and Assyria. R. Campbell Thompson, in *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* (1903), discusses the belief in the Ekimu, the soul of a dead person that could not rest and wandered about the earth tormenting the living until a priest could exorcise it (1: xxiii-xxv). In addition, Assyrian, Babylonian, and ancient Hebrew legends refer to a creature known variously as Lilitu, Lilith, Lamia, Lamme, or Lamashto, a night-roaming female monster who sought out the blood of young children. According to the Talmud, Lilith was Adam's original wife. She argued with him concerning his authority (some sources cite her desire to assume the nontraditional superior position during sexual intercourse) and left him, but her children were destroyed on account of her disobedience. After the creation of Eve, Lilith ~~u~~ndead, immortal, and vengeful ~~a~~t-tempted to kill the children of Eve, and as a result a race of immortal, human-devouring creatures was created. A similar legends appears in Greek mythology. Lamia bears Zeus's children, but jealous Hera kills them. Seeking revenge, Lamia wanders the earth killing as many children as possible.

Violence and sexuality, the two most consistent elements in vampire lore, are present even in these early myths and legends.

Sexuality begets jealousy and violence, and the vampire is a creature who stands outside of the conventions of civilization, conventions that impose order and hierarchies within a culture. The vampire in legend, literature, and art provides a figure that unites the lust for blood and the lust for sex, and in doing so threatens the foundations of civilization. The vampire is always depicted as a creature of great hungers, as well as a creature who brings dread to the culture it invades.

Modern vampire scholarship recognizes this combination as one of the main reasons for the attractiveness of the vampire as a figure for storytellers. Such works as J. Gordon Melton's *The Vampire Book*, James Twitchell's *The Living Dead*, Montague Summers's *The Vampire: His Kith and Kin* and *The Vampire in Europe*, Dudley Wright's *The Book of Vampires*, Anthony Masters's *The Natural History of the Vampire*, Nina Auerbach's *Our Vampires, Ourselves,* Ken Gelder's *Reading the Vampire*, and Margaret Carter's *Dracula: The Vampire and the Critics* and *Shadow of a Shade: Vampirism in Literature* guide readers to an understanding of the vampire and its popularity. In doing so they suggest six general areas of study: the vampire in classical myth and literature, non-European vampires, the influence of Christianity on vampire beliefs, European vampire folktales and legends, the historical Dracula, and the modern literary vampire.

Classical literature provides a rich field for vampire hunters. Blood sacrifices to appease the dead are mentioned frequently in Greek literature, including specific references in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and Wright and Summers see them as references to vampirism. Euripides, Sophocles, Homer, Pausanias, Strabo, Aelian, and Suidas refer to the lust of the dead for blood, and the Greeks believed in the strigae, dangerous birds that flew by night seeking infants to devour and blood to drink. More specifically, Summers and McNally direct readers to two explicit vampire tales.

The first is the story of Philinnion from Phlegon's "Concerning Wonderous Things" in *Fragmentae Historicorum Graecorum* (see Summers, *The Vampire in Europe* 1961, 35-37). This second-century tale, which influenced Goethe's "The Bride of Corinth," describes how Machates, a handsome young man, was visited at night by a beautiful young woman while staying at the house of Demostratus of Corinth. Appearing only at night and always leaving before dawn, the woman turns out to be Philinnion, Demostratus's daughter, who had been dead for six months. Compelled to remain after

sunrise one day, Philinnion falls lifeless. Her grave is searched, and it is found to be empty. Hyllus, a local seer, orders her body to be burned outside the city walls. Machates kills himself in grief.

The second vampire story can be found in Philostratus's third-century *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. Apollonius was a first-century Phythagorean philosopher and ascetic reputed to have magical powers. Mennipus, a handsome young man and student of philosophy, is in love with a mysterious young woman. Apollonius discovers that the woman is a vampire who wishes to make love to Menippus before she devours him. The philosopher, perhaps the earliest source for Professor Van Helsing, who suspected vampirism from the beginning, eventually makes the vampire depart. Both stories would serve as sources for later writers.

The vampires mentioned above have some of the characteristics of their modern kin—night walking, a taste for human blood, and sexual motivation. Vampirism in other cultures can be quite different. Indian belief accepts female vampires who haunt crossroads and drink the blood of elephants. In Japan, the medieval folktale of the Vampire Cat of Nabeshima depicts a large cat that attacks people and sucks blood from their necks. In Malaysia the vampires known as Langsuirs are predominantly female, and in addition to attacking people they have a fondness for fish. Numerous vampire stories exist in Chinese mythology. One specific Chinese belief was that a demon would take over a dead body, preserve it from corruption, and prey upon the living. Another Chinese belief was that each human had two souls. If the moon or the sun could shine on an unburied body, the evil soul would gain strength and come searching for human blood. Unlike the Western vampire, which often infects its victim with vampiristic tendencies, the Chinese vampire does not.

Even within the Western tradition there is little uniformity of belief concerning vampires. Local folktales and legends vary widely. The word "vampire" itself has a confusing history. It first appeared in English in 1734 in *The Travels of Three English Gentlemen*. The word derives from the Magyar "vampir," a word loosely translated as "undead" and that occurs in similar form in Russian, Polish, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Czech. The Greek word for vampire is "vrykolakas," which means drumlike and describes the rough skin of the vampire. "Nosferatu," or living corpse, is another Eastern European term for vampire. In Latin, "strix," which means screech owl, is often used to denote a vampire, and in Portuguese

the word "bruxsa," signifying a bird-woman who sucks the blood of children, is used. Vampires are also sometimes called "revenants", or the dead who return, but that term may refer to a larger category of beings that includes ghosts and zombies. It is interesting to note that today in many Eastern European countries belief in vampires is seen as a primitive superstition held by "others." In Romania, for example, some scholars assert that there is no native word for vampire and that the tradition of vampires is of Hungarian origin. Some Hungarian scholars place vampire legends in Romania. Both Romanian and Hungarian authorities believe the origin of vampire legends is probably Turkey or Greece.

While vampire beliefs are varied, certain key elements of the vampire myth are consistent. The most important are the inability to experience death, the importance of blood, and the sexual connection between vampire and victim. In addition, vampires are usually pallid in appearance before drinking blood, they take little or no food, they are only, or sometimes more, active at night, and they have a foul odor. In the most recent development of the vampire myth, the dark romances of Anne Rice and other writers, the repulsive physical aspects of the vampire are replaced with an attractive sexuality; romantic vampires have no bad breath or bad hair, some of them only feed on evil humans who deserve death, and some, throwing off superstitions created by churchmen, have managed to be able to walk about in daylight and see their reflection in mirrors.

In placing the vampire within a cultural framework, scholars like Twitchell, Summers, NcNally, Florescu, Auerbach, and Wolf observe that blood seems forever imbued in human consciousness with mythic significance. In both classical mythology and early Christianity the blood-is-life motif is continually repeated as an objective statement and a psychological fact. In ancient times blood sacrifice appears to be almost universal, often employed as a means to acquire strength and power, and the sacrament of the Eucharist is based, in part, on the transfer of power through the sharing of blood. "Take, and drink of this," has a multiplicity of meanings. A vampire cheats death by taking blood, the life force, from the living as a dark parody of the Christian earning eternal life by taking part in Communion.

The importance of the erotic elements of the vampire myth cannot be overstated. With the rare exception of vampires who prey on children or animals, vampires combine sexual and blood hun-

gers. In the mainstream tradition, male vampires lust after young women and female vampires thirst for young men, although the vampire tradition has always had a place for homoerotic and bisexual attraction, as Pam Keesey argues in her introduction to *Daughters of Darkness: Lesbian Vampire Stories*. The penetration of the victim with phallic teeth is obviously sexual, as is the ecstasy produced by the actual blood taking. There has always been room for sexuality of all kinds among the undead.

Aside from these core elements, there is no consistency in vampire folklore or legend. Romanian, Russian, Greek, Hungarian, and other traditions list multitudes of ways to become a vampire (for a full dissertation, see Summers, *The Vampire: His Kith and Kin*, 1960; 77–170). In Greek folklore, suicides, excommunicates, people who die in mortal sin, people born between Christmas and Epiphany, people who eat the flesh of a sheep killed by a wolf, or people with blue eyes or red hair may become vampires. In Eastern Europe it is believed that an unbaptised child will become a vampire, as will a man who sought wealth too zealously, the seventh child of the same sex born into a single family, a child whose mother did not eat salt during pregnancy, and a person cursed by his or her parents. In Russian folklore a corpse can be turned into a vampire if a human shadow falls upon it, a bird flies over it, or a cat or young boy jumps over it. At some time, in some place, almost any transgression from orthodoxy may result in vampirism. Legend and folklore suggest that vampirism may pay the penalty for a transgression that marks the victim as "other," a transgression that disassociates the individual from the community in some significant way. The most common way a vampire is created, however, is by the attack of another vampire.

Similarly diverse are the legendary methods of destroying a vampire. (For a more complete list see Summers, *The Vampire: His Kith and Kin*, 1960, 202–10). The most universally accepted ways to destroy a vampire are to drive a stake through its heart, chop off its head, and burn the body. Some authorities have maintained that any of these actions alone is sufficient, while others hold that all three must be performed, often with appropriate religious ritual. Some traditions hold that a particular kind of wood must be used for the stake, often hawthorn or maple, both thought to be the wood of the cross upon which Christ was crucified; and most traditions state that the stake must be driven and the head cut with a single stroke. In addition, some traditions maintain that a silver knife or

sword must be used for the beheading. Contemorary vampire fictions, perhaps borrowing from the werewolf tradition, suggest that a silver bullet will destroy a vampire. The only universal antidote for vampires is garlic, although there is no explanation provided other than the *virtu* of the plant itself. In the last twenty years, writers of vampire fiction have been replacing garlic with silver as the universal vampire antidote. Greek belief suggests that vampires cannot cross running water, while European legends hold that a suspected vampire should be buried at a crossroads so that when it rises from the grave it will become confused and remain transfixed at the spot. Film adaptations of vampire naratives have, of course, created an entire celluloid folklore of ways to kill a vampire. The methods often vary to match the neccessities of plot or to create effective visual special effects.

Shape-shifting has also been associated with vampires. Generally, vampires are thought to be able to take the shapes of animals often associated with witchcraft and the supernatural; the most common forms are the dog, the wolf, the cat, and, of course, the bat. In addition, vampires, according to some legends, can change into smoke, mist, and fog. Particularly in Eastern Europe, it is believed that vampires escape from their graves in this manner. Although early vampire films downplayed this element of vampire lore, preferring to use the always popular transformation into a bat, more recent films have portrayed this method of transformation with a great deal of success. The dramatic possibilities can be seen in comparing Dracula's almost magical transformations into a wolf, mist, and rats in Francis Ford Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (1992) to the almost comic bats of Tod Browning's *Dracula* (1931).

Christian belief played an important part in the development of vampire lore. According to Montague Summers, who describes the Christian position in detail in *The Vampire: His Kith and Kin*, Christianity accepts the existence of vampires and sees the power of the devil behind their creation. Since vampires are servants of Satan, the church has power over them. Thus vampires flee from and can be destroyed by the crucifix, relics of the saints, the sign of the cross, holy water, and above all, a consecrated host. One of the most significant works impacting Christian belief in vampires and other evils is the *Malleus Maleficarum* (Witch Hammer) written by two Dominican priests, Jacob Sprenger and Prior Heinrich Kramer, and published in 1486. Written as a question-and-answer

catechism, the *Malleus Maleficarum* defined and described a variety of evil beings and prescribed the proper way of dealing with them. Although the text does not specifically use the word vampire, it does mention incubi and succubi, demons that take the human form and prey upon human beings, and it does include one story that has some of the features of classic vampirism (1846, part 1, question 15). Accepted at the time as authoritative by both Catholics and Protestants, the book helped create a climate of superstitious fear. It also has inspired a number of modern novels dealing with witchcraft, the supernatural, and vampirism.

Even with the official sanction of the church, belief in vampires required some external corroboration. It was not difficult to find. Following the report of a vampire, grieving neighbors, professional vampire hunters, and curious neighbors set out to exhume suspects during the light of day. Evidence of nocturnal activity was often found—ripped burial shrouds, fresh blood, twisted positions of the buried bodies. The vampire hunters would then decapitate, stake, and/or burn the body. Modern medical science has provided explanations other than vampirism for these phenomenon. Premature burial was common, as living victims of shock, anemia, comas, and assorted fits were often thought to be dead and quickly entombed or buried. Localities visited by tuberculosis or the plague were thought to be attacked by hordes of vampires, and the daytime searches of graves turned up what appeared to be important evidence. In addition, the Spanish conquest of the Americas provided even more dramatic evidence. The discovery of extensive blood sacrifices to demons—Incan and Aztec deities, and the vampire bat (*Desmodus rotundus*)—confirmed European belief in its own legends.

The highlight of interest in vampires, aside from the contemporary frenzy, of course, occurred in the eighteenth century, when European scholars began considering the vampire as an actual possibility rather than a creature of folklore. Incidents of vampire attacks were reported in East Prussia in 1721 and in parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire from 1725 through 1732. Arnold Paul, a retired Austrian soldier living in Serbia, investigated the incidents in that part of the empire, and his investigations became part of an official government report, which concluded that some of the reported vampire attacks could be genuine. Austro-Hungarian officials ordered further investigations, and reports circulated throughout the empire. In the churches and universities of Europe,

philosophical, theological, scientific, and legal debates concerning vampires continued for a number of years, with equally ardent proponents arguing for and against the existence of vampires, both sides citing scriptural and scientific evidence.

Belief in the vampire varied throughout Europe, lasting longer in Eastern Europe than in Western Europe. Indeed, belief in vampires remained alive in parts of Eastern Europe until recently, and the belief is undoubtedly alive in certain regions even today. The vampire legends have had particular vigor in the Balkans, especially in Transylvania and Romania, and these and the surrounding areas have become known as "vampire country." It is important to note, however, that until the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, serious folkoric study was often discouraged and often difficult, and as a result many of the generalizations of folk beliefs in the Balkans should be taken with a grain of salt and a glass of plum brandy. The vampire issue was so important in Romania, for example, that Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu prohibited research or discussion of the subject because he thought such superstitious beliefs had no place in a modern socialist republic and were an insult upon the Romanian national character. It is ironic that since the recent Romanian revolution, Ceausescu himself has been referred to consistently as a vampire. In the postrevolutionary Romania, however, vampire legends and Dracula material have become an essential element in an attempt to reintroduce Romania to Western society. The Transylvanian Society of Dracula is coordinating these efforts to resurrect vampires in Romania, and vampire and Dracula tours of Transylvania are now available to intrepid adventurers, including pilgrimages to at least three different locations claiming to be Castle Dracula.

Stoker's final source for material for his novel was the historical figure of Dracula himself. As Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu clearly have demonstrated, Stoker was aware of Dracula's biography and appropriated his name and reputation for the central character in his novel (1989, 3–11). Some recent critics, however, have noted that the attempt to link the real Transylvanian–actually Wallachian–Dracula with the fictious Dracula has been overemphasized, arguing that *Dracula* is a thoroughly British gothic novel having nothing whatsoever to do with Transylvania, its history, or its folklore. This argument has done nothing to lessen the attraction of Transylvania as the home of vampires for fans and scholars alike.

Vlad Tepes, or Dracula, was born in 1430 or 1431 in Sighisoara; he was the son of Vlad Dracul (1390–1447), a Wallachian prince rewarded by King Sigismund of Hungary for his valor fighting against the Ottoman Turks with induction into the Order of the Dragon, a Christian brotherhood dedicated to opposing the Moslems. Since the Latin word for dragon is *draco,* Vlad became known as Vlad Dracul, or Vlad the Dragon. But *draco* has a second meaning, "devil," and because Vlad was known as a cruel prince, his people relished the pun on his honorific title. Vlad Dracul fought border wars against Hungarian forces occupying Transylvania as well as against the forces of the Ottoman Empire, and eventually he signed a peace treaty with the Moslem forces, allowing the Turkish army to march through Wallachia to fight the Hungarians. Dracula is the diminutive of "dracul," and Vlad's oldest son became Dracula, son of the dragon or son of the devil. During his youth Vlad and his younger brother Radu were held as hostages by the Ottoman sultan to ensure their father's good behavior. As a hostage Vlad learned much about devilment, and thus the name fits. He is also known as Vlad Tepes or Vlad the Impaler, since impaling people on long wooden stakes was his favorite method of both torture and execution. Some scholars have estimated that he impaled over one hundred thousand people in his lifetime. During the first World Dracula Congress, held in Romania in 1995, however, several Romanian military historians argued that the number of Vlad Tepes's victims has been exaggerated by Hungarian and German writers opposed to Romanian nationalism, writers who wished to slander the Wallachian ruler. Most scholars, however, believe the estimates to be accurate.

Vlad Dracula ruled Wallachia, the southern half of modern Romania, three different times during his life: in 1448, from 1456 to 1462, and for two months in 1476. Accurate information about much of Dracula's life is difficult to discover, although McNally and Florescu have unearthed much and popularized Dracula in three intelligent studies. The exact location of his infamous castle, for example, is a matter of dispute, although as mentioned earlier at least three sites are available for tourists to visit. In 1453 Constantinople fell to the armies of the Ottoman Empire, and those forces pushed northward through the Balkans into Europe. Wallachia and the neighboring province of Transylvania became the bloody frontier between Islam and Christianity. Vlad Dracula, who had been given as a hostage by his father to the Turks in his youth,

led his army in a guerrilla war against the Turkish forces with astounding success. His favorite tactic was to attack at night, causing great confusion and terror, and then retreat, carrying away prisoners to be impaled. Faced with such fanatic fighting, the Turkish forces withdrew from the Transylvanian mountains and the Wallachian plain. Dracula then turned his attention to ruling his country, again resorting to the stake to ensure law and order among his multiethnic and multireligious citizens. Thousands of his citizens were impaled, including a reported ten thousand in the attack of one Transylvanian city, Sibiu. Eventually King Matthias of Hungary intervened at the request of some of Dracula's subjects and forced him from his throne. Dracula remained a prisoner of Matthias for twelve years. He was released in 1476 and quickly launched a military campaign to drive Turkish forces from Wallachia. After initial successes, Dracula, facing a much stronger army as well as some of his former subjects who fought with the Turks against him, was forced to withdraw. He died, under mysterious circumstances, shortly thereafter. His actual burial place is unknown, although the monastery at Lake Snagov is now considered the most likely spot.

Accounts of Dracula's bloody activities spread quickly after his death. Word of his ferocious struggles against the Turks as well as his cruelty toward his own subjects, especially Hungarian and German landowners and merchants living in Wallachia, filtered through Hungary to Germany. With the aid of the newly invented printing press, the Dracula legend, complete with embellishments and illustrations, appeared first in Germany and then spread throughout Europe. Because of the extent and nature of his reputed tortures and executions, it is no surprise that Dracula's name became associated with blood and horror.

Although these three sources for vampire narratives ~~t~~he historical Dracula, Eastern European folklore, and classical mythology—flourished simultaneously, they were not merged until 1897, when Bram Stoker published his undying novel of terror, *Dracula*.

There are three major biographies of Stoker. The first two to emerge were Harry Ludlam's *A Biography of Dracula: The Life of Bram Stoker* (1962) and Daniel Farson's *The Man Who Wrote Dracula: A Biography of Bram Stoker* (1975). Farson, Stoker's grandnephew, has observed that Stoker has long remained one of the least known authors of one of the best-known books ever written. This neglect can be explained by the fact that for nearly a century

Dracula was seen as a literary aberration, a best-selling narrative despite its author. The most complete biography is Barbara Belford's excellent study *Bram Stoker: A Biography of the Author of Dracula* (1996). Belford and other modern critics have begun to recognize both the power of the novel and Stoker's skill in composition, and as a result there has been increased interest in Stoker's life and other works, including reprints of once out-of-print works such as *The Jewel of the Seven Stars* and *The Lair of the White Worm*.

Abraham Stoker was born in Dublin, Ireland, on November 8, 1847. His father, also called Abraham, was a civil service clerk employed at Dublin Castle for over fifty years. Stoker was sickly from birth, spending the first seven years of his life in bed, unable to walk. The exact nature of his illness is unknown, but the impact of his childhood isolation remained with him throughout his life and can be seen in much of his writing, with its themes of death, seclusion, and voyeurism. In 1854 his youngest brother George was born, and Stoker walked unaided for the first time. In 1864 Stoker entered Trinity College, Dublin, where he was named University Athlete and graduated with honors in science in 1868. Stoker later returned to Trinity for an M.A. degree. At Trinity Stoker was named president of the Philosophical Society and auditor of the Historical Society; he also wrote an essay, "Sensationalism in Fiction and Society," that demonstrated his interest in the literature of the fantastic. In 1871 Stoker became the drama critic for the *Dublin Mail*. In addition, he became a public admirer and defender of Walt Whitman, whose *Leaves of Grass* had been attacked as obscene by some American and European critics, as would, ironically, a number of Stoker's works, including *Dracula* and *The Lair of the White Worm*. Stoker remained a friend and supporter of Whitman, visiting the poet in America when Stoker first toured the United States. In 1876, Stoker met the famous Victorian actor Henry Irving, and began a lifetime friendship and business association with him. In 1878 Stoker became the manager of Irving's theater, the Lyceum in London, a position he held for twenty-seven years.

Henry Irving's influence on Stoker cannot be underestimated. Irving was the most important actor on the Victorian stage, dominating London and Irish theater with grand performances of such plays as *Faust, Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Romeo* and *Juliet*. He also dominated the Lyceum, and Stoker's appreciation of and service to Irving can be seen in his book, *Personal Reminiscenses of Henry Irving.* A number of critics have pointed out that the relationship

of Stoker to Irving may have been the model for that of Dracula and Jonathan Harker, and it is clear that many of the descriptions of Dracula in Stoker's novel resemble that of Irving, especially in his popular roles as Faust and Macbeth.

During the same year Stoker married Florence Balcombe, a well-known "beauty" of the period who was also courted by Oscar Wilde. Stoker remained friends with Wilde after the marriage, and he became part of the London literary and theatrical scene, becoming friends with such famous figures as Mark Twain, Arthur Conan Doyle, Lord Tennyson, and George Bernard Shaw. In addition, he continued to write, publishing his first book, *The Duties of Clerks of Petty Sessions in Ireland*, a description of the civil courts in Ireland, in 1879. Stoker kept a busy schedule during the next years. In addition to writing a wide variety of books, he traveled, lectured, toured with Irving's company, and managed Irving's business affairs. In 1882 he published *Under the Sunset*, a collection of short stories, and in 1886 A *Glimpse of America* followed. In 1890 Stoker's first novel, *The Snake's Pass*, appeared, followed by *The Shoulder of Shasta* and *The Watter's Mou* in 1895. *Dracula*, Stoker's masterpiece, appeared in 1897, followed by *Miss Betty*, a historical novel, in 1898; *Snowbound*, a series of stories, in 1899 (although some scholars attribute this work to 1908); and *The Mystery of the Sea* in 1902. In 1903 Stoker published his second most popular novel, *The Jewel of the Seven Stars*, a combination of horror and romance in which the spirit of an ancient Egyptian queen attempts to take over the body of a modern Victorian young woman. *The Man* and *Personal Reminiscenses of Henry Irving* followed in 1905 and 1906. In 1908 Stoker's romance between an American and a European, *Lady Athylane*, was published, followed in 1909 by *The Lady of the Shroud*, a story in which a princess pretends to be a vampire to escape assassination. *Famous Imposters*, one of Stoker's more popular works during his lifetime, was released in 1910. In 1911 Stoker completed *The Lair of the White Worm*, a horror novel about a gigantic, ancient evil white serpent that could transform itself into a beautiful young woman. This was Stoker's last novel, and in 1971 it was turned into an interesting film, with significant elements of horror and eroticism similar to the *Dracula* adaptations, by Ken Russell. Stoker died on April 20, 1912. The exact cause of his death remains a mystery, although Farson asserts that the death certificate lists "locomotor ataxy" as the cause and that locomotor ataxy was sometimes used to signify syphilis. Not all scholars agree.

Barbara Belford, for example, notes that there is no evidence for the diagnosis of syphilis whatsoever. In 1914 Florence Stoker released a number of her husband's previously unpublished works, in a volume entitled *Dracula's Guest and Other Weird Stories* .

Most of Stoker's writing is unremarkable, although it sold well during Stoker's lifetime. His early fiction, *Under the Sunset*, *The People*, *The Snake's Pass, The Watter's Mou,* and *The Shoulder of Shasta*, are justly forgotten by all but the most enthusiastic students of Stoker's work. Some of his other fiction, however, remains worth reading; *Dracula* is not, as was once thought, the one good book of a mediocre writer. *The Lady of the Shroud* is the story of a woman pretending to be a vampire to help save her country from a Turkish invasion. *The Jewel of the Seven Stars* is a well-written story of an ancient Egyptian queen's attempt to return to life by taking over the body of a modern Englishwoman, and has been made into two films, *Blood of the Mummy's Tomb* (1972) and *The Awakening* (1980). In this novel Stoker combines his interest in the occult and his research in Egyptology, then a popular subject, with the theme of the attack of the foreign "other" upon Victorian English society. In *The Lair of the White Worm* he retells a similar story, replacing the Egyptian queen with a 2,000-year-old, 200-foot-long worm that can transform itself into an attractive woman. These three works, as well as a number of his short stories, demonstrate Stoker's interest in and mastery of the horror genre, and in the last several years students and scholars have rediscovered these works. Never forgotten, however, has been Stoker's masterpiece, *Dracula*.

In *The Critical Response to Bram Stoker*, Carol A. Senf provides a succinct summary of the critical response to Stoker's work:

> Examining the critical response to Stoker's work reveals that attitudes toward his fiction have changed over the past century. Stoker's contemporaries were much more tolerant of his frequent sentimentality, less tolerant of the sexuality that so often appears in his works and less intrigued by the way that Stoker combines Gothic elements with an interest in science and technology. More recent critics are likely to explore that very sexuality though they may well find his attitudes perplexing; and recent critics are certainly both aware of and interested in Stoker's concern with topical issues: gender, ethnicity, imperialism, and scientific and technological development. (1993, 39)

Although most modern readers would claim a familiarity with *Dracula*, many without having read Stoker's narrative, the actual text of the novel would surprise many of them. General cultural knowledge of the story has been mediated by a host of plays and films, and as a result Stoker's novel comes as a surprise to many first-time readers. Stoker's text is far more complex than most readers expect.

As many literary critics have observed, in creating *Dracula*, Bram Stoker employed many of the conventions of the gothic novel but adapted them to his own narrative structure and source material. *Dracula* is not a poorly and quickly constructed thriller, as some reviewers claimed, but rather a carefully crafted epistolary novel that builds on the conventions of its genre. As Carrol Fry observed in "Fictional Conventions and Sexuality in *Dracula*," Stoker employed conventional characters in new roles in his novel. In many nineteenth-century novels, the narrative is driven by the pursuit of a "pure woman" by a wicked seducer (1977, 20–22). In the melodramatic formula those women who lose their virtue become outcasts, while those who resist earn the reward of marriage. In his narrative Stoker creates two "pure women," Lucy Westenra, who falls, and Mina Harker, who does not. Stoker also combines the role of the seducer or rake with that of the gothic villain. In addition, he employs not one hero but four handsome young men—Jonathan Harker, Arthur Holmwood, John Seward, and Quincy Morris—defending the women's virtue, with the help of a powerful patriarchal figure, Dr. Abraham Van Helsing, who is in many way Dracula's double, both being powerful older men who dominate their younger associates and bend them to their wills. This mirroring of characters, as well as the structure of the novel, Mina Harker's compilation of letters, notes, and journals, creates an aesthetic distance that balances the romance and the terror in the novel.

The plot, although complicated and made far more interesting because of the multiple sources of information and points of view, is structurally simple. In the first, and universally recognized as the most effective and dramatic part of the novel, Jonathan Harker, a young English solicitor, travels to Transylvania to complete a real estate transaction with a mysterious Count Dracula. On his journey he records a number of folk legends about vampires and recipes for unusual meals. After a mysterious coach ride, Harker meets Dracula at his castle, and after an evening of pleasantries he becomes aware that Dracula is a vampire and he himself is a

prisoner. In perhaps the most erotic scene in the novel, Harker is attacked by three female vampires but survives to escape after Dracula has left for England with fifty boxes of Transylvanian earth.

The second and third sections of the narrative take place in England. Mina Murray, who is engaged to Jonathan Harker, is visiting her popular friend, Lucy Westenra, who has accepted the marriage proposal of aristocratic Arthur Holmwood after rejecting those of Dr. John Seward and American Quincy Morris. After a mysterious ship, empty of life but carrying Dracula and his boxes of earth, is wrecked upon the coast of England, Lucy begins to become ill. Strange large dogs and wild bats are seen in the neighborhood. As Lucy grows worse, Doctor Seward summons his old mentor, Professor Abraham Van Helsing, M.D., Ph.D., Litt. D., J.D., to investigate and assist. Van Helsing, who is both a physician and a metaphysician who has spent a lifetime studying evil, suspects vampirism and resorts to the universal cures of garlic, blood transfusions, and crucifixes. Unfortunately, Lucy Westenra dies, or so it appears.

After Lucy's death, reports of female vampire attacks on young children appear. After much denial on the part of all save Van Helsing, the suitors are convinced of Lucy's undead state, and in a most melodramatic scene drive a stake through her heart and cut off her head in order to save her soul.

In the meantime, Jonathan Harker and Mina have married. Mina transcribes Harker's journal of his Transylvanian travels, and Van Helsing reads it. Convinced that Dracula was the cause of Lucy's death, Van Helsing, Holmwood, Seward, Morris, Mina, and Jonathan Harker begin to search for Dracula. Van Helsing soon notices that Mina is undergoing the same transformation that occurred in Lucy, and in one spectacular scene he and Seward break into Mina's room and discover her being forced to suck blood from Dracula's chest.

In the final section of the novel, a long international chase, Mina, Van Helsing, and the other vampire hunters destroy Dracula's boxes of earth and follow him by ship, train, horseback, and carriage to Castle Dracula in Transylvania, where they discover Dracula, who is protected by a band of gypsies. In a bloody confrontation, they defeat the gypsies and kill Dracula, although Quincy Morris dies in the struggle.

The actual novel is, of course, far superior to any cursory summary, although its critical reputation is far from secure despite

its continual popularity. Some critics, perhaps blinded by a bias against any work of horror or fantasy or a hostility to any work that appeals to a popular audience, still refer to *Dracula* as little more than a "mere horror story." A growing number of contemporary critics and scholars, however, have discovered both significance and craft in Stoker's narrative and have, in the process, suggested that the tale of terror, as a modern variation of the morality play, is an important literary genre. In his study of the aesthetics of horror fiction, *The Delights of Terror* (1987), Terry Heller establishes a theoretical approach to the study of the literature of terror and horror. Heller defines terror as "the fear that harm will come to oneself" (19) and horror as "the emotion that one feels in anticipating harm coming to others for whom ones cares" (19). Heller argues that tales of terror, which actively involve the implied reader, often by the use of deliberate gaps in the text that force readers to imagine or create key details for themselves, are superior to tales of horror, which offer the implied reader "the opportunity to pretend to experience extreme mental and physical states by identifying with characters who undergo such experiences" (1987, 10). In his study Heller praises *Dracula* as a "fantastic/marvelous tale of terror" that is a drama of reenacted repression that seems remarkably conscious of its purpose" (1987, 73).

While theorists such as Heller have discovered significance in *Dracula*'s structure, other critics found its power in Stoker's presentation of the late Victorian culture's concerns with issues of colonialism, race, gender, technology, and violence; and many contemporary critics realize that the nightmares of a century ago continue to haunt readers today. George Stade, a perceptive scholar and student of Victorian literature who wrote the introduction to the 1981 Bantam edition of *Dracula*, summarized much of the novel's continual impact with the observation that "the prevailing emotion of the novel is a screaming horror of female sexuality. Along with the horror, of course, goes fascination and hate" (viii).

In the introduction to her most useful anthology of *Dracula* criticism, *Dracula: The Vampire and the Critics*, Margaret Carter provides readers with an insightful overview of the critical responses to Stoker's novel as well as a survey of opinion concerning *Dracula*'s significance. Carter notes:

> Since the early 1970s, however, along with the revitalization of vampires in popular fiction there has arisen

> considerable interest in the definitive vampire novel. Most studies of *Dracula* may be categorized as either historical, political, psychosexual, metaphysical, or structural (i.e., focusing on narrative technique, not necessarily adhering to a "structuralist" school of criticism). (1988, 2)

She then provides an overview of the major studies, observing that such early critics as Dudley Wright and Montague Summers found the strength of the novel in the "subliminal power of the vampire motif" (1988, 3). Carter notes that Maurice Richardson employed a Freudian approach in "The Psychoanalysis of Ghost Stories" (1959), observing that Count Dracula was a representative of the evil father who wants to keep all the women in the novel for himself, while Van Helsing is the good father who leads the four young men to defeat his "other." Carter cites a similar Freudian approach in Anthony Boucher's introduction to the 1965 edition of *Dracula*, observing that Boucher notes a strong mixture of love and death in both the culture and Stoker's novel. Carter cites political readings as well, noting Richard Wesson's argument in "The Politics of *Dracula*" (1966) that Count Dracula is a representation of the barbarism of Eastern Europe (and beyond) opposed by a Western, Anglo-Saxon alliance in a battle over Lucy Westenra, or "The Light of the West." Later political readings, such as those by Gail Grifton, Burton Hatlin, and Christopher Craft, focus on the character of Count Dracula as a representation of "the other," in social, political, and/or sexual terms. Finally, Carter notes readings that explore the philosophic, religious, and technological implications of the novel.

The multiplicity of intelligent readings mirrors the multiplicity of adaptations that followed the publication of Stoker's novel. Each reader, each critic, and each adaptor brings something of himself or herself to the text, and in search for a reflection in the dark mirror of the narrative brings out something individual. Every generation creates its own nightmares, narratives that dramatize the terrors of a particular moment in the culture, but *Dracula* has haunted readers and viewers for a century. He is, as pointed out by Stephen King (1981) and David Skal (1990), among others, one of the most significant representations of "the other," along with Robert Louis Stevenson's Mr. Hyde and Mary Shelley's Frankenstein's Monster. *Dracula* is a narrative of violence, darkness, sexuality, lost identities, passion, repression, and, perhaps, redemption. There is little wonder that so many filmmakers have turned to

Stoker's narrative for source material; the castle and the graveyard make excellent settings, seduction and violent death have always been at the heart of the theater, and the conflict between reason and superstition, or faith and unbelief, are two of the central concerns of our century. *Dracula* has been with us for one hundred years, and on the screen he has been with us in far more forms than Bram Stoker would ever have imagined.

2
EARLY ADAPTATIONS

"I never drink. . . wine."
—Bela Lugosi, *Dracula,* Universal Pictures, 1931

Bram Stoker died in 1912. In 1913 his widow sold his working notes for *Dracula*, and in the following year, she published *Dracula's Guest*, a collection of Stoker's unpublished short stories. The title narrative, "Dracula's Guest," was, according to most contemporary critics, the planned initial chapter for *Dracula* which Stoker deleted because his publisher feared either that the manuscript was too long or that the connections between the short story and the rest of the narrative were not clear. "Dracula's Guest" tells of an encounter between Jonathan Harker and a female vampire, who owes much to the vampire character in Le Fanu's "Carmilla," on Harker's journey to Castle Dracula. Harker, alone at night, discovers a mysterious tomb and is about to be attacked by the vampire from the tomb when he is saved by a more powerful vampire, presumably Dracula himself. The story, which would have been an effective preface to Dracula, stands on its own, and is of interest

to all students of *Dracula*. For ten years after Stoker's death, *Dracula* continued to sell well, providing Florence Stoker with a steady, if small, income. In 1922 the German company Prana Films released *Nosferatu*, *Eine Symphonie des Graunes* (Nosferatu: A Symphony of Terror). *Nosferatu* was adapted from Stoker's novel *Dracula*, but without permission (and, of course, without any payments for use of the copyright), and Stoker's widow sued Prana for infringing on her copyright. In the meantime, British actor and theater manager Hamilton Deane, who had established his own successful touring theatrical company, sought permission from Mrs. Stoker to adapt *Dracula* for the theater. Mrs. Stoker agreed, and Deane, unable to find a scriptwriter willing to undertake the project, drafted a version himself, eliminating those elements of the novel that could not be reproduced on the early twentieth-century British stage. The resulting play was a popular success, first in the English provincial theater, then in London, and finally in New York. Eventually Mrs. Stoker sold the rights to her novel and, with Deane, the rights to the play to Universal Studios, which hired Tod Browning to direct the classic American film adaptation of *Dracula*, starring Bela Lugosi.

In his outstanding study *Hollywood Gothic: The Tangled Web of Dracula from Novel to Stage to Screen* (1990), David Skal provides a well-written and carefully researched history of the complex legal, literary, and theatrical entanglements that began with the publication of *Dracula* and led to Browning's film. Anyone interested in the full account of personalities and problems that took Stoker's story through its various adaptations during the 1920s should consult Skal's study for an entertaining history of the tangled web of *Dracula* from stage to screen. Skal manages to turn a confusing history of literary theft, legal retribution, and financial opportunism into an entertaining and fascinating narrative. In addition, *Hollywood Gothic* is also carefully documented and contains countless useful illustrations from the various productions of *Dracula*. Also of considerable interest to students of *Dracula* and its many adaptations is Skal's annotated 1993 edition of the Deane/Balderston script for the American version of the stage play, entitled *Dracula*: *The Ultimate Illustrated Edition of the World-Famous Vampire Play*. It provides general readers with the text of the play, which had almost as much influence on many of the film versions of *Dracula* as the novel itself. As Skal observes in his introduction to *Hollywood Gothic*, "*Dracula* didn't begin in Hollywood, but it

traveled there with inexorable momentum" (1990, 4). The path *Dracula* took, from novel to pirated adaptation through theater to popular film, is important, because these early adaptations define the boundaries of most *Dracula* adaptations that followed. In a very real sense, F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu* and Tod Browning's *Dracula* are dramatically opposite approaches to the problem of adapting Stoker's novel, each faithful to the text in its own way; they provide alternative readings of the source material. Each director read Stoker's text in a different manner, discovering different elements for emphasis. Murnau's 1922 *Nosferatu* emphasizes the animalistic and horrific elements in Stoker's text, transforming Dracula into a mindless plague-carrying monster, while Browning's 1931 *Dracula* stresses the aristocratic and romantic elements of the novel, with Dracula always in evening clothes. The two films are different in other ways as well. Browning's *Dracula* is a traditional Hollywood studio production, emphasizing character development, romance and the final triumph of Western patriarchal authority over the menace of the foreign "other." In addition, the film establishes a realistic framework for Stoker's story; the vampire is to be taken as real. Murnau's *Nosferatu* is a classic example of a post-World War I German expressionist film, emphasizing the ever-present horror beneath the surface of the ordinary and the irrational in the manner in which the tale is told; *Nosferatu* suggests the possibility of a dream or a nightmare. Unlike mainstream American studio films, which emphasize realistic performances and settings as well as an objective camera, German expressionist films stress impressionistic and subjective acting, sets, and camera, all of which call into question the possibility of any objectivity.

Film historians argue about the exact definition and extent of influence of German expressionism. Some, influenced by the Siegfried Kracauer's famous study *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological Study of the German Horror Film*, see expressionism as an artistic representation of the dominant psychological state of postwar German society and the definitive indicator of the German "soul"; others view it as a more limited aesthetic movement, describing a decade of film experimentation. There is agreement, however, on the basic characteristics of German expressionism.

German expressionism in film grew out of the expressionist experiments of European musicians, painters, and dramatists that flourished in the first decades of the twentieth century. Expressionists, in general, questioned the nineteenth-century ideas of objec-

tivity and realism, calling into question Western notions of reason and progress, and they emphasized stylistic distortion to express emotional and psychological states rather than surface reality. In film, expressionistic directors used distortion and subjectivity in the design of individual shots and in the human form that appeared on the screen. Sets, motion, and camera angles were deliberately distorted or exaggerated, often to suggest the psychological or emotional state of the narrator or characters in the film. The subject matter of the films also moved away from the realistic: dream states, fantasies, and nightmares became the subjects of the German expressionist directors; and horror emerged as the favorite genre of expressionist directors.

The chronology of the German expressionst movement is fairly straightforward. *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, directed by Robert Wiene, was released in 1920. In 1921 Fritz Lang's *Destiny* and Karl Heinz Martin's *The House of the Moon* followed. In 1922 Murnau's *Nosferatu* and Fritz Lang's *Dr. Mabuse, the Gambler* appeared. In the next several years Wiene directed *Roskolnikov* (1923) and *The Hands of Orloc* (1924), Lang directed *Die Nibelungen* (1924) and *Metropolis* (1924), and Murnau directed *Tartuffe* (1925) and *Faust* (1926). The emphasis on horror and the examination of the relationship between the ordinary and the extraordinary is clear in most of these films, and Stoker's *Dracula* was an obvious choice for adaptation by Murnau.

Film historians agree on the significance of *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* as the most influential film of the expressionist movement. *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* tells the story of a vampirelike somnombolist who kills at the command of a wizardlike figure. The film is told, it is revealed in the end, from the point of view of an inmate in an asylum, who may or may not be telling the truth. Of particular interest in the film is the conflict between Western rational science and mysticism and Wiene's presentation of the evil character of Caesare, who is tall, pale, dressed in black, and emerges from a coffinlike box to stalk his victims. Some basic elements of *Dracula* permeate *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*. Robert Wiene's tale of horror and murder, set in a narrative frame told by a madman, not only established the conventions of film expressionism but influenced many filmmakers, and, as Gerald Mast has noted in *A Short History of the Movies* (1986), Murnau's *Nosferatu* may be the most noteworthy of *Caligari*'s descendants. In all of these films, the disassociation and confusion resulting from the breakdown of German society

after the First World War can be seen. All aspects of cultural and political authority are called into question; there is no center to hold in any of these films.

In planning to film *Nosferatu*, Murnau and scriptwriter Henrik Galeen, who later became a successful director himself, had to turn Stoker's long epistolary novel into a coherent screenplay; they also wished to avoid the problem of paying any royalties to the author's widow, as Prana and all other German film companies were financially insolvent due to a disastrous combination of postwar depression and inflation. Murnau and Galeen changed names, cut large sections of the novel, and omitted Stoker's shifting point of view, one of the strengths of the novel. As a result Murnau and Galeen made substantial changes to Stoker's source material, although they kept the basic plot structure: a young lawyer is summoned to Transylvania to assist a vampire in purchasing real estate in Western Europe, the vampire leaves his attorney a captive in the castle while heading westward on a ship, and the vampire arrives and seeks out the lawyer's wife but eventually is destroyed. Changed are the major characters' names: Count Dracula becomes Graf Orlock, Mina becomes Ellen, Harker becomes Hutter, Renfield becomes Knock, and Van Helsing becomes Bulwer. In addition, the London setting is transported to Bremen, and the final return chase to Transylvania is omitted (a surgical decision often made by later directors of *Dracula* adaptations who wished to save money and time by avoiding complex plot development and the need to create special sets). Despite these changes, the basic narrative thrust and thematic power of Stoker's novel is retained.

Murnau and Galeen also retained the basic archetypal foundation of the story. In creating *Dracula*, Bram Stoker developed a narrative structure that is similar to but not identical with the archetypal pattern of the heroic monomyth discussed by Joseph Campbell in his *Hero with a Thousand Faces*. It is also the structure of many of the folktales and traditional narratives that deal with the supernatural and the uncanny. In *Dracula* the nominal hero (Jonathan Harker) receives a mysterious call that takes him from the world of the ordinary (England and the practice of law) into the world of mystery (Transylvania and Castle Dracula), where he undergoes tests and trials (the confrontation with Dracula and his three mysterious ladies), only to return to the world of the ordinary. In the heroic pattern, best exemplified by the adventures of Odysseus, the hero returns with wisdom and power. In the horrific

pattern, of which *Dracula* may be the finest example, the hero returns, but so does the evil, which goes about infecting the hero's society. Ultimately the evil is overcome, but at great cost to all involved.

In *Nosferatu* Murnau greatly simplified Stoker. As already mentioned, *Nosferatu* begins with Hutter leaving his wife to travel to Transylvania to help Graf Orlock purchase property in Bremen. Murnau follows Stoker closely in the first part of the Transylvanian section. He includes coach rides, superstitious local peasants, and a mysterious coachman who drives Hutter to the castle. The confrontation at the castle also follows Stoker's description, except that Murnau omits the female vampires completely. In Murnau's film the confrontation between good and evil, vampire and victim, is personal, and Orlock requires no mediating ladies to threaten Hutter. In one of the most effectively edited parallel sequences in film history, Murnau crosscuts among individual sequences of Orlock's departure and transport aboard the ship, ironically called the *Demeter*, the classical Greek goddess of fruitful earth and social order; Hutter's escape and return to Bremen; Knock's descent into madness; and Bulwer's experiments with vampirism in nature.

The most dramatic and effective of these sequences is the voyage of the *Demeter*. Murnau and cameraman Fritz Arner Wagner effectively create a visual metaphor of vampirism as disease. Death spreads throughout the ship slowly and mysteriously as the crew comes in contact with the vampire. As David Skal notes: "The central striking image of *Nosferatu* will forever and always be the cadaverous Max Schreck as the vampire, his appearance totally unlike the film vampires that were to follow. Schreck's characterization of Dracula as a kind of human vermin draws its energy in part from Stoker, but also from universal fears and collective obsessions" (1990, 52). Schreck portrays the vampire as a kind of supernatural human rat, and during the voyage sequence Murnau depicts the dying ship's crew fearing the plague as Orlock stalks the ship. No other adaptation of *Dracula* has captured the terror of the discovery of evil aboard an isolated vessel as effectively as *Nosferatu*. Murnau's depiction of the vampire's sea voyage was so memorable that Francis Ford Coppola recreated it in his 1992 *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, and contemporary viewers still find Murnau's depiction powerfully shocking.

The plague metaphor continues in the later parts of the film. Nosferatu and the plague arrive in Bremen simultaneously. Death

spreads throughout the community, disrupting all social activities. In a series of dramatic shots, Murnau shows rats infesting streets and coffins emerging from townhouses. Hutter's wife Ellen, who has had a psychic connection with her husband throughout the film and is aware of Orlock's presence, reads from a mysterious volume called *The Book of the Vampire* and discovers that the vampire can be destroyed only if a virtuous woman permits the vampire to remain with her until the cock crows. Christlike, Ellen lays down her life for the community, and as the sun rises Orlock is destroyed.

A number of the changes made by Murnau and Galeen are significant. First, although there are references to letters and diaries in the film, the narrative structure is much simplified: major characters are deleted, other characters, most significantly that of the vampire, are made one dimensional, and entire scenes, including Stoker's effective chase of the vampire by the fearless band of vampire hunters across Europe and the confrontation at Castle Dracula, are cut. In addition, the Van Helsing character, who is a major force in the novel and can be seen as Dracula's "good" double, is reduced to a brief appearance; he has been replaced by *The Book of the Vampire*. Similarly, the character of Lucy Westenra is gone, as are almost all references to technology, colonialism, and religion, which provided the rich backround in Stoker's novel. As a result, much of the complexity of Stoker's novel is lost. Stoker's musings on the changing role of women in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the relationship between science and religion, and the impact of technology on British society are absent.

Although much simplified, *Nosferatu* is an exceptional adaptation of *Dracula*, primarily because of Max Schreck's performance as Graf Orlock and Murnau and Wiene's stunning visual images. As Mast notes in *A Short History of the Movies* :

> Unlike the later incarnations of Dracula—Bela Lugosi, Christopher Lee, and Klaus Kinski—Murnau's vampire (Max Schreck) was no sexy, suave, debonair figure who stole the lady's heart before he stole her blood. Murnau's vampire was hideously ugly—a shriveled, ashen little man with pointed nose, pointed ears, and pointed head. This ugliness made the sexual implications of the vampire's relationships with humans—particularly the use of a man's bedroom for the primary setting of the nightmare bloodsucking—even more horrifying. (1986, 144-45)

Murnau's use of symbolic settings, lights and shadows, and single-frame exposure emphasize the unnatural nature of the vampire. Unlike Dracula, Orlock cannot walk unnoticed through the busy streets of a modern city. Murnau's monster is malevolence itself; few of the protections against vampires work against Orlock, and in Murnau's vision there are no crucifixes, hosts, or garlic flowers to confront the vampire. Followed by rats, the *nosferatu*, undead, is a walking plague.

Nosferatu was both a critical and a popular success in Germany and France, although praise for the film was not universal. Upon its delayed release in the United States in 1929, the film critic for the *New York Times* observed: "Because of its age and also the extravagant ideas, 'Nosferatu the Vampire,' a film supposed to have been inspired by the bloodcurdling 'Dracula,' is not especially stirring. It is the sort of thing one could watch at midnight without its having much effect upon one's slumbering hours" (Abramson, 1970, 1: 29). Because of the Stoker copyright controversy in Great Britain, the film was not exhibited there. In addition, Stoker's widow escalated her battle against Prana Films, demanding royalties or destruction of all prints of the German film. After a series of international negotiations, Prana declared bankruptcy in 1924, and a German court ruled in favor of Mrs. Stoker. She demanded the destruction of all copies of the film, and many were destroyed. *Nosferatu*, like the excellent vampire film that it is, could not be destroyed, and a number of prints survived. Eventually *Nosferatu* emerged from the darkness, to the delight of modern viewers and critics.

Nosferatu is now recognized as a classic film, one of the most successful horror films ever made. Such standard film histories as Mast's *A Short History of the Movies* and Kristian Thompson and David Bordwell's *Film History* argue the importance of Murnau's film from historical and cinematic perspectives. More specialized works, such as David Skal's *Hollywood Gothic* and *The Monster Show: A Cultural History of Horror*, J. Gordon Melton's *The Vampire Book*, Donald Willis's *Horror and Science Fiction Films*, Gregory Waller's *The Living and the Undead*, S. S. Prawer's *Caligari's Children: Film as a Tale of Terror*, and Marin Riccardo's *Vampires Unearthed: The Complete Multi-Media Vampire and Dracula Bibliography*, cite the film's lasting cinematic power, its unique place in vampire literature and film history, and its unusual adaptation of Stoker's basic narrative. The critics are correct. Murnau's adapta-

tion is more than a historical artifact. Over seventy years after the release of *Nosferatu*, viewers still feel the impact of Murnau's work. *Nosferatu*, the illegitimate offspring of Bram Stoker's novel, still scares. Tod Browning's *Dracula,* the legitimate son of Stoker's imagination, has not been treated so kindly by the critics.

While Florence Stoker was involved with her lawsuit against Prana Films, Hamilton Deane, English actor and owner of a touring theater company, sent her a proposal for an authorized dramatization of *Dracula*. Stoker accepted, and Deane began work on the play in 1924, eventually it opened in London on February 14, 1927, to negative reviews. In his discussion of the transformation of Stoker's novel to Hollywood film, Skal recognizes that Deane saw the story as a conventional drawing-room melodrama, and as a result he omitted both the opening and closing sections of the novel, two of the most powerful parts of *Dracula*. In addition, Deane radically transformed the character of Dracula himself, providing him with a nineteenth-century British aristocratic manner that would play well on the British stage. Both of these changes were made to meet the demands of the stage, and both would be part of most future adaptations. Unity of time and place were emphasized, a necessity for the popular London stage at the time, but complexity of theme and character were lost. As a result, all future adaptors who used the Deane/Balderston script or attempted to combine it with Stoker's text were faced with the task of balancing the simplicity of the stage script with the richness of Stoker's novel.

For those interested in the dramatic adaptation of Stoker's novel, David Skal has edited and annotated the Deane/Balderston play. Skal's 1993 edition of *Dracula*, published by St. Martin's Press, provides those interested in the evolution of the Dracula narratives with a valuable new insight into the transformation of Stoker's story from a multi-point of view narrative to drawing-room drama.

Although most reviewers and critics failed to appreciate Deane's *Dracula*, audiences did not. (It is interesting to note in this context that this disparity between popular and critical responses to *Dracula* adaptations, and works of horror in general, has continued throughout the century. Films dealing with horror and the fantastic seldom receive serious critical commentary in the general media.) *Dracula* was a financial success. Soon the play was being performed both in London by the primary company and in the provinces by touring companies. It was proving so successful that American producer Horace Liveright approached Florence Stoker and offered

to produce the play on Broadway if he could revise the Deane script for an American audience. Eventually, after extensive negotiations, Liveright received permission and hired John Balderston to adapt the play. *Dracula* opened on Broadway on October 5, 1927, with a little-known Hungarian actor named Bela Ferenc Deszo Blasko, who performed under the stage name Bela Lugosi, playing the title role. *Dracula*'s dramatic success in America followed the pattern established by the British play. Audiences were especially impressed with such theatrical effects as flying bats, disappearing actors, and spurts of blood. Critics were generally indifferent, audiences were large and enthusiastic, and after a successful run on Broadway of 241 performances, *Dracula* was taken on tour. Lugosi and Bernard H. Jukes, who played Renfield, went to the West Coast for perfomances in Los Angeles and San Francisco, and a second cast was assembled for the East Coast and Midwest tour. Finally, Universal Studios began to show interest in the property, and after lengthy negotiations with Stoker, Deane, and Balderston, acquired the film rights to *Dracula* for $40,000.

Carl Laemmle, Jr., of Universal Studios, began to assemble a team for the production of *Dracula*. Universal had earned a reputation as a successful studio for the production of fantastic films with its 1925 production of *Phantom of the Opera*, starring Lon Chaney. Despite the objections of his father, Carl Laemmle, Sr., Carl Laemmle, Jr., set out to make a series of horror films, using the popular *Dracula* as a high-budget prestige film to inaugurate the series. Universal would establish itself as the major studio for the production of horror films after the success of *Dracula*. In the early 1930s, Universal produced *Frankenstein* (1932), *The Mummy* (1932), *The Invisible Man* (1933), *The Black Cat* (1934), and *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), and later *Dracula's Daughter* (1936) and *Son of Dracula* (1943), establishing a pattern later followed by the British film company Hammer Films, which also created a series of horror films with an identifying film style. Universal was so successful with its "monster movies" that it quickly became associated with its horror film production so closely that a Universal picture meant a horror film to millions of viewers. To bring *Dracula* to the screen, Laemmle hired novelist Louis Bromfield to rewrite the Deane/Balderston script, adding some of deleted Stoker material to make the film screenplay less of a static stage play. Next, studio executives selected Tod Browning to direct the film. Browning, who had directed Lon Chaney, one of Universal's original

selections for the role of Dracula, at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, had a record of making successful fantastic films, including *The Unholy Three* (1925), *The Road to Mandalay* (1926), and *London after Midnight* (1927). Carl Freund was named cinematographer. Eventually, and after some difficulty, most of the parts were cast: David Manners for Jonathan Harker, Dwight Frye for Renfield, Helen Chandler for Mina, and Edward Van Sloan, who had portrayed Van Helsing on stage, for Van Helsing. Finally, after an exhaustive and public search for the appropriate actor to portray Dracula, a search that produced such names as Ian Keith, Joseph Schildkraut, Paul Muni, John Wray, Chester Morris, and William Courtney, Universal executives settled on the leading actor from the Broadway play, Bela Lugosi, despite the objections of some studio executives, who thought a foreign actor would not be able to attract a large American audience.

The production of the film was also difficult. Faced with studio demands to save money, Browning shot the film in sequence, an unusual practice then as now; limited the special effects, although an elaborate Gothic set with a sweeping staircase had been constructed; and used a static camera, despite having the capabilities to employ a moving camera to capture the ambiguities and fantastic elements of Stoker's novel. In addition, the film was roughly, or perhaps even crudely, edited. Nevertheless, the film opened on February 12, 1931.

Like *Nosferatu*, Tod Browning's *Dracula* is Stoker's story much simplified, but simplified by an entirely different reading of the source text. Browning's *Dracula*, unlike the stage play, uses both Jonathan Harker's journey and the confrontations in Dracula's castle, scenes impossible to stage. The film opens with a carriage driving through Transylvanian mountains. Inside is not Jonathan Harker but English solicitor Renfield, who is coming to Castle Dracula to negotiate a real estate purchase in London with the Count. Renfield stops at a village inn and is told of the evils of the vampire who lurks in the nearby castle. Renfield resumes his journey and is dropped off at the Borgo Pass, where he is picked up by a mysterious coachman, actually Dracula in disguise, who takes him to the castle. At the castle Renfield is greeted by Dracula, and in the ruined great hall of the castle is given dinner. Dracula and Renfield discuss the lease of Carfax Abbey. Renfield, drugged, passes out as Dracula's three mysterious ladies approach him.

Dracula's voyage to England is presented in several remarkably undramatic scenes. Unlike Murnau in *Nosferatu*, who makes the voyage of the vampire from Eastern Europe to the West a crucial dramatic element in the film, Browning lets the opportunity for both drama and spectacle pass. Upon reaching England, the ship is empty, save for a ranting Renfield and several boxes of Transylvanian earth.

Dracula, dressed in evening clothes, cape, and top hat, now moves freely through the London night fog. He attacks a young flower girl and then enters a concert hall for an evening of Wagnerian music, where he meets Dr. Seward, his daughter Mina, Lucy, her friend, and Mina's fiance, John Harker. After the concert Dracula visits Lucy at her home and attacks her.

The first section of the film follows the main plot of the novel, but from this point the film resembles the structure of the Deane/Balderston play rather than Stoker's novel. Mina becomes ill, and while Dracula is visiting the Seward house, Dr. Seward's friend, Professor Van Helsing, exposes Dracula as a vampire. Dracula carries Mina away to Carfax Abbey, where he is discovered at sunrise by Harker and Van Helsing. Dracula is staked, surprisingly and most undramatically, offscreen, and Mina is returned, unpolluted by the evil of the vampire, to her intended.

Dracula was a popular success. In fact, it was Universal Pictures' most successful picture of 1931, and David Skal argues that Browning's *Dracula* may have saved Universal Pictures from bankruptcy. Audiences were enthusiastic, and reviewers were relatively kind to the film. Tod Browning's *Dracula* is, however, a seriously flawed film. Despite the many problems with the Universal film, however, Tod Browning's *Dracula* has become a cultural icon, influencing every adaptation that has followed and establishing the character of Bela Lugosi in evening clothes and cape as the most widely known visual image of Dracula in the world.

The technical faults of Browning's *Dracula* are legion. Some critics have maintained that Browning was not interested in the project and simply walked through his director's role allowing subordinates to make most of the directoral decisions, because of either boredom or a serious drinking problem. Others argue that Universal budget constraints hindered the hardworking Browning. For whatever reason, *Dracula* is a technical horror. Three major problems are obvious to almost any viewer. First, in the middle of the film, the Lucy subplot, dealing with Dracula's seduction and

transforming of Lucy, is simply abandoned. In Stoker's novel, turning Lucy into a vampire is an important element of the narrative, as it establishes Dracula's power and prefigures the assault on Mina, the narrative's central consciousness. Browning sets up the Lucy subplot and then leaves it confusingly unresolved. Second, a nurse is shown alive and well after being attacked, and presumably killed, by Renfield. Finally, the entire film builds to a dramatic confrontation between Dracula and Van Helsing, and the vampire's destruction takes place, undramatically, offscreen. In nearly every other successful adaptation of *Dracula*, the confrontation between hunter and hunted, Van Helsing and Dracula, is the dramatic high point of the film as well as the personification of the narrative conflict. The Hammer adaptations, with Chistopher Lee and Peter Cushing playing the roles of Dracula and Van Helsing, are especially effective in emphasizing this personal conflict. In Browning's version viewers are led to expect this personal dramatic confrontation, and then left unfulfilled. In addition, critics of the film point to the famous scene in Mina's bedroom in which a piece of cardboard, used to direct lighting during a rehearsal, is seen on the screen in the final cut. Some of Browning's work is simply slipshod.

There are other problems as well. In simplifying Stoker's narrative, Browning, like Murnau before him, was forced to eliminate some elements of the source narrative and emphasize others. Browning's adaptation, like Murnau's, omits several major characters. As mentioned above, Lucy's role, which is central to Stoker's narrative, is strangely underdeveloped, and Quincy Morris and Arthur Holmwood disappear entirely, as they do in most stage adaptations of Stoker's novel. Dr. Seward is transformed from Lucy's suitor to Mina's father, and Jonathan Harker is left with almost nothing to do but appear handome and concerned, as he neither journeys to Transylvania nor suffers from a confrontation with Dracula or his ladies. In addition, as does Murnau, Browning omits the final international chase of the Count back to Castle Dracula, which in the novel brings the action full circle, develops characters, resolves all conflicts, and with its international scope balances the journey motif of the first part of the novel.

Again as in *Nosferatu*, Browning's *Dracula* retains enough of Stoker's novel to have a powerful emotional impact, and it does so primarily because of what the characters represent rather than how the actors perform their roles. Although the acting in *Dracula* often

has been criticized, it is, in fact, quite effective and equal to that in most other significant films in the transition period between silent films and sound. The work of Lugosi, Sloan, and Frye was so striking, in fact, that it created stereotypes that stayed with the actors throughout their careers. The relatively lackluster performances by Chandler and Manners, on the other hand, are more the fault of the script than the fault of the actors, as the traditional romantic roles are pushed to the margins of the narrative, leaving Chandler and Manners portraying Mina and Harker as helpless victims rather than as the complex characters of Stoker's novel.

Despite these flaws, Tod Browning's *Dracula* is a successful adaptation. At the time of the film's release, critics found Browning's use of architecture in the first part of the film especially effective in creating a sense of the supernatural. The film critic for the *New York Times* called *Dracula* "the best of the many mystery pictures"(1: 21), and the reviewer in *Time* noted that *Dracula* was "an exciting melodrama" (*Time* 1931, 62). Recent criticism has adopted a balanced view of *Dracula*. Gregory Waller comments in *The Living and the Undead: From Stoker's "Dracula" to Romero's "Dawn of the Dead"* (1987) are representative. Waller notes that the film is bound by stage conventions and makes limited use of special effects, but argues that most films of the period suffer from the same defects. He then praises Browning for developing a sharp contrast between Van Helsing and Dracula and linking vampirism to "perverse, destructive sexuality" (87). J. Gordon Melton, writing in *The Vampire Book* (1994), argues that "today, two generations after its release, some assessment of Universal's *Dracula* is possible. Certainly, it is the most influential vampire film of all time. All subsequent performances of the vampire have been either based upon it or a direct reaction to it" (179).

David Skal (1990) and Nina Auerbach (1995) agree with Melton and Waller, recognizing the cultural significance of Browning's film. Despite the many and obvious technical flaws in Browning's adaptation, *Dracula* succeeds because of its emphasis on individual conflict and sexual attraction, two essential elements of Stoker's novel played down by Murnau in his adaptation of *Dracula*. In *Nosferatu* characters are secondary to the idea of vampirism as plague. In Browning's *Dracula* the conflict betwen good and evil is personified in the characters of Van Helsing and Dracula; Dracula is a monster, not a disease. Edward Van Sloan's Van Helsing is an iron-willed modern scientist defending Western culture who will

use medicine or mysticism in his confrontation with evil, and Lugosi's Dracula is a foreign aristocrat bent on destroying the structure of Western patriarchal culture for his own hungers. Both Van Sloan and Lugosi capture the power of Stoker's characters, and both actors' performances establish conventions that later adaptors would draw upon for their own performances. The confrontation between the two is rich in possibilities, and Browning fills his film with powerful visual symbols: ruined castles, crucifixes, chalices, bats, spider webs, and rats. Browning recognized the essential themes in Stoker's novel and transformed them to the screen despite the limitations he faced or brought on himself. The decay of Dracula's castle suggests the post–World War I belief in the failure of European aristocracy and recalls the gothic roots of the vampire narrative. The religious icons that appear throughout the film clearly associate the evils of vampirism with the satanic, as do the creatures of pestilence. On the other hand, Browning uses science and civilization, the asylum and the opera, to stand as forces against ancient superstition. Order and progress confront decadence and decay, and violence and reason must be used to combat violence and seduction. Browning's film also captures the fears of America in the midst of a depression; foreign influences, barely perceived or understood, threaten to undermine the values of a good, patriarchal, Christian society. Even modern audiences, used to careful editing and expensive special effects, are affected by Browning's film. The sum is far more than the parts of the Universal *Dracula*, and Lugosi's performance and the powerful first part of the film featuring Harker's journey and Dracula's castle have become part of both film history and the popular imagination. Like Murnau, Browning selected several of the many major themes from Stoker's novel and built his film around them. Just how effective the core elements of the film are can be seen in a film few American viewers have ever seen—the Spanish language version of *Dracula*, directed by George Melford at Universal Studios for foreign distribution.

Like many other Hollywood studios in the 1920s, Universal made much of its profits from overseas distribution. Paul Kohner, an executive at Universal Studios, approached Carl Laemmle, Sr., and proposed that the studio make simultaneous foreign-language versions of its English-language films. Kohner first produced a Spanish version of *The Cat Creeps*, and then began planning a Spanish-language *Dracula*. He hired George Melford to direct the

film and Lupita Tovar as Mina, Carlos Villarias as Dracula, Barry Norton as Harker, Eduardo Biraben as Van Helsing, and Pablo Averez Rubio as Renfield. Using the same sets as Tod Browning and shooting at night, Melford created a picture that David Skal, among others, finds far superior to Browning's work. In fact, in his pioneering study of the Spanish-language *Dracula*, Skal notes that

> Kohner's treatment of *Dracula* was nothing if not ambitious, and today can be read as an almost shot-by-shot scathing critique of the Browning version. And whatever else it is, the Spanish *Dracula* remains one of the few examples in world cinema of a simultaneous, alternate rendition of a familiar classic, richly illustrating the interpretive possibilities of a single script. (1990, 160)

Skal asserts that the Melford adaptation in editing, cinematography, acting, and imaginative use of sets is far superior to the Browning version. In addition, Skal argues that Melford was aware and appreciative of Murnau's *Nosferatu* and makes numerous visual references to it in his film. Melford's film, thanks to Skal, is now available to a new generation of filmgoers.

Despite the differences between the two versions, the core elements remained the same, and it is those archetypal images and conflicts that make both the Browning and Melford adaptations successful and influential adaptations of Stoker's novel. For millions of viewers, Lugosi's performance defined the nature of the vampire and the character of Stoker's king vampire, Dracula. In the twentieth century, the film industry had created a distribution system that allowed fantastic images to be seen by millions of people throughout the world. Browning's vision of Dracula, played by Bela Lugosi as a "slightly rancid Latin lover," became a cultural icon. All later adaptations of Stoker's novel either reinforced or played against the Browning/Lugosi interpretation, as filmgoers brought with them to every new vampire film images of Bela Lugosi, in a full cape and vivid black and white.

Although Murnau's *Nosferatu* and Browning's *Dracula* (and the Melford version of the Browning film) were the first, or at least the first surviving, film adaptations of *Dracula* and established the possible interpretations of the story, other films borrowed either characters or ideas from Stoker. Unfortunately, many of the earlier films exist only in legend; titles exist, but often little else. For

example, records exist of a 1921 Hungarian film directed by Karoly Lajthay entitled *Drakula*. Because no copies of the film exist, there is no way to know whether this film is an adaptation of Stoker's novel or, perhaps, a version of the Vlad Tepes story. A second possible Stoker-influenced film is the famous 1927 *London after Midnight,* directed by Tod Browning and starring Lon Chaney. Based on a story by Browning that may have been influenced by Stoker, *London after Midnight* is a murder story set in England in which a vampire and his daughter haunt the moors of England. In the end of the film, the vampire and his daughter turn out to be actors hired by a police inspector to capture a murderer. Unfortunately, no copies of the film exist. In 1935 Browning remade *London after Midnight* as *Mark of the Vampire*, starring Lionel Barrymore, Elizabeth Allen, Lionel Atwill, and Bela Lugosi playing an actor playing a vampire. Browning uses many of the images he employed in *Dracula*, but ultimately *Mark of the Vampire*, despite a number of direct references to Stoker and Browning's earlier film, is not an adaptation of *Dracula*. It is, however, an interesting combination of thriller and gothic horror film in which a number of talented professionals, including Browning as director and Lugosi as the vampire, perform well in a complex and atmospheric movie. In 1936 Universal Pictures finally produced a sequel to *Dracula*, entitled *Dracula's Daughter*, directed by Lambert Hillyer and starring Otto Kruger, Gloria Holden, Marguerite Churchill, and Edward Van Sloan, again as Professor Van Helsing. The story, based on a screenplay by Garrett Fort, begins moments after Browning's *Dracula* ends. Police discover Van Helsing standing next to Dracula's coffin and Renfield's body, and they are rather suspicious of the good professor. They soon arrest him for a double murder. Van Helsing attempts to convince the police of his innocence but fails, as no serious person believes in vampires. Dracula's daughter steals her father's body and then burns it, granting her father's soul peace. She is torn between her own unnatural desires for human blood and a desire to live a conventional life; she succumbs to her heritage and resorts to drinking the blood of beautiful young female models. Eventually Van Helsing convinces the police of the reality of vampires and leads them on another vampire hunt. Finally, Dracula's daughter is destroyed by Van Helsing. *Dracula's Daughter* conveys little of the psychological or emotional power of either *Nosferatu* or *Dracula*, relying more on the conventions of the detective novel than those of the horror story to carry the narrative.

It is interesting, however, in that it uses the homoerotic theme present in both Stoker's *Dracula* and J. Sheridan Le Fanu's "Carmilla." *Dracula's Daughter* is an underrated but successful film. Lambert Hillyer's direction is crisp and atmospheric, and Gloria Holden conveys the vampire's awareness of the uncertainty of vampirism that is more often associated with the postmodern vampire than with the Universal vampire.

Hollywood produced a relatively large number of low-budget horror films in the late 1930s and 1940s. Although few of these films are significant in themselves, as a group they helped establish the Hollywood horror genre for both filmmakers and film audiences by creating a body of work with similar themes, subjects, atmospheres, and images. Many of the films were derivative of earlier works of horror, drawing on such established icons as *Frankenstein* and *Dracula*. Although none is an adaptation of Bram Stoker's novel, several deserve mention as part of the transition period before the vampire renaissance of the 1950s and 1960s.

The most successful horror films of the period were multiple-monster movies, films that brought together two or more famous Hollywood monsters. The first of these films was the 1943 *Frankenstein Meets the Wolfman*, a succesful adaptation of the earlier Universal horror film formula that linked two of the most popular monsters in a single film. Universal Pictures followed up on this success in 1944 with *House of Frankenstein*, directed by Erle Kenton and starring Boris Karloff as the Frankenstein monster, Lon Chaney, Jr., as the Wolfman, and John Carradine as Count Dracula. Carradine would continue to don the black cape as Dracula in numerous films throughout his long career. Like its predecessor, *House of Frankenstein* was a success, and Universal quickly released *House of Dracula* in 1945, also directed by Kenton and starring Carradine as Dracula and Chaney as the wolfman. This film has a number of effective scenes, and influenced the young Francis Ford Coppola, who would later direct the most elaborate and expensive vampire film in history, *Bram Stoker's Dracula*. Other than gothic atmosphere and the name "Dracula," neither films owes anything to Stoker. Both, however, help establish Dracula as a significant character and the idea of the vampire as a source of terror in the popular culture. Perhaps the best multiple-monster movie of the period is the 1948 *Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein*, also known as *Abbott and Costello Meet the Ghosts*, directed by Charles Barton and starring Bud Abbott, Lou Costello, Lon Chaney, Bela Lugosi,

Glenn Strange, and an uncredited, offscreen voice appearance by Vincent Price as the Invisible Man. Barton juxtaposes the comedy of Abbott and Costello with the horror of Price, Strange, Chaney, and Lugosi, playing the comedy for laughs and the horror straight. The result is an effective film that owes almost nothing to Stoker but suggests approaches for later Dracula adaptors. *Abbott and Costello Meet the Ghosts* combines an atmospheric gothic setting, menacing monsters, and sarcastic, comic protagonists, a mixed genre formula that screenwriters and directors would return to several decades later in such films as *Andy Warhol's Dracula* and *The Fearless Vampire Killers*.

Several other films of the period use vampire motifs with some degree of success. Mark Robson's 1945 *Isle of the Dead*, starring Boris Karlof and Ellen Drew, tells the story of a Greek general who believes in vampire myths stationed on a plague-ridden island during the Balkan war of 1912. The symbolic use of vampirism and excellent performances make this an outstanding film. It relies on Greek folkore more than Bram Stoker's *Dracula* for its source of vampire lore. Robert Slodmak's 1943 *Son of Dracula* is also successful. Set in Louisiana, *Son of Dracula* tells the story of Count Alucard—Dracula spelled backwards—who comes to America to find a bride. Lon Chaney, Jr., is an effective vampire, and the bayous create an effective gothic mood. The film also helped establish Louisiana as a place in America in which the vampire could find a hospitable home, an idea developed more fully several decades later by Anne Rice. Other vampire films of the period exist, but few are of interest to most viewers. Stoker's Dracula is curiously absent from the 1940s; he reappears with a vengeance in the 1950s.

3
RESURRECTION IN BRITAIN

"I am Dracula."
—Christopher Lee, *The Horror of Dracula*, Hammer Films, 1958

After World War II, film producers and audiences turned away from traditional horror films, best exemplified by the Universal monster movies of the 1930s and 1940s. As Stephen King has pointed out in his insightful analysis of the horror genre, *Danse Macabre* (1981), pulp magazines and comics kept horror alive and well, drawing on such familiar characters as the Wolfman, the Mummy, Frankenstein's Monster, and Dracula, while mainstream fiction and film explored other popular genres as forums for examining the conflicts within the culture. There was a renewed interest in the western and the detective genres in films, fiction, and the new medium, television, for example. In the United States, filmmakers interested in exploring "the other," traditionally the subject of horror and fantasy, turned to science fiction, creating such classic films as *The Thing* (1951), *It Came from Outer Space* (1953), *Them!* (1954), *Forbidden Planet* (1956), *The Day the Earth*

Stood Still (1951), *The Blob* (1958), *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957), and *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1955). These and other science fiction films positioned terror in space, populated by aliens who wanted to take over the earth; in the atomic age, filled with memories of Hiroshima and concern over the dark side of science; and in the cold war, with the threat of international communism looming just beyond the horizon. These settings appeared far more terrifying to American audiences than Transylvanian castles, haunted forests, or Egyptian tombs. Science and technology, depicted as potential tools for good in *Dracula*, used by Professor Van Helsing to identify the vampire, became sources of unease, much as they were in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*. Technology spawned dangerous weapons for mad scientists who could upset the balance of nature and bring ruin to the community by delving into mysteries that were not meant for the eyes of men. In a culture that had recently experienced the double shocks of worldwide genocide and the unleashing of atomic power, the cool rational scientist was no longer seen as always on the side of the angels. He, and it was always he, just might pollute the oceans to create a monster that might rise up and destroy Tokyo, or he might keep Hitler's brain alive out of scientific curiosity risking the rise of a fourth Reich. In England, Hammer Films, an entertainment company established in 1947, entered the science fiction and horror field with such films as *Stolen Face* (1952), *Spaceways* (1953), *The Quartermass Experiment* (1955), and *X–The Unknown* (1956), low-budget films that captured the postwar unease over rapid developments in technology and equally rapid changes in social structures. *The Quartermass Experiment* and *X–The Unknown* represent the fear of the other quite well. Both films are concerned with national military and scientific mobilization in the face of a mysterious threat upon the community; both depict attempts to recreate the sense of national purpose achieved during the Second World War in response to alien incursions. In both the United States and Great Britain, filmmakers used their films to examine the rapidly changing nature of American and British cultures. On both sides of the Atlantic, political, social, and economic forces were challenging established orders and relationships, and the science fiction films and later horror films of the postwar period chronicled the cultural unease felt by many as traditional roles and responsibilities came into question. Hammer's successful, popular *Curse of Frankenstein* (1957), a film directed by Terence Fisher, starred Peter Cushing as Victor Frankenstein and

Christopher Lee as the monster that echoed all of the antitechnological arguments of Mary Shelley's original novel and the Universal Studio's adaptations of the 1930s. In 1958, Hammer produced *Dracula*, released in the United States as *The Horror of Dracula*, and Stoker's vampire rose from the grave of neglect with renewed vigor, to the delight of a new generation of viewers.

In his intelligent and well-written analysis of British horror films, *Hammer and Beyond* (1993), Peter Hutchings provides both a history of postwar British horror films and an analysis of their function in popular culture, which is to reinforce the accepted beliefs of political and social ideology. It is of course possible, as vampires are contrary creatures, to read the films in a completely different manner, seeing them as embodiments of radical and/or reformist idealogies. Hutchings observes, for example, that on a fundamental level, "Horror tends to be identified as a means by which an audience comes to terms with certain unpleasant aspects of reality" (1993, 17). Hutchings then quotes James Twitchell's useful observation that "horror sequences are really formulaic rituals coded with precise social information needed by the adolescent audience. Like fairy tales that prepare the child for the anxieties of separation, modern horror myths prepare the teenager for the anxieties of reproduction" (Twitchell 1990, 99). Hutchings then examines the particular cultural and aesthetic elements that contributed to the success of Hammer Films' recreation of horror narratives made popular earlier by Universal Pictures in features that focused on the Frankenstein monster, the Mummy, the Wolfman, and Dracula. These are all creatures who, according to Stephen King, a writer who has had some success judging the popular culture's desire for horror, represent the fear of transformation into the world of nightmare and the loss of rational control (*Dance Macarne*, 1–15).

Hammer horror films provided viewers with formula narratives for a time of social and cultural transition. As R. H. W. Dillard noted in "The Pageantry of Death," "The horror film teaches an acceptance of the natural order of things and an affirmation of man's ability to cope with and even prevail over the evil of life which he can never hope to understand," (Hutchings 1993, 23). Ken Gelder asserts in *Reading the Vampire* that gothic horror, a genre that includes vampire narratives, performs this function by presenting texts in which "disequilibrium is inaugurated by violence to the social order, and (an often legally sanctioned) violence is usually the means by which a renewed equilibrium is restored at the end"

(1994, 93). There are other readings of horror as well. Rhona Berenstein, for example, argues in *Attack of the Leading Ladies* (1996) that classic horror is more radical than some other critics assert. She suggests that horror films encourage cross gender identification and thus subvert conventional gender and authority roles. People in both Britain and the United States shared serious fears and anxieties as well as social unease in the 1950s. The Second World War and the dawn of the atomic age shattered whatever illusions remained about international cooperation and economic progress, recreating a sense of paranoia familiar to those who experienced the cultural disruptions caused by the First World War and the Depression. Class, gender, and familial relationships were in transition as well. Just as the Universal horror films of the 1930s reflected the unease caused by the Depression—the failure of Western patriarchal capitalism to provide a stable structure for families or communities, the collapse of the industrial base and failure of the international financial system, and the resulting breakdown of family and community relationships—the Hammer horror films of the late 1950s and 1960s reflected the rise of consumerism, the failure of patriarchal structures to reestablish the prewar order, the growth of the middle class, and the changing role of women in society and the family.

A number of factors helped establish Hammer Films as the premier studio for the production of horror films in the 1950s. First, Hammer had produced several successful thrillers for the BBC, and as a result the company had learned to target specific narratives for specific audiences, especially the emerging teen audience of the postwar period. On both sides of the Atlantic, film producers recognized that an increasing part of their film audiences was composed of young viewers, whose values and expectations were different from those of their parents. Second, like Universal studios in the 1930s, Hammer had acquired a stable of actors, technicians, writers, and directors who worked together on a variety of projects, establishing a "Hammer style," a formula that stressed physical action, sexuality, the use of color photography, and gothic settings. Finally, Hammer Films worked in close cooperation with an American distributor, ensuring both financing and a large potential audience. This permitted the studio to retain its talented cast and crew as well as its first-rate studio. In filmmaking, money is often the most important factor in the creation of successful films.

In his study of Hammer Films, Peter Hutchings suggests that the setting for the Hammer color horror films is a major factor in their success. He writes:

> While Hammer horror films need to be seen very much as addressing the social context within which they were fashioned, account also must be taken of the fact that, despite their "modernity," they were set in the past. Clearly the films' engagement with present-day matters was, at the very least, veiled or coded. . . .
>
> The period setting, and the historical space thereby opened up between film and audience, enables a more fantastic, stylised acting out of events, unencumbered as it is with the suggestions of realism carried by modern locations. This displacement ensured that Hammer was never as disturbing to audiences, most critics and the censors, as were more realistic horrors. It might also be the case, and as I have already suggested, that the period setting permitted a conservative nostalgia for a fixed social order, one in which those who were powerless were legitimate prey. (1993, 65)

The use of period settings with color photography alone would not have made the Hammer horror films successful, although those elements helped to recreate a sense of the gothic and also appealed to the tastes of the growing younger audience. Perhaps the most important element, aside from the adaptation and readaptation of such familiar works of horror as *Frankenstein* and *Dracula*, was the collaboration of such talented professionals as director Terence Fisher and actors Peter Cushing and Christopher Lee. The eventual result of this collaboration was a series of films that established horror as a legitimate form of film, at least for some viewers and critics, and demonstrated that not all horror films were mere cheap thrillers destined for critical neglect and eternal drive-in reruns.

Terence Fisher worked as a film editor in England during the 1930s and directed his first film, *A Song for Tomorrow*, in 1948. In 1953 Fisher began working for Hammer Films, first creating science fiction films such as *Four-Sided Triangle* and *Spaceways*, and finally directing Hammer's breakthrough film, *The Curse of Frankenstein*. *The Curse of Frankenstein* was Hammer's first color horror film, and established the "Hammer style" of vivid colors,

buckets of gore, a gothic setting, handsome heroes and beautiful victims, and crisp, professional direction. Fisher continued to work in the horror genre until his retirement in 1973. Peter Cushing began his work in the theater as an assistant stage manager and started acting in 1935. Cushing performed on the stage and in films in the late 1940s and early 1950s, eventually landing the role of Victor Frankenstein in Hammer Films' famous 1957 film, *The Curse of Frankenstein.* He was then cast in his signature role, Professor Van Helsing, in Hammer's *Dracula*. Perhaps the most famous of the three collaborators is Christopher Lee, who, along with Bela Lugosi, has become identified in the popular imagination with the character of Dracula. Lee had a successful career prior to *Dracula*, performing in such films as *Scott of the Arctic* (1948), *They Were Not Divided* (1950), *Captain Horatio Hornblower* (1951), *The Crimson Pirate* (1952), *Moulin Rouge* (1952), and *Bitter Victory* (1957). Because of his success at portraying villains, partly because of his ability to project aristocratic disdain and partly because of his height, over 6 feet, 6 inches, tall, executives at Hammer Films cast Lee as the monster in *The Curse of Frankenstein* (1957), and in 1958 as Dracula. Despite a long and illustrious career after playing the Count numerous times, Lee is still remembered primarily for his depiction of Count Dracula.

Although the three men did not work together on all of the Hammer horror films, or even all of the *Dracula* series, their work in *The Curse of Frankenstein* (1957), *Dracula* (1958), and *The Mummy* (1959) established a recognizable Hammer style of sexuality, physicality, and clear delineation between good and evil that appeared in many of the studio's productions. These elements defined a studio style as clearly as Universal Pictures' use of theatrical settings and crisp black-and-white photography defined a Universal style of filmmaking in the 1930s. Hammer borrowed the monster-movie formula from Universal Pictures, but replaced Universal as the premier producer of horror by a skillful updating of Universal's formulas. Terence Fisher has long been recognized as an efficient craftsman who mastered the art of horror, but David Pirie, in *Heritage of Horror* (1973), argues that Fisher is a major film director whose body of work transcends the commercial constraints of the period and establishes a coherent worldview (42). Cushing and Lee are now also being appreciated for their work. At one time actors who worked in genre films, especially horror films, received little critical attention. This attitude, however, is changing,

and actors like Peter Cushing and Christopher Lee, as well as Vincent Price, Basil Rathbone, Peter Lorre, and Boris Karloff, are now seen as talented professionals who successfully created and defined genre characters. Cushing and Lee both served their apprenticeships in a variety of supporting roles but became famous playing leads and antagonists in Hammer horror films.

Their first famous collaboration was in *The Curse of Frankenstein*, a financial success for Hammer that established the color gothic horror film as a significant genre of its own. Cushing played Baron Victor Frankenstein, and Lee played the Monster in this adaptation of Mary Shelley's novel. Like the original and unlike Universal Pictures' *Frankenstein* starring Boris Karloff, this film places the emphasis of the narrative on Victor Frankenstein rather than on his creation and stresses the antisocial elements of Frankenstein's experiments. As in Shelley's novel, the real monster is Victor Frankenstein, and the real horror comes from his disregard of all social rules in his monomaniacal drive to create life. In *The Mummy*, Cushing's John Banning, son of a famous Egyptologist, confronts Lee's Mummy in a narrative that questions European imperialism, the efficacy of Freudian psychology, and the power of patriarchal authority. *The Mummy* is an effective drama that brings the foreign other into the heart of British culture. In both films, Cushing and Lee function as doubles, mirroring each other's passion and power, as they do later in their most popular film, *Dracula*. Their most famous collaboration was in *Dracula*, in which Cushing's professional, middle-class Van Helsing confront's Lee's physical, aristocratic Dracula. Many critics now maintain that Lee's Dracula and Cushing's Van Helsing are the definitive film performances in those roles.

Hammer Films recycled it's successes, creating series of Mummy, Frankenstein, and, of course, Dracula films. The *Dracula* series consists of eight films made between 1958 and 1974: *Dracula* (1958), *Brides of Dracula* (1960), *Dracula, Prince of Darkness* (1965), *Dracula Has Risen from the Grave* (1968), *Taste the Blood of Dracula* (1969), *Scars of Dracula* (1970), *Dracula A.D. 1972* (1972), and *Satanic Rites of Dracula* (1973). In addition Lee played Dracula in *El Conde Dracula* (1972), an ambitious but underfunded non-Hammer production. Although few of these films are careful adaptations of Stoker's novel, they borrow characters, settings, themes, language, and conflicts from the Stoker source. They also create an extended history of Stoker's central character, and in doing so embellish the

myth of the king vampire, creating a filmic folkore of the vampire that has become part of the consciousness of the culture. To a great degree, Lee, as did Lugosi before him, defined the vampire for a generation of viewers.

Hammer's *Dracula* is widely recognized as one of the finest adaptations of Stoker's novel. Writing in *The Vampire Encyclopedia*, Mathew Bunson asserts:

> The epitome of the Hammer Films style of movie making, this colorful, gory, sexy, and well-paced work began the long line of very popular Dracula and vampire productions for the studio. . . . It introduced Lee as the ultimate Dracula and made fangs, red eyes, great amounts of blood, and an overt sexual component an essential part of subsequent vampire films. (1993, 124)

J. Gordon Melton, in his excellent study, *The Vampire Book: The Encyclopedia of the Undead*, observes that *The Horror of Dracula* is

> second only to the Bela Lugosi version of *Dracula* (1931) in setting the image of Dracula in contemporary popular culture. . . . Two elements contributed to the success of *The Horror of Dracula.* First, the movie presented a new openness to sexuality. There is every reason to believe that the interpretation of the psychological perspectives on vampire mythology, such as that offered by Ernest Jones's now classic study *On the Nightmare* (1931), underlay the movie's presentation. . . . The second element of success of *The Horror of Dracula* was that it was the first *Dracula* movie to be made in Technicolor. . . . Color added a new dimension to the horror movie and undergirded its revival in the 1960s. (1994, 302-05)

Like most film adaptations of Stoker's novel, the Hammer *Dracula* is not faithful to the original text. To a large degree, it relies on the Hamilton Deane/John Balderston play. In addition, significant changes were made in setting, character, and emphasis. Jonathan Harker is not the innocent young English solicitor, but rather a dedicated disciple of the famous vampire hunter Professor Van Helsing who enters willingly and knowingly into the realm of the undead. In addition, he and Arthur Holmwood, Holmwood's

wife Mina, and her sister Lucy live in an unnamed European town just across an unnamed border from Dracula's castle. As a result, the travel passages that are central to Stoker's novel and impossible to include in a stage play are omitted. In addition, such major characters as Renfield and Seward are eliminated, as are the famous sanitarium and London scenes. More than most film adaptations of *Dracula*, however, Fisher's simplified plot and cast of characters retains the psychological and dramatic power of Stoker's novel. What is lost in complexity and scope is made up in intensity and character development. The rich ambiguities of Stoker's novel, especially the distancing created by multiple sources of information and the resulting possibilities of audience identification with Dracula and the other vampires as well as the nominal heroes and victims, is sacrificed for clearly defined characters, a lush setting, and an action-packed plot.

In this adaptation, the complex conflict between Dracula and society is again simplified. Harker searches out Dracula in order to kill him, and is instead turned into a vampire after killing Dracula's one wife. Dracula's three mysterious ladies, with all of their attraction and complications, are omitted, and in this simplified narrative built on the conflict between Van Helsing and Dracula, they are not needed. In revenge, Dracula seeks out and turns Harker's love, Lucy, into a vampire. Both Harker and Lucy are destroyed by Van Helsing, who then confronts Dracula in a dramatic struggle for the life, and soul, of Mina Holmwood. Van Helsing chases Dracula to his castle, where the two engage in a spectacular physical confrontation resulting in Dracula's destruction.

The changes to Stoker's narrative are significant. Director Fisher and screenwriter Jimmy Sangster cut the narrative to its most essential cinematic elements, and in the process they created a much larger role for the character of Van Helsing than in either Universal's *Dracula* or Prana's *Nosferatu*. Harker and Holmwood are ineffective vampire hunters, mere apprentices to their master; only Van Helsing stands between Dracula and Lucy and Mina in this film. As Peter Hutchings (1993) argues persuasively, the film deals with weakened masculinity and the failure of the patriarchy; Harker and Holmwood are impotent, and the confrontation between Dracula and Van Helsing is a confrontation between two hostile patriarchs. Christopher Lee's Dracula is a representation of the evil father who wishes to take all the women, while Peter Cushing's Van Helsing is a representation of the good father who

wants to help his sons, who are unable to help themselves or protect their women, who are, in this violent, male-dominated world of gothic Hammer horror, unable to fend for themselves. In fact in most of the Hammer gothic horror films, the role of women is that of victim. Hammer's *The Horror of Dracula* is, in a real sense, a far more conservative narrative than Stoker's novel, as it asserts patriarchal values and depicts women as mere objects of possession. Stoker, on the other hand, created a narrative with more complex possibilities, as modern scholars and critics have discovered. One reading of the text, for example, suggests that Van Helsing and all of the male vampire hunters subverted Mina's rejection of Dracula, acting as the vampire's unwitting accomplices. If they had only listened to Mina and kept her informed of their plans, Dracula would have been destroyed earlier. But then, of course, there would be no novel and no film adaptations whatsoever. It is important to remember that dramatic necessities often cancel out theoretical assumptions.

A successful film is more than its ideology and theory, however, and the performances of Cushing and Lee are the main reasons for the success of *The Horror of Dracula*. Peter Cushing's Van Helsing is, as a number of critics have pointed out, a thoroughly middle-class professional vampire hunter. Unlike Stoker's Van Helsing, who speaks badly accented English, somewhat incongruently combines the modern scientific spirit with a belief in medieval Christian mysticism and Eastern European folklore—looking through a microscope while he lectures his students on the virtues of holy water, the crucifix, and garlic—and at times appears old, confused, and foolish, Cushing's vampire hunter exudes power, compentency, and control. Perhaps the best example of this is in the scene in which Cushing defines, describes, and limits Dracula by reciting into a recording device the physical laws and limitations of the vampire. Van Helsing combines knowledge and technology to make known the unknown. In addition, Cushing's Van Helsing is physically powerful and young, a dramatically different interpretation of the role than Edward Van Sloan's aging vampire hunter on the Broadway stage and in the Universal *Dracula*, a man who explains and advises but never physically confronts Dracula on-screen. Cushing's Van Helsing, on the other hand, literally wrestles with Lee's demonic vampire.

Likewise, Christopher Lee's Dracula is a powerful authoritarian figure. Unlike Stoker's Dracula, who was white haired and dirty,

or Bela Lugosi's Dracula, who was sensual and foreign, Lee's Dracula is British, aristocratic, powerful, threatening, violent, and sexual. The confrontation between Van Helsing's controlled, authoritarian professionalism and Lee's violent, sexual domination provides the defining structure for the film, and in numerous scenes the conflict between the two forceful characters creates the dynamic tension that makes the film work. Unlike Stoker's novel, in which various characters are foregrounded at different times—sometimes Mina, sometimes Harker, sometimes Lucy, sometimes Van Helsing, and only occasionally Dracula—in Hammer's *Dracula* all the characters except Van Helsing and Dracula are thrust into the background. The result is an exciting personal confrontation between good and evil, a confrontation that has always been the primary subject matter of good drama. Unlike the case in later adaptations of *Dracula*, where the line between hero and villain, good and evil, is deliberately made obscure, in Hammer's *Dracula* the vampire is clearly evil and the vampire hunter is clearly good. Despite the rich color photography, the film's major characters are a study in black and white.

Both contemporary reviewers and later critics have praised *Dracula* highly. Jesse Zunser in *Cue* called the film "quite possibly the most horrendous and fearful of all the Dracula tales" (quoted in Pohle and Hart 1983, 64), and Dorothy Masters, in the *New York Daily News*, noted that "unlike most Hollywood quickies, *The Horror of Dracula* has allocated time, thought, and talent to an enterprise that successfully recaptures the aura and patina of yesteryear's Middle Europe" (quoted in Pohle and Hart 1983, 64).

Lane Roth, in "Film, Society and Ideas: *Nosferatu* and *Horror of Dracula*," argues that the character of Dracula is closer to being human in *Horror of Dracula* than in any of the earlier adaptations of *Dracula* and that the emphasis on sexuality and revenge make the film successful (1984, 249). Gregory Waller, in *The Living Dead: From Stoker's Dracula To Romero's Dawn of the Dead* (1987), praises the film's presentation of vampirism as a superior mode of existence (an innovation that is developed by numerous later creators of vampire narratives, most spectacularly by Anne Rice) and focus on Van Helsing and Dracula as superior beings whose struggles take on an almost mythic character. Peter Hutchings, in *Hammer and Beyond* (1993), draws attention to the depiction of the uneasiness of the women characters within the bourgeoise family and the

projection of male anxiety over the changing role of women as reasons for the film's success (115–127).

Nina Auerbach, in discussing the Hammer adaptations in *Our Vampires, Ourselves*, observes:

> The heart and the horror of *Horror of Dracula* is the family. . . . In this family-bound environment, women rise. Lucy and Mina are under the control of a slew of interchangeable paternalistic men—until Dracula comes. But as Terence Fisher directs these scenes, Dracula is scarcely there. The vampire is too elusive to be another overbearing male; he is the emanation of the anger, pride, and sexuality that lie dormant in the women themselves. Stoker's nightmare of violation becomes a dream of female self-possession. (1995, 124).

The Hammer *Dracula* has become a classic for a number of reasons. First, as mentioned earlier, the performances by the major actors, Peter Cushing and Christopher Lee, are simply first-rate—Lee is terrifying and Cushing protective. Second, the basic cinematic elements of the film—the direction, photography, set design, and editing—are all well done. There is nothing slipshod about the production at all. Finally, Fisher, Lee, and Cushing, using the basic elements of Stoker's novel as adapted by Deane, successfully manage to update the horror of Dracula for modern viewers. By the 1950s, Lugosi's Dracula had become a curiosity rather than a threatening monster; concerns over identity, gender, and class permeate the film. Lee's Dracula reawakened the nightmare at the heart of the Dracula story.

Fisher, Cushing, and Lee had brought Dracula back to the screen in spectacular fashion. As experienced professionals working within a modern studio environment that was both profitable and creative, they were not about to let Count Dracula remain in the grave, even though little if any of Stoker's narrative material would be unearthed in the later Hammer resurrections of Dracula. The second Hammer Dracula film, *The Brides of Dracula* (1960), although directed by Fisher with Cushing playing Van Helsing, did not have Lee as the vampire, and suggested only the most tenuous connection with the source novel.

In his recent insightful study of vampire fictions, *Reading the Vampire* (1994) Ken Gelder argues that *The Brides of Dracula* is one

of the most significant films of the vampire genre, and in *Vampire Movies*, Robert Marrero calls the film a "sensational vampire epic" (1994, 51). This is high praise for a film most critics dismissed as a poorly constructed sequel to *The Horror of Dracula*, a movie that is often scarcely mentioned in surveys of vampire films.

Hammer Films initially intended to have Lee and Cushing recreate their original roles in this film, but Lee argued that he did not want to become known only as a "monster" actor, fearing to be typecast as Bela Lugosi had been after his dramatic portrayal of Dracula, and as a result the film was designed to focus on a disciple of Dracula, a Baron Meinster, played by David Peel. The film opens with a voice-over by Peter Cushing providing a plot summary of the previous Hammer film, and then moves into the main narrative, which depicts an imprisoned young vampire, Baron Meinster, whose mother must bring him beautiful young girls to keep him undead. As Marrero (1994) notes, *The Brides of Dracula* contains an interesting incestuous subplot ~~-~~Meinster, late in the film, turns his own mother into a vampire ~~-as~~ as well as several dramatic confrontations between Peel's vampire and Cushing's Van Helsing (51). And as Gelder (1994) observes, the film presents a drama centered on law and order and the breakdown of the family, elements central to Stoker's source and to most of the successful film adaptations as well (90). Although not an adaptation, *The Brides of Dracula* does develop these central themes of Stoker's work, as well as appropriating the name of Stoker's central character. Gelder finds Cushing's Van Helsing the most interesting character in the film, observing that *The Brides of Dracula* solves its family crisis through him:

> In *The Brides of Dracula*, Van Helsing's role is to disillusion the young about vampires ~~-t~~heir cult is not as appealing as it may seem. He mediates between the strictness of parents (which doesn't work) and the loose morals of youth (which gets them into trouble); his role, symptomatic perhaps of Hammer's vampire films' ongoing recovery of the "Victorial values" of vampire narratives, is one of management. (1994, 101)

The Brides of Dracula is, like the more faithful adaptations of Stoker's novel, a cautionary morality tale that employs the basic conventions established by Stoker to examine the issues of authority, sexuality, and control facing the culture at the time of the film's

release. It is also an effective narrative, combining a dreamlike mood with moments of effective horror. Like its predecessor, *The Horror of Dracula, The Brides of Dracula* is an expensive and carefully crafted production, far removed in quality from some of the later Universal monster movies of the 1940s as well as some of the later Hammer films.

Because of the success of its horror films, Hammer continued to create cinema vampires. In 1963 the company released *The Kiss of the Vampire*, directed by Don Sharpe and starring Noel Willman as Count Ravna. Again, the basic situation owes something to Stoker: a young couple is threatened by an aristocratic vampire, or the world of the ordinary English middle-class heterosexuality is confronted with Continental decadence. The film was not a popular success, perhaps because of the absence of Cushing and Lee, although later critics have come to appreciate the film's dreamlike qualities. Perhaps the most effective scenes in the film are an elaborate vampire masquerade ball and a violent attack on the vampires by frenzied vampire bats. In an attempt to appeal to a larger audience, Hammer convinced Lee to reprise his role as Dracula and in 1965 released *Dracula, Prince of Darkness*.

Directed by Terence Fisher, *Dracula—Prince of Darkness* draws on Stoker's title character and setting but little else, establishing a convention for many of the *Dracula* films made in the last several decades. The film opens with a replay of the final scene of *The Horror of Dracula*. After the depiction of Van Helsing's dramatic destruction of Dracula, the credits roll and the film picks up the events, none from Stoker's novel, of course, ten years later. Two traveling couples, sightseeing in exotic Transylvania, arrive at Castle Dracula. One couple easily is entrapped by Dracula's faithful servant Klove, well played by Philip Latham in a quiet yet threatening manner. In a most effective and horrific sequence, the husband is killed and his body hoisted above Dracula's ornate coffin, and his blood is used to animate the Count, while the wife is transformed into a vampire. The second couple is haunted by Dracula and his new wife until both are destroyed by a wise and courageous vampire-destroying monk, played with enthusiasm by Andrew Keir. Keir's perfomance as the vampire hunter is especially effective. He plays the role more like Friar Tuck than like Stoker's Van Helsing; he is a large, earthy, powerful man of faith who most willingly confronts Dracula.

The most unusual aspect of this adaptation is the complete absence of dialogue for Lee; he plays a vampire as mute as Max Schreck's 1922 Count Orlock, and the result is a similar monster of menace. In this film, Dracula, although dressed in evening clothes, is no aristocrat; rather, he is an inarticulate animal-like vengeful horror, a conception close to some of Stoker's depictions in *Dracula*. This radical transformation of Lee's character bothered contemporary moviegoers and critics. Lee himself was displeased with the film, observing:

> This was the only Dracula film in which I didn't say word. I make sounds, but I don't speak. The reason? May have been that they had no idea of what to give me to say. There was a great deal of dialogue originally, but it was so bad that I refused to deliver it. I finally said, "For God's sake, give me some of Stoker's lines." (quoted in Pohle and Hart 1983, 107)

Another possible explanation for Lee's lack of dialogue is suggested by Robert Marrero (1994, 45), who argues that because of financial difficulties Hammer Films could afford neither Lee's larger salary, now that he was a major international star commanding a major salary, nor screenwriter Jim Sangster's elaborate original script. For whatever reason, the monster in this movie is mute, and despite the objections by both Lee and Sangster, the result is not altogether unsatisfactory, because Lee's mute vampire emphasizes the animalistic elements of the character of Dracula that were a crucial part of Stoker's vampire and the source for Murnau's vampire as well. One can understand Lee's objections; it left the actor with a one-dimensional character to portray. Nevertheless, the portrayal and the film are successful. Especially effective are the introductory scenes in Dracula's castle, which are full of menace and unease, and the classic Hammer conclusion, in which Dracula is destroyed by being trapped under layers of ice surrounding his castle.

For the next several years Hammer continued to release *Dracula* sequels starring Christopher Lee. These films take Stoker's vampire farther and farther away from the setting and source of the original novel, but continue to serve as popular vehicles for the examination of cultural concerns and the dramatization of popular fears. The 1968 *Dracula Has Risen from the Grave*, directed by Freddie Francis,

was the most financially successful of all the Hammer *Dracula* films and gave Lee his largest role as the legendary vampire. In this film Dracula is once again resurrected from the grave into which he fell at the conclusion of the previous film, by now a convention of the genre, this time by the accidentally spilled blood of a sightseeing priest. Again undead, Dracula seeks vengeance on the family of the monsignor who destroyed him in the previous film. In the end, Dracula is impaled on a crucifix, and the priest who inadvertently resurrected Dracula regains his belief, reaffirming the faith in religion that was questioned throughout the film. Especially effective in this film are the elaborate set designs and the more explicit eroticism and violence that director Freddie Francis includes. In addition, Lee's portrayal of Dracula is more authoritarian and powerful than his performance in *Dracula, Prince of Darkness*. In addition, in this film, the focus on religion and the protagonist's questions about his faith reflect the concerns over traditional Christianity that were widespread in the late 1960s. Especially interesting is the idea that the traditional means of destroying a vampire, stake in the heart, the crucifix, the host, are only effective if the vampire hunter believes in them, an idea that Stephen King would later exploit in a dramatic confrontation between his vampire and a priest in *Salem's Lot* (1975). Again, Freddie Francis provides a dramatic ending, this time having Dracula fall from the terrace of his castle to be impaled upon a silver crucifix, destroying Dracula and restoring the priest's faith.

In *Taste the Blood of Dracula* (1969), directed by Peter Sasdy, Lee's Dracula is revived in a satanic ritual by three businessmen who, in the process, destroy his faithful family servant. Once again undead, Dracula seeks to destroy the families of those responsible for the death of his faithful servant, again establishing revenge as the motive for the vampire's actions. After much blood and gore, Dracula is destroyed by a young couple, who lock him in a church as the sun rises, thus reaffirming both love and religion as forces to combat evil, represented here by the three evil businessmen, symbols of acquisitive capitalism. Again Lee is effective, and again the concluding destruction sequence is visually stunning, with Lee's Dracula falling from the roof of the church onto the altar below and turning into dust. Virtue again triumphs, if only until the next film.

In *Scars of Dracula* (1970), director Roy Ward Baker continued to employ Lee and the resurrection formula. This time a vampire

bat drops blood on the Count's body and Dracula rises to terrorize local villagers and innocent travelers. In this film, Dracula's violence is more random than in previous ones, and his destruction, by a bolt of lightning hitting an iron spike in the vampire's side, suggests divine intervention in Dracula's doom. The conventions of the Dracula resurrection and destruction formula had become dated by this time, and despite Lee's enthusiastic performance and the fact that he was given more lines and more on-screen time in this film, *Scars of Dracula* is one of the least successful Hammer vampire films. In part this is because unlike the earlier Hammer *Dracula* films, *Scars of Dracula* was cheaply made, and the result is a B movie at best.

The final two films in Hammer's Dracula series are *Dracula A.D. 1972* (1972) and *The Satanic Rites of Dracula* (1973). *Dracula A.D. 1972* was an attempt to combine Lee's Victorian Dracula with the hip London of the early 1970s. The result was a complete failure. Both filmgoers and critics were disappointed, and Lee himself observed critically, "My scenes were probably the strongest part of the picture, because I stay in context" (quoted Pohle and Hart 1983, 153). Lee also admits that he never saw the completed film. Few others have, either. The film fails for several reasons. First, the translation of Lee's Victorian vampire to contemporary London doesn't work; the story isn't strong enough to make that disruption of expectations believable. Second, director Alan Gibson makes little use of the potential for drama in a narrative of a monster caught out of his time.

The Satanic Rites of Dracula is the final film in the Dracula series, and Lee and Cushing are reunited as vampire and vampire hunter. Again Dracula is resurrected, and again he hunts and is hunted. Other than the reunion of the Lee and Cushing, there is little of interest in this film other than that director Alan Gibson has Lee play Dracula as a modern evil businessman, based somewhat on the character of Howard Hughes. Dracula in this film is both reclusive and unbalanced, because of either his advanced age or his many resurrections. Again Lee provides an appropriate commentary on the film's virtues: "If you will forgive the pun, I think the vein is played out" (quoted in Pohle and Hart 1983, 162). Lee did, however, play Dracula in another film, an interesting adaptation of Stoker's novel known as *El Conde Dracula* (Count Dracula) directed by Jesus Franco in 1970.

El Conde Dracula was intended as a major international film production. The original intention was to make the first true adaptation of Stoker's novel, a project that has haunted many producers and directors since *Dracula* was first published. Producer Harry Allen Towers announced his intentions to cast Christopher Lee as Dracula and Vincent Price as Van Helsing, and Lee was finally to be given large amounts of Stoker's dialogue. In addition, Terence Fisher was to direct the film. Unfortunately, the promised budget failed to appear; Herbert Lom was cast as Van Helsing and Jesus Franco, director of a series of low-cost Spanish and Italian horror movies, was chosen to direct the film. The result is an interesting film—the first modern attempt at an accurate adaptation of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* with a first-rate cast. Unfortunately, *El Conde Dracula* doesn't work, despite the best of intentions.

For a number of years, Chistopher Lee had argued for the creation of a film that would use Stoker's material, and when offered this role he quickly accepted. The film captures a good deal of Stoker's novel. Lee recalls:

> This was the only time in my life that I was able to pay some sort of tribute to Stoker and try—the only actor who has ever done so [until that time]—to show his character on the screen almost entirely as he described, physically—with the exception of hair growing out of the palm of the hands, pointed ears, pointed fingernails. . . .
>
> The script was based to a great extent on Stoker's book, but it was only a shadow of what it should have been. (quoted in Pohle and Hart 147)

In addition to including Lee's portrayal of Dracula as Stoker had created him, *El Conde Dracula* follows the basic plot of *Dracula* more closely than most other adaptations, omitting the adaptations introduced by the Deane/Balderston play. For example, when Jonathan Harker arrives at Castle Dracula, he is met by an aged vampire who gets younger after each feeding. In addition, unlike most of the Hammer films, *El Conde Dracula* presents most of Stoker's cast of characters, including Lucy Westenra, Mina Harker, and Professor Van Helsing. The problems with the film are its low budget and inconsistent direction. Insufficient funding precluded building appropriate sets or creating effective special effects. As a

result, the film lacks the visual dimension of horror necessary for a successful gothic horror film. In addition, Franco's direction draws attention to the camera rather than to the narrative: Franco pans and zooms in almost every scene, creating a swirling vision of Stoker's story that might reflect Jonathan Harker's nightmares but distorts the narrative for the audience. Lee's strong performance as Dracula and Lom's successful creation of Van Helsing become obscured by Franco's direction.

Despite the differences in theme, cast, director, and aesthetic achievement, the Hammer Dracula films produced between 1958 and 1974 transformed the popular conception of the Transylvanian vampire. Although working together in relatively few of the films, the creative energies of Terence Fisher, Chistopher Lee, and Peter Cushing created an image of the Dracula story that had a greater impact than any of the individual films. For a generation of filmgoers, Christopher Lee is Dracula and Peter Cushing is Professor Van Helsing, and in the minds of that generation, the struggle of the two takes place in the colorized gothic setting filmed by Terence Fisher. Through the work of the professionals at Hammer Films, the image of Dracula was transformed from the stylized black-and-white menace of Universal Pictures' Bela Lugosi to the energetic terror of Christopher Lee. Hammer created a vampire to suit the times, but it was not the only terror in town. Numerous other filmmakers created vampire stories, most dreadful, but of the non-Hammer productions of the 1950s and 1960s, several deserve mention even though they have little direct connection with the Dracula narrative: Paul Landres's *Return of Dracula* (1958), Mario Bava's *Black Sunday* (1960), and Roman Polanski's *The Fearless Vampire Killers* (1967).

The Return of Dracula, starring Francis Lederer as Count Dracula, like most of the more popular Hammer films of the period, borrows Stoker's character but not much else. In this film Dracula moves to America after attacking a relative of a family who has recently emigrated from the old country. Lederer is an effective Dracula, and the film suggests some of the tensions between European and American cultures and customs that would become a standard feature of many later Hollywood vampire films. Most effective is Lederer's depiction of a modern vampire. In *Black Sunday*, released in England as *Revenge of the Vampire*, Mario Bava created a visually exciting gothic tale of violence, eroticism, and vengeance, the subthemes of Stoker's novel. Although the film has several refer-

ences to a Dracula-like figure, its relationship to the main Stoker tradition is primarily atmospheric, although it is an important film in the development of the female vampire. In *Black Sunday* Barbara Steele portrays both an evil vampire and her modern descendant. The film establishes a number of vampire film conventions, including the notion of reincarnation that Francis Ford Coppola would make a central feature of his *Bram Stoker's Dracula. Black Sunday*, although not an adaptation of Stoker's novel, helped create an audience for vampire films through its eroticism and haunting scenes.

The most famous, and perhaps most misunderstood, vampire non-Hammer film of the period is Roman Polanski's *The Fearless Vampire Killers,* also known as *Danse of the Vampires* and *The Fearless Vampire Killers, or Pardon Me but Your Teeth Are in My Neck*. Polanski's film adapts its basic situation from Stoker~~'s~~ a noble Transylvanian vampire terrorizes the peasant countryside and is confronted by a learned vampire hunter and disciple~~'s~~ but borrows its tone from the Marx Brothers rather than the writers of gothic fiction. Polanski's film is an effective parody of both the Universal vampire films of the 1930s and, more specifically, the successful Hammer films of the late 1950s and 1960s. Polanski, in addition to directing, plays the faithful assistant to Jack MacGowan's absent-minded Van Helsing figure Professor Abronsius, and manages to create a narrative that is at times both comic and horrific. The opening sequence, in which the vampire hunter and his assistant travel through Transylvania to the vampire's castle, is a loving parody of both Stoker's novel and the 1931 Universal Pictures film. The vampire ball, in which a white-wigged Count Von Krolock and his homosexual vampire son lead a horde of the undead in an elaborate dance, is a wonderful scene where the boundaries between the living and the dead, men and women, the horrific and the comic are broken down. *The Fearless Vampire Killers* is perhaps the perfect vampire film for the end of the 1960s; it recognizes that vampire films have become a subgenre of their own and as such deserve both homage and parody. Once other filmmakers and audiences recognized the same fact; there was an explosion in vampire films in general and a serious return to Stoker's *Dracula* as source material for a number of major adaptations.

4
AN UNHEAVENLY HOST

"We are in Transylvania; and Transylvania is not England."
—Dracula, *Dracula*

Prior to the popular resurrection of Dracula by Hammer Films, vampire narratives, although culturally significant, were but one type of popular horror story. As Stephen King and David Skal, among others, have observed, certain types of tales of terror have had a continuing appeal for American and European audiences throughout the twentieth century. The most popular have been adaptations of three classic nineteenth-century British literary works: Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1816), Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886), and Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897). In different ways all three of these narratives dramatize the loss of identity, unnatural self-replication, the violation of social and cultural norms, and the invitation of the other into the community, even if the other will be expelled at the end of the narrative, safely reestablishing order. This is the fundamental material of all good terror tales. Writing of these three novels in *Danse Macabre*, Stephen King asserts:

> But these three are something special. They stand at the foundation of a huge skyscraper of books and films—those twentieth-century gothics which have become known as "the modern horror story." More than that, at the center of each stands (or slouches) a monster that has come to join and enlarge what Burt Hatlen calls "the myth pool"—that body of fictive literature in which all of us, even the nonreaders and those who do not go to the films, have communally bathed. (1981, 50)

And although these three sources have provided the basic themes, situations and characters for much of the horror fantasy of the twentieth century, in either direct adaptations or adaptations of adaptations, with an almost infinite number of additions and permutations, Stoker's *Dracula* has been by far the most influential. It seems as if the children of the night increase in ever larger numbers. During the 1930s, 8 major vampire films were released; in the 1940s there were 7. During the 1960s, 59 vampire films were made, in the 1970s, 79 were released; in the 1980s, 34 appeared; and in the first half of the 1990s, over 30 vampire films reached theater screens. During the same period, several hundred vampire novels were published, ranging in quality from the ridiculous to the near sublime. In addition, vampires invaded the popular imagination through television, moving into prime time in such popular series as *The Addams Family* and *The Munsters* and appearing in special episodes of a variety of series, including *Gilligan's Island*.

One reason for the explosion of vampire films and fiction is, of course, the sexual nature of vampire narratives. Unlike stories based on or adapted from Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, which stress science and technology, displace sexuality with an emphasis on asexual reproduction, and are in fact mad-scientist stories at the core, and stories based on Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, which employ conventions of psychological deterioration and drug use as well as those of the werewolf legends, vampire narratives foreground sexuality and violence, perennially popular subjects for writers and directors of horror narratives, as well as for audiences, of course. In addition, increased media markets in film, television, and cable services created a demand for all popular genre stories, including tales of terror. Filmmakers quickly discovered that audiences for narratives that include sexual violation and the usurpation of patriarchal authority were far larger than audi-

ences for stories of hairy men or creatures with bolted necks. Finally, the rise of consumerism and a youth culture after the Second World War can be seen as reasons for the popularity of science fiction and horror in general and vampire films and fictions in particular, as demonstrated by the attack on patriarchal, middle-class values and the celebration of immediate gratification found in many vampire films. In most vampire films, the monster stalks beautiful women without any remorse whatsoever, a perfect fantasy for adolescent males, and given the gender-role violations of many vampire films, the fantasy could work for young women as well. For all of these reasons, the increased appearance of both the vampire and Dracula as the favorite horror icon in popular culture is unquestionable.

To paraphrase a television truism, imitation is the sincerest form of popular culture, and following the success of Hammer's Chistopher Lee and Peter Cushing *Dracula* series, both American and international filmmakers borrowed Hammer's formula of sexy, energetic, color gothic horror. The results ranged from absolutely awful to artistic, because a formula can provide producers and directors with only the barest outlines of a narrative, not a final text. Nevertheless, by the late 1960s, vampire films were becoming a recognizable genre with its own references, representations, conventions, and expectations. In each film the capes, castles, and crosses took on meaning not only from the context of the immediate narrative but also from the larger context of other vampire films. Christopher Lee, Bela Lugosi, and Max Schreck stood behind the later vampires, influencing both performance and perception. Viewers of the post-Universal and post-Hammer vampire films had been infused with the Lugosi and Lee Draculas. In addition, early vampire films created "folklore," or perhaps "Hollywood fakelore" is a better term, of vampire behavior that described ways of becoming a vampire, ways of destroying a vampire, and the limitations on vampire behavior, many of which previously never existed in legend, folklore, or literature. To a great degree, the natural history of the vampire is a creation of filmmakers. The repeated resurrection of the vampire, as established by the Hammer *Dracula* series, is just one example. The cape and evening clothes made popular by Lugosi is another. Audiences' expectations were aroused by such popular vampire films as *Count Yorga, Vampire* (1970), *Blacula* (1972), *The Hunger* (1983), and *The Lost Boys* (1987); and viewers were titillated by such films as *Virgins and*

Vampires, (1961), *Spermula* (1975), and *Dracula Sucks* (1979). Comic vampire films, playing on the conventions established by Universal Pictures and Hammer Films, such as Roman Polanski's *The Fearless Vampire Killers* (1967), Stan Dragoti's *Love at First Bite* (1979), Fran Rubel Kuzui's *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1992), and, recently, Mel Brooks's *Dracula: Dead and Loving It* (1995), presumed an audience familiar with vampire film history and conventions. By the 1970s no filmmaker had to explain what a vampire was or how it functioned; audiences simply knew, as the vampire had become part of the common culture. The Van Helsing role as an intermediary between film and audience who defined the vampire was no longer necessary, so the vampire hunter could simply hunt. Finally, a number of filmmakers drew on such non-Stoker material as Le Fanu's "Carmilla," American gangster films, and such folktales as "Beauty and the Beast" to create effective vampire films with different emphases than those of the 1930s and 1960s. However, throughout this period Bram Stoker's *Dracula* continued to provide filmmakers with the richest source for their movies; *Dracula* was, and remains, *the* vampire

Perhaps the most unusual post-Hammer adaptation of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* is Hans Geissendorfer's 1970 German film, *Jonathan*. As recent scholarship has demonstrated, there has always been a strong political element in *Dracula* and *Dracula* adaptations. Issues of class, colonialism, gender, and authority permeate both Stoker's novel and the major adaptations made from it. *Jonathan* is perhaps the most overtly political of the *Dracula* adaptations. Geissendorfer's film is a political allegory that combines material from Stoker's novel with an indictment of Germany under Adolf Hitler.

Jonathan is the story of a vampire who dominates a German town until the villagers revolt against his domination and send a young man named Jonathan to the vampire castle to destroy the vampire and his followers. Geissendorfer combines Stoker's dialogue with references to Nazism and the Holocaust in his explicit indictment of facism, using vampirism as a metaphor for Nazism. Geissendorfer's film is more than a political metaphor, however; it is a well-made film with excellent performances and a strong script. In fact, it is one of the most interesting screen uses of the *Dracula* material ever made. Unfortunately, distributors found the movie too intellectual, artistic, and political for mainstream audiences, and as a result the film was shown in only a few theaters. *Jonathan*,

although a critical success in Europe and the United States, was not widely distributed and never captured a large audience. It remains, however, a powerful example of how effective Stoker's material can be when employed in a serious manner. Viewers who have an opportunity to see *Jonathan* should make a point to do so.

Another unusual adaptation was *Andy Warhol's Dracula*, also known as *Blood for Dracula* (1974), directed by Paul Morrissey. This film, originally released in 3-D with an X rating, was an attempt to combine eroticism, comedy, and horror, much in the vein of *Andy Warhol's Frankenstein*. Udo Keir plays a young Count Dracula forced to leave Transylvania because there are no virgins left there and the Count is quite ill. In this version the film's folklore suggests that virgin blood is necessary to keep the Count alive. Dracula travels to Italy overland in an ancient hearse with a coffin on the roof. There he expects to find a host of available virgins because of the country's strong Catholic traditions. In Italy he is taken in by a poor but aristocratic family with four beautiful, unmarried daughters. The personal interactions among the daughters, Dracula, and a Marxist caretaker are erotic and predictable. Dracula attempts to attack each of the daughters, but he discovers he has been beaten to his prize by the manifesto-spouting caretaker, who critiques the morals of the aristocracy while predicting the revolution and deflowering the daughters. The conclusion, in which Dracula and the oldest daughter, who has not succumbed to the revolutionary charms of the caretaker, are chopped to pieces by the caretaker, who decries the decadence of the parasitic aristocracy, is graphically violent and undercuts the humor of the earlier parts of the film. Although the humor, politics, and violence of the film fail to achieve a balance, there are moments in which the film works, and the debt to Stoker's novel is quite clear.

An entirely different kind of adaptation was Dan Curtis's 1973 *Dracula*. Curtis was responsible for the development of *Dark Shadows*, a gothic television series that first appeared in June 1966, on ABC television. In April 1967, the character of Barnabas Collins, a vampire, was introduced to audiences in an attempt to improve ratings, and *Dark Shadows* became a hit. For four years actor Jonathan Frid's vampire lurked through a variety of gothic episodes, at times wanting to renounce his dark curse and at other times revelling in it. Curtis added witchcraft, reincarnation, and ghost subplots, and the result was a cultural phenomenon running 1,245 episodes, and even today viewers can relive the adventures

of Barnabas Collins on cable television. Two films, *House of Dark Shadows* (1970) and *Night of Dark Shadows* (1971), were developed from the television program. In addition, numerous *Dark Shadows* novels have been published, a *Dark Shadows* festival was created, and a *Dark Shadows* fan club established. It was a good time for vampires. In 1971, because of declining ratings, *Dark Shadows* was cancelled. Curtis continued his interest in vampires, teaming up with writer Richard Matheson, author of such classic works as "Drink My Red Blood" (1951) and *I Am Legend* (1954). Curtis produced Matheson's script of *The Night Stalker* (1972) as an ABC television movie featuring a reporter named Kolchak, played by Darren McGavin, who discovers a vampire running loose in Seattle. *The Night Stalker*, with its combination of gothic horror and contemporary realism, was quite successful, generating a second made-for-television movie, *The Night Strangler*, and then a popular series of supernatural programs involving Kolchak with encounters with the supernatural, including, of course, the classic monsters from both the Universal Pictures and Hammer Films stables of horrors. Curtis then worked with Matheson to adapt Stoker's novel. In *The Vampire Book*, J. Gordon Melton writes of the Curtis and Matheson *Dracula* that

> the pair attempted to bypass both the play by Hamilton Deane and John L. Balderston (the basis for the version of *Dracula* [1931] with Bela Lugosi as well as *Horror of Dracula* and other Hammer Films productions with Christopher Lee). At the same time they were strongly influenced by the work of Raymond T. McNally and Radu Florescu, who published *In Search of Dracula: A True History of Dracula and Vampire Legends* (1972). (1994, 181)

The Curtis production of *Dracula* is significant for a number of reasons. First, Curtis and Matheson deliberately avoid the conventions established by the Universal and Hammer *Dracula*s as well as those of the Deane/Balderston play, returning to Stoker's material, and as a result they create the first "Bram Stoker's" *Dracula*, or a film based primarily on Stoker's text without the mediation of the Deane/Balderston screenplay, two decades before Francis Ford Coppola undertook a similar project. Second, in incorporating the McNally/Florescu material, Curtis creates a Dracula who is a fifteenth-century Wallachian warlord undead in the nineteenth

century, a vampire who is as much a warrior hero as he is a monster; in playing Dracula, veteran actor Jack Palance manages to create both menace and a degree of sympathy, the complexity of character suggested by Stoker in his novel. Like Stoker's Dracula, Palance's vampire is a creature of power and menace who will destroy anyone who opposes him and still create sympathy because of his great and long suffering.

Curtis's production includes a number of motifs developed more fully and more expensively by Coppola. Palance's Dracula sees in Lucy Westenra a reincarnation of his medieval love, he is motivated by desire and then revenge, and finally, as he is destroyed, there is a moment when a look of peace crosses his face, suggesting that Dracula himself is aware of being released from the horrible curse of vampirism. Unlike many of the adapted Draculas who have appeared in other films, Palance's Count Dracula is not a one-dimensional monster but rather a fully developed character who approaches, but never quite reaches, the status of tragic hero. Unlike the actors in a number of recent film portrayals of Dracula, Palance never resorts to attempted humor or parody; his Dracula is sincere and quite convincing. One wonders if, given an appropriate budget for a large-scale theatrical release, Matheson and Curtis might not have created the definitive adaptation of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*.

Because it was produced for television rather than for theaters, the Curtis/Matheson *Dracula*, until recently, received little critical attention. Despite the collaboration of two highly praised artists, Curtis and Matheson, a strong performance by Jack Palance, and the fact that this production was the first film to attempt to adapt Stoker's novel faithfully, few students of vampire films and fiction have appreciated the film or its virtues. A number of major studies of horror films make no mention of the work. This neglect, however, is now remedied. At the First World Dracula Congress held in Romania in 1995, for example, such well-known critics as Raymond McNally, J. Gordon Melton, Elizabeth Miller, and Bernard Davies argued for a renewed appreciation of Curtis's film, suggesting that the Matheson script and Curtis production are, in a number of significant ways, crucial to the development of a Dracula subgenre of horror in which the vampire becomes both a sympathetic and a romantic figure. Curtis' *Dracula* is important for more than historical reasons, however. It is a well-made and

effective adaptation that manages to work as a horror film as well as to suggest the complexity that is clear in Stoker's novel.

A second television production helped renew interest in Dracula and redefine his character. In 1978 a BBC-TV production of Stoker's novel was aired to enthusiastic reviews and a relatively large audience. Louis Jourdan, who had a long career as a romantic leading man, played Dracula as a tragic romantic hero, emphasizing the suffering and loneliness of the vampire in a relatively faithful adaptation of the novel. Jourdan's performance helped establish the character of Dracula as a modern romantic hero and paved the way for Frank Langella's more famous performance.

The year 1979 was a vintage one for vampires. Ten films were released, including such forgettable productions as *Nocturna, Mama Dracula*, and the infamous *Dracula Sucks*, a pornographic adaptation starring James Gillis. Vampires moved to prime-time television, with the premier of Toby Hooper's adaptation of Stephen King's popular vampire novel, *Salem's Lot*. In *Danse Macabre*, King asserts that he wrote *Salem's Lot* as an homage to Stoker and *Dracula*, deliberately creating scenes and characters based on Stoker's story. Hooper, who created the famous cult film *Texas Chainsaw Massacre*, was restrained by the conventions of network television, and his 4-hour program has far less bite than King's frightening novel. *Salem's Lot* moves the confrontation between vampire and vampire hunters from Transylvania and London to a small New England town, Jerusalem's Lot. Hooper draws on Murnau's *Nosferatu* for his depiction of the central vampire, Barlow, and the vampire in *Salem's Lot* is a mute menace who stalks the living without a shred of humanity. James Mason provides an excellent performance as the vampire's human assistant. He takes the traditional Renfield role to new heights of horror as he becomes the voice of the inarticulate vampire and ultimately the greater monster of the two. As in a number of vampire films, the monsters are far more interesting than the hunters; Mason's performance outshines that of David Soul, who plays the film's one-dimensional hero. Despite its length and tedious first half, *Salem's Lot* is one of the few relatively successful adaptations of King's work. Hooper creates a powerful sense of menace, and the symbiotic relationship between vampire and human helper is the film's greatest strength. In addition, no viewer of *Salem's Lot* can fail to see *Dracula* looming behind it. As Stephen King asserted, *Salem's Lot* clearly is an homage to *Dracula*.

Three large-screen vampires were even more successful that year. The first film was German. Werner Herzog, who established his reputation as a major international director with such films as *Signs of Life* (1968), *Even Dwarfs Started Small* (1970), *Aguirre, the Wrath of God* (1972), *Every Man for Himself and God Against All* (1975), and *Heart of Glass* (1976), stressed image over language in his films and saw himself as an inheritor of the German expressionist tradition of the 1920s. As Kristen Thompson and David Bordwell note in their *Film History*: "Herzog declared himself to be the heir of Murnau; he made a new version of *Nosferatu* . . . , and he recaptured Expressionist acting style by hypnotizing the cast of *Heart of Glass*. His allegiance to the silent cinema was evident in his belief that sheerly striking images could express mystical truths beyond language" (1994, 740).

In *Nosferatu: The Vampire*, Herzog, who wrote the screenplay and produced the film in addition to directing it, brought together two strands of the Dracula tradition by following Murnau's film closely but reinserting the names of the Stoker characters changed by Murnau to avoid paying royalties to Mrs. Stoker. Herzog's *Nosferatu* is a public recognition of the influence of Stoker's *Dracula* on Murnau's *Nosferatu* as well as a celebration of Murnau's craft. It is also a powerful film in its own right.

Herzog's *Nosferatu* captures much of the power of Murnau's original production. Klaus Kinski recreates the emotional impact of Max Schreck's Count Orlock with a performance that stresses the violent, animalistic nature of the vampire. As did Max Schreck, Klaus Kinski portrays the vampire as a mute, wraithlike monster haunting the imaginations of those whom he meets. In addition, Kinski's vampire is made up to look identical to Schreck's Orlock. In this otherwise faithful adaptation of Murnau's work, Herzog makes two significant changes. First, perhaps influenced by the Hammer *Dracula* series, Herzog uses color rather than black-and-white photography. As a result, the film both recalls the earlier version and is itself a modern horror film, establishing itself in both worlds of horror. More significantly, Herzog dramatically changes the ending of the film. Murnau concluded his film with the destruction of the vampire and the sacrificial death of the innocent bride who gives her life to destroy the monster, thus rescuing the community from the foreign infection. The horror is exorcised from the community as good triumphs over evil. In Herzog's adaptation, Lucy Harker sacrifices herself to destroy Dracula, but her husband,

Jonathan, who has been bitten by the vampire and has become one of Dracula's followers, escapes and rides away to continue to spread the vampiric infection throughout Europe and the world; vampirism lives on, undead in this *Nosferatu*.

In Herzog's adaptation there is no redemption. As Robert Marrero observes:

> *Nosferatu—the Vampyre* is a story of permeating evil, cast against an impressive backdrop of rotting decadence, atmospherically photographed by Jorg Schmidt-Reitwein and directed in an attractive and subtle style by Herzog. *Nosferatu—the Vampyre*, far removed from the normal Hollywood-style commercial vehicle, is a *true* contemporary horror film that takes itself seriously. (1994, 125)

Matthew Bunson, writing in *The Vampire Encyclopedia*, agrees:

> *Nosferatu* is generally faithful to Murnau's masterpiece, adding a number of its own touches while focusing on the unwholesome desires of the vampire for a beautiful woman. The obscenely disease-spreading qualities of the creature are brilliantly displayed in one scene as hordes of rats move through a once serene and safe town. Kinski's performance is also outstanding. (1993, 191)

Although Herzog's *Nosferatu* was generally well received by critics, praise was not unanimous. In *Hollywood Gothic*, for example, David Skal calls the film "a wrong-headed and rather pretentious 'remake' of *Nosferatu*" (1990, 198). Despite Skal's objections, Herzog's *Nosferatu* is an intelligent and frightening film that captures much of the power of the original. Klaus Kinski's performance is especially worth noting, and Herzog's direction creates an appropriate horrific mood. Unfortunately, it was not a major financial success. However, a comic *Dracula*, released the same year, *Love at First Bite*, was wildly popular and financially successful.

Stan Dragoti's *Love at First Bite* was a popular success for American International Pictures and a clear demonstration that the conventions of the vampire genre established by previous Univeral Pictures and Hammer Film *Dracula* adaptations had permeated American popular culture. The film's humor works because audiences had become familiar with the legends, folklore, and fakelore

surrounding Dracula and vampires, at least those that had moved from the novel to film and then into the popular culture, and could enjoy the jokes the film makes at the traditions' expense. *Love at First Bite* is a lighthearted parody, and like all successful parodies it demonstrates an affection for the original narrative.

The film's plot structure is borrowed from Stoker: Count Dracula, an aristocratic Transylvanian vampire, decides to move from his homeland to an urban metropolis and there take part in the life that flows through the city. In *Love at First Bite*, however, Count Dracula is forced to leave modern Romania by the local communist authorities, who plan to nationalize his castle and turn it into a gymnastic training center, gymnastics having replaced vampires as a source of national pride in prerevolutionary Romania, according to Hollywood filmmakers. The Count and his loyal servant Renfield travel to New York. There the Count falls in love with a beautiful model and is confronted by Professor Van Helsing's grandson, a psychiatrist who happens to be dating the same model. At the end of the film, the Count wins over the beautiful girl and together they fly off into the moonset to live, or to be undead, happily ever after.

The film itself is far better than the plot summary. The cast, George Hamilton as the Count, Arte Johnson as his servant, Susan St. James as the model, and Richard Benjamin as her boyfriend and Van Helsing relative, play their parts with comic enthusiasm. References to earlier *Dracula* films abound in the dialogue, settings, and situations. Hamilton is especially effective, playing Dracula in evening clothes and cape and with a thick Lugosi accent. The audacity of casting Hamilton, an actor best known for his perfect tan, as Dracula, the pale prince of darkness, was not lost on appreciative audiences, who flocked to the theaters to see a Dracula with fangs firmly planted in cheek. Dragoti's direction is crisp, and the screenplay is clever. *Love at First Bite* remains a popular film among those who appreciate *Dracula* adaptations because it rewards knowledge of the tradition and manipulates elements of the tradition with fondness and skill. It is still one of the most enjoyable comic adaptations of *Dracula* on-screen, and one of the best comic vampire films available.

The most ambitious of the 1979 *Dracula* adaptations was John Badham's *Dracula*, starring Frank Langella. Badham's film is neither as horrific as Herzog's *Nosferatu* nor as comic as Dragoti's *Love at First Bite*, and in his attempt to combine humor and horror,

Badham meets with mixed success. There has been, in fact, considerable debate over whether the film was intended as horror or comedy as well as whether the film is successful or not in its recreation of Stoker's vampire.

There is no debate, however, about the genesis of the film. As David Skal, J. Gordon Melton, and Raymond McNally, among others, have noted, the source of Badham's film was the 1973 revival of the Deane/Balderston play in Massachusetts, directed by Dennis Rosa. In 1977 the revival moved to Broadway, with sets by noted artist Edward Gorey and starring Frank Langella as Dracula. Gorey's set design was the most striking feature of the New York production, as he created on stage a working set that suggested both earlier adaptations of *Dracula* and his own classic drawings. Reaction to the play was similar to the reaction to the original 1927 Deane/Balderston production. As David Skal observes in his edition of the Deane/Balderston play,

> Like the Broadway *Dracula* that had preceded it fifty years earlier, the 1977 revival received decidedly mixed reviews that did nothing to slow the public's stampede to the box office. *The New York Times* Richard Eder declared the production "elegant" but "bloodless." "Mr. Langella is a stunning figure as Dracula," wrote Eder, "but he notably lacks terror." *Dracula*, in Eder's judgement, "comes to us with a stake through its heart, beyond real revival although capable of useful adornment." (1993, 138)

Despite reviews in a similar vein, audiences responded with enthusiasm, and like the original Broadway production starring Bela Lugosi, this *Dracula* quickly moved to Hollywood. Even after Langella left the Broadway cast, the play fared well, with such accomplished actors as Jeremy Brett, Jean LeClerc, and Raul Julia performing as the Count. Theatrical adaptations of Stoker's novel, like those on the movie screen, have continued to be popular throughout the century, both on the stages of New York and London and in the provinces.

Vampire drama, in fact, has been almost as popular as vampire film and fiction. Polidori's *The Vampire* engendered three popular dramas: Charles Nodier's *Le Vampire* (1819), Eugene Scribe's *Le Vampire Comedie-Vaudeville en un Act* (1820), and James Robinson Planche's *The Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles: A Romantic Drama*

in Three Acts (1820). Numerous vampire operas were also produced, including two 1828 German works called *Der Vampyr* based directly on Polidori's novel. Although the Deane/Balderston adaptation of *Dracula* has been the most popular vampire play, a host of others have been produced, including such works as Ron Magid's *Dracula Tyrannus: The Tragical History of Vlad the Impaler*, Dennis Snee's *The Count Will Rise Again; or, Dracula in Dixie*, and Micah Harris's *The Kiss of Rowena*.

There was one significant difference between the 1977 Broadway play and the 1927 play. In the revival Frank Langella played the character of Dracula in a broad, somewhat comic manner, without any trace of Lugosi's foreign accent; Langella's Dracula also was familiar with Western morals and customs. Lugosi had portrayed the Count as a figure of horror, a representation of alien evil. By 1977 the figure of the aristocratic Transylvanian vampire had become such a familiar figure, through the influence of fiction, film, and television, that playing Dracula straight fifty years after the original Lugosi performances was almost impossible. Camp and familiarity worked for Langella on the stage; for the film version he would try something else, romance, and in his romantic portrayal of Dracula, Langella would infuse the modern gothic horror film with the romantic element that had been an essential part of the early gothic horror novel and had been suggested as a way to play the part by Louis Jourdan's BBC performance.

In many ways Badham's 1979 film, like Browning's 1931 version, is more a faithful adaptation of the Deane/Balderston stage play than an adaptation of Stoker's novel. In both films Stoker's story is constrained by the demands of the theater and loses the scope of the novel, although both Browning and Badham incorporate the visually stunning Castle Dracula sequences from the novel in the beginning of their films. These scenes from the novel are a necessity for almost any film adaptation because they are the most visually dramatic parts of the novel and they establish the gothic elements of the story. Both films gain in intimacy, however, and this is one reason for the decrease in horror and increase in romance in the stage play and films based on it. Films influenced by the Deane/Balderston script emphasize intimacy over complexity, relationships over revulsion. Lugosi's performance suggested romance; Langella's achieved it, and in the process made Badham's *Dracula* one of the first successful examples of the most recent development of the vampire genre, the dark romance, in which the

violence and authority of the vampires are downplayed and their suffering and sympathy become the central themes of the narrative. In these versions of the vampire narrative, it is the vampire who becomes the sympathetic character for the audience, as the vampire's struggles with identity and meaning reflect the concerns of contemporary audiences. No longer are vampire hunters upholders of outdated ideologies, to be followed, trusted, or even admired.

Langella's depiction of Dracula as a threatening romantic villain, always one element of Stoker's complex character, is a throwback to both the sentimental novel and its descendant, the gothic romance. Both are narratives of seduction in which a pure young woman is pursued by a powerful and attractive man with evil intent. The sentimental novel can be either comic or tragic, depending on whether the pursued young woman retains her virtue and is rewarded by marriage, as in Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, or is unsuccessful in fending off the attentions of her pursuer and encounters death or a fate worse than death (undeath, in the vampire versions of the tale). One of the most consistent elements in the narratives of seduction is the figure of the attractive seducer, who appears as early as Don Juan in Spanish legends and Lovelace, Richardson's villain, in *Clarissa*. He reappears as Polidori's vampire, Lord Ruthven, and is, as mentioned above, suggested by Stoker's Dracula. Lugosi's portrayal of Dracula as seducer is balanced by Stoker's emphasis on Dracula's foreign otherness. Langella as Dracula, however, emerges as a full-blown romantic hero—powerful, sensual, intelligent, attractive, and ultimately doomed.

In Badham's film Langella plays Dracula as a vampire without fangs but with an awareness of his own semitragic situation. Following the Deane/Balderston stage play, most of the action takes place in England. Langella's Dracula mixes with polite society and falls in love, first with Mina (Van Helsing, not Harker), and then with Lucy (Seward, not Westenra). As in almost all film adaptations of Stoker's complex narrative, Badham and screenwriter W. D. Richter omit major characters and change the names of those they do include in order to simplify the complex mechanics of Stoker's novel and make it an effective stage and screen vehicle. Unlike Lugosi's Dracula, who seduced the women in the 1931 film, or Lee's Dracula, who menaced the many women who appeared in the Hammer films, Langella falls in love and experiences all of the uncertainties of that emotion. Langella, unlike the earlier Dracula

performers, portrays a vulnerable vampire, as much a victim as a victimizer.

Despite some excellent special effects—Dracula crawling down the wall of his castle, taken from Stoker's novel and seldom included in other adaptations; a white horse led to a cemetery to search out the grave of a vampire, borrowed from Eastern European folklore; and the destruction of Dracula aboard a ship as he attempts to escape from England, an addition that works dramatically on-screen—the film is relatively more dramatic than bloody. In addition, Langella includes moments of camp, obviously taken from his stage performance, in his screen portrayal of Dracula. The combination of seriousness, sensuality, and humor troubled some viewers and critics, and the film received mixed reviews. It should be remembered, however, that all of the adaptations of *Dracula* received at best mixed reviews. Modern critics, perhaps comparing Badham's film to the host of vampire films released in the past two decades, have been kinder to the film than reviewers were upon its release. J. Gordon Melton, for example, observes in *The Vampire Book* that the film is "one of the better and more interesting of the *Dracula* remakes" (1994, 184), and Mathew Bunson, in *The Vampire Encyclopedia*, writes:

> This version is one of the most effective ever produced, thanks to the sensual complex performance of Frank Langella (re-creating his stage role) and the chemistry he developed with [Kate] Nelligan (Lucy Seward) and [Sir Lawrence] Olivier (Van Helsing). Directed by John Badham, *Dracula* retained all the gothic terror of the novel and the original play while emphasizing the seductive horror of the count. (1993, 75)

John Badham's *Dracula* combines both the virtues and the vices of a film adaptation of a stage play. The few purely cinematic scenes are visually stunning, and the dialogue and interaction among the cast members is crisp and effective. The cinematic and stage scenes are not effectively integrated, however. In addition, the elements of terror that lie at the heart of Stoker's novel, and especially the Christopher Lee film performances that emphasize the physical presence of the vampire and the violence that is an essential part of his nature, are diminished and replaced by conventions of tragedy, always more effective on stage than on a large screen,

where spectacle tends to overwhelm character development. This film is significant for two other reasons. First, it demonstrated that a relatively expensive, serious adaptation of a classic work of horror could be successful. Second, Langella's performance firmly established the vampire as a tragic figure in the popular imagination. This, of course, was not a new development. Lord Ruthven, Carmilla, and Stoker's Dracula to some extent, had elements of tragedy in their characters, but vampires in the popular culture, especially filmic vampires, had been primarily creatures of horror. Langella, in his dramatic performance emphasizing vampiric self-awareness and tragedy, helped create the possibility of a sympathetic vampire, a creature who would be developed by such novelists as Fred Saberhagen in his Dracula series, Chelsea Quinn Yarbro in her Count St. Germain novels, Nancy Collins in her Midnight Blue novels, and Anne Rice in her Vampire Chronicles. Langella and Badham also set the stage for the most expensive and most elaborate vampire production of all time, Francis Ford Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula*.

Writing in *Bram Stoker's Dracula: The Film and the Legend*, a pictorial movie book published to coincide with the 1992 Halloween release of Coppola's film, screenwriter James V. Hart recalls:

> "Why?" the producer asked, wishing he'd never taken this meeting with a fortysomething, graying, unproduced writer (me). "Why do a remake of *Dracula*? It's been done a hundred times. Everybody knows the story. Hell, there's a Muppet Count Dracula that teaches kids to count!"
>
> My response was always the same: because the real *Dracula* has never been done. Anyone who has read Bram Stoker's brilliant, erotic Gothic novel can understand that my answer was not meant to be arrogant, but rather reverent of Stoker's literary classic. (1992, 6)

Hart then proceeds to outline his personal experience with Stoker's novel and the various adaptations, highlighting Tod Browning's 1931 Universal *Dracula ,* the Christopher Lee/Peter Cushing Hammer productions, and the Frank Langella Broadway performance at which he overheard a woman in the audience capture one of the appeals of Stoker's vampire narative when she exclaimed, "I'd rather spend one night with Dracula, dead, than the rest of my life

with my husband, alive" (1992, 7). Finally, Hart acknowledges his debt to noted Stoker scholar Leonard Wolf, author of *A Dream of Dracula* (1972) and *The Annotated Dracula* (1975) republished as *The Essential Dracula* (1993).

In late 1990 Francis Ford Coppola agreed to direct Hart's screenplay. Coppola was the Academy Award–winning director of such films as *You're a Big Boy Now*, *The Godfather*, *Godfather II*, *Godfather III*, *Apocalypse Now*, *The Conversation*, *Peggy Sue Got Married*, *Cotton Club,* and *Tucker*. In the introduction to *Bram Stoker's Dracula: The Film and the Legend*, Coppola writes that growing up he was a fan of horror films, especially enjoying F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu*, Tod Browning's *Dracula*, and Earl C. Kenton's 1945 *House of Dracula* starring John Carradine, whom Coppola calls his "prototype Dracula" (2). Coppola continues:

> Doing justice to the complex character of Dracula was one of our main goals. He's been portrayed as a monster or as a seducer, but knowing his biography made me think of him as a fallen angel, as Satan. . . .
>
> Blood is the symbol of human passion, the source of all passion. I think that is the main subtext in our story. We've tried to depict feelings so strong they can survive across the centuries, like Dracula's love for Mina/Elizabeth. The idea that love can conquer death, or worse than death—that she can actually give back to the vampire his lost soul. (1992, 5)

Coppola's reaction to *Dracula*, especially his references to Milton's tragic hero Satan and his emphasis on the salvific power of love, clearly demonstrate that he saw his Dracula as a complex hero from the beginning of his planning for the film. In order to do "justice to the complex character" of Dracula, Coppola assembled an eclectic and exciting cast: Gary Oldman as Dracula, Winona Ryder as Mina Harker, Anthony Hopkins as Professor Van Helsing, Keanu Reeves as Jonathan Harker, Sadie Frost as Lucy Westenra, Richard E. Grant as Jack Seward, Cary Elwes as Arthur Holmwood, Bill Campbell as Quincy Morris, and Tom Waits as Renfield. He then proceeded to direct that cast in a film that combined the elements of tragedy and romance with the scholarship of Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu. His film was an attempt to fuse Stoker's Dracula with the historical Dracula, Vlad Tepes, a link that

had been made with success earlier in the Curtis/Matheson production starring Jack Palance. Coppola, however, made the suggestions of identity between the Wallachian warlord and the Victorian count that appeared in Curtis's film the dramatic and emotional center of his adaptation.

As mentioned earlier, Boston College professors Radu Florescu and Raymond McNally created a popular sensation in the United States with their first book, *In Search of Dracula* (1972), and their later collaborations, *Dracula: A Biography of Vlad the Impaler, 1431–1476* (1973) and *Dracula, Prince of Many Faces: His Life and Times* (1989). These works detailed the life of Vlad Tepes, better known as Vlad the Impaler, whom modern scholars, following McNally and Florescu's pioneering work, see as the historical source for Stoker's vampire. This connection, with its possibility of fusing life and death, fact and fiction, and salvation and damnation, attracted both Hart and Coppola, and for the first time in an adaptation of Stoker's *Dracula*, the historical defender of Christianity and/or mass murderer of hundreds of thousands of people, depending on one's ideological, national, and/or political point of view, becomes a central figure in the story. Historical Transylvania moves from the shadows to the spotlight in Coppola's film.

The result is a stunning but fatally flawed film that attempts to combine horror, tragedy, romance, and history. Throughout his career, Francis Ford Coppola has been an ambitious director, as his critically acclaimed and award-winning *Godfather* series and *Apocalypse Now* clearly indicate, and attempting to film the "real *Dracula*" was indeed ambitious. Given the multiple points of view, shifting centers of consciousness, and numerous themes in the novel, attempting to film the real *Dracula* might, in fact, be impossible. Despite some excellent performances, outstanding special effects, and intelligent research, Francis Ford Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula* is not Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. This should come as no surprise, as film vampires, Draculas included, constantly change to reflect the changing concerns and fears of the culture out of which they rise, and the monsters that walk through the nightmares of the late twentieth century are not those of the end of the Victorian age. The primary reason for the failure of Coppola's film to capture the power of Stoker's novel is that the balance of attraction and repulsion that Stoker manages to sustain in his novel is upset in Coppola's adaptation. As Stoker recognized, classic horror is close to tragedy, and in a work of classic horror, there are

elements of both pity and fear, pity for the vampire's situation but fear of his menace. Careful readers of *Dracula* are at the same time sympathetic to and repelled by Dracula. Coppola, despite the best of intentions, creates a work in which there is far more pity than fear; the sympathy finally overwhelms the repulsion. As Aristotle demonstrated, the emotions of pity and fear can be generated only by tragedy, and Coppola, although borrowing elements from that genre, did not create a tragedy; he recreated a romantic fantasy. Coppola has, in fact, made an adaptation of *Dracula* that is as much an adaptation of "Beauty and the Beast" as it is a retelling of Stoker's vampire narrative. The basic structure of Coppola's film tells the story of a loving, heroic, handsome prince who is turned into a gruesome monster because of his anger at the Christian church due to the failure of its representatives to respond to his wife's death in a sympathetic manner. Coppola's character regains his humanity nearly five hundred years later through the unselfish love of a beautiful woman, who happens to be the reincarnation of his wife. In addition, in this version of the myth, the beast gets to go to heaven at the end of the narrative. Salvation is, as Dante has demonstrated, the appropriate end of a divine comedy. This is a far cry from Stoker's tale of terror and disorientation, and is, in fact, from a formalist critical perspective, a classic romance, or form of comedy, and one that emphasizes a movement from isolation to community, the opposite of the tragic movement from community to isolation. In fact, Coppola inverts Stoker's story, making Stoker's vampire, who is absent through most of the text, the central focus of his film. As a result Coppola's monstrous vampire becomes a suffering hero.

Coppola achieves this romantic effect primarily through his inclusion of the Vlad Tepes material, highly romanticized and freely adapted from the work of McNally and Florescu. In his prologue to the film, set in 1462, Coppola depicts Prince Dracula as a heroic defender of Western faith and culture leading his outnumbered soldiers against an attacking horde of Muslim infidels who are sweeping through Eastern Europe destroying Christian civilization. It is worth noting, as an example of how horror films reflect the social and political concerns of the times in which they are created, that Coppola reintroduced images of the destructive Muslim horde and the "wickedness" of the Turk into mainstream culture during a period when the United States was engaged in a cold war with one Islamic nation and had just fought a hot war with another,

while confronting the dual threats of oil embargoes and Islamic fundamentalism. In Coppola's film the West was once again threatened by the foreign other. Coppola depicts Prince Vlad Dracula, dressed symbolically in wolf armor, defeating the Muslim invaders but discovering, upon his return to his castle, that his beloved princess, Elizobeta, upon receiving a false message of her prince's defeat, has committed suicide. She is denied burial in consecrated ground by the Orthodox priest conducting her funeral, and in a rage Dracula curses God, attacks the attending priests, and jabs his sword into the stone cross above the altar, causing blood to flow miraculously and himself to be turned into a vampire. His reward for great sacrifice and service to Christendom and his country is eternal damnation. Not quite; this is a Hollywood production, after all. The main body of the film records Dracula's redemption and ultimate triumph over death and undeath, salvation, in fact, which is the ultimate happy ending of any story. *Bram Stoker's Dracula* is a divine comedy, with moments of purgatory, hell, and heaven.

This is not to say that there are not horrific elements in the film and that at times Coppola does not make masterful use of Stoker's material. Coppola, like such other successful adaptors as Murnau, Browning, Fisher, Herzog, and Badham, recognized the cinematic possibilities of the Transylvanian sequences of Stoker's *Dracula*, and his chronicle of Jonathan Harker's journey to Castle Dracula and his confrontation with Dracula and his ladies is both stunning and faithful to the original text. Coppola's sequence depicting Harker's arrival at Borgo Pass, coach ride to the castle, and initial meeting with Dracula is both traditional and effective. Castle Dracula is mysterious as well as ominous, and the confrontation between Jonathan Harker and Dracula's three ladies is perhaps the most effective ever filmed, combining terror and eroticism nearly unmatched in vampire film history. Coppola successfully creates a scene in which Harker is both attracted to and frightened by the possibility of a sexual encounter with three exotic women, who clearly control the action until Dracula's appearance. In keeping with his emphasis on the romantic elements of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, Coppola stresses the erotic elements of Dracula's seduction and transformation of Lucy Westenra as well. Lucy is both victim and willing participant in Dracula's seduction. In Coppola's film sexual ambiguities are everywhere. In both sequences Coppola captures the attraction of and unease with sexuality that permeated

Stoker's text and remains an essential element of almost all successful vampire narratives.

Equally arresting was Coppola's decision to have Anthony Hopkins play Professor Abraham Van Helsing as a nearly mad scientist rather than the righteous patriarch of the Victorian novel, and Tom Waits as a Renfield painfully aware of his horrible condition, attracted by both Mina's goodness and Dracula's promise of eternal life. Hopkin's Van Helsing is a man who appears to have sacrificed a degree of sanity for his knowledge of the undead, and Wait's Renfield is a sacrificial servant aware of his limitations, a genuinely pathetic figure. Both performances work well for contemporary audiences, as they emphasize the ironic attitude toward authority that is a central element of contemporary culture. Patriarchal authority may be necessary to combat the alien horror, but it comes at a cost. This ironic attitude helps shift the thematic weight of the narrative, however. In Coppola's film ambiguity is everywhere: Dracula is a vampire and a handsome prince, Van Helsing is both wise and foolish, Mina is a faithful wife and a vampire's lover, Renfield is victim and victimizer. On the other hand, in Stoker's novel there is a clearly defined moral universe: Dr. Abraham Van Helsing is the righteous agent for patriarchal Christianity and Western science; he wields both the consecrated host and a microscope against the forces of foreign infection and evil. Dracula's taking and giving blood is an infernal parody of the most sacred rite of Christianty, the Eucharist. In Coppola's vampire world, the world of contemporary gothic fiction and film, the moral universe has changed: good and evil are no longer opposites, and actions no longer have expected consequences, since love conquers all. Good and evil cease to exist; perspective is everything.

As Coppola himself observed, his *Bram Stoker's Dracula* is a love story. As soon as Dracula discovers in Mina Harker the reincarnation of his "beloved Elizobeta," and she sees in him not an amoral monster who kills innocent women and children but a "handsome prince," all the rats, bats, wolves, Gothic castles, fangs, and bloody feedings cannot distract audiences from the essential romance at the heart of this adaptation. In London with Mina, Prince Vlad, impeccably dressed in proper fashion including top hat and sunglasses ~~f~~or his sensitive vampiric eyes, of course ~~b~~ecomes such a sympathetic figure that audiences, aware of this vampire's origins and what he did for love, feel pity for him rather than fear for the other characters in the film or for themselves. In the long chase

sequence in which Mina, Van Helsing, and the band of fearless vampire hunters follow Dracula to his castle in Transylvania, audience sympathies are pulled in two directions, toward both the hunters and the hunted, as Coppola's direction foregrounds Mina and her assisting vampire hunters. And in the final scene, in which Coppola has Dracula die at the foot of the same altar before which he was transformed and in the arms of his beloved, who had died hundreds of years before, Coppola turns the horror story on its head, rewarding the villain with the ultimate prize—eternal salvation and the suggestion of eternal union with the beloved.

In establishing the character of Dracula as a romantic hero rather than a monster, Coppola follows in the footsteps of director John Badham and such writers as Anne Rice, Fred Saberhagen, and Chelsea Quinn Yarboro, who helped establish the conventions of dark romance, the narrative of a sympathetic, suffering vampire who represents the alienation of postmodern men and women in a culture undergoing endless transitions. In doing so, however, Coppola defangs Dracula, transforming a character who mesmerized readers for a century because of his great forbidden hungers and willingness to suffer great consequences for his actions into a mere dangerous lover. Stoker's Dracula was much more; he violated all Victorian conventions, and he paid for his violations. In Coppola's adaptation, attractive as it is visually, there is no penalty for murder, sacrilege, and rape. Love conquers all, and Coppola's Dracula can have his fangs and Elizobeta too.

As mentioned earlier, Coppola is not alone in creating a more sympathetic vampire. In addition to novelists Rice, Saberhagen, and Yarbro, to name just the three most influential creators of sympathetic vampire series, other filmmakers have joined Coppola in his celebration of the kinder, gentler vampire. Among the more successful examples of the new vampire genre are Tony Scott's *The Hunger* (1983), Jim McBridge's *Blood Ties* (1992), Fred Gallo's *Dracula Rising* (1993), John Landis's *Innocent Blood* (1992), and Ted Nicolau's *Subspecies* series (1991, 1993).

In *The Hunger*, for example, Catherine Deneuve plays Miriam Baylock, a beautiful vampire living in Manhattan, with John, her vampire lover, played by David Bowie. They enjoy the good unlife in Manhattan, picking up victims in upscale clubs and returning to their beautiful condominium. Unfortunately, John begins to age suddenly, literally falling apart on-screen, and despite the efforts of gerontologist Susan Sarandon, he disintegrates. Deneuve then

begins to transform Sarandon into a vampire in a well-directed and erotic dreamlike sequence. Eventually Sarandon rejects Deneuve, locking her in the same room with her rotting previous lovers who are not quite dead. *The Hunger*, with its emphasis on the vampire's suffering and loss as well its focus on stunning eroticism, clearly establishes the vampire as a sympathetic character, and the performances of Bowie, Deneuve, and Sarandon take this film beyond genre classification and clearly demonstrate that the vampire is a most sympathetic figure.

In *Blood Ties*, director Jim McBridge depicts an extended vampire family living and prospering in Long Beach, California. McBridge turns the conventions of the vampire narrative upside down, depicting the vampires as Carpathian-Americans trying to combine Old World customs and a New World environment and the vampire hunters as small-minded fundamentalist religious fanatics. The vampire family is torn between assimilationists, who want to adapt completely to American customs and give up the occasional blood-sucking, and traditionalists, who celebrate the old-world rituals, including nightly hunting and a good drink of the red stuff. Faced with an attack by Bible-and-stake-waving fanatics, however, the family pulls together to protect itself from the stereotypical bigots, and in a classsically southern California beach scene, the two cultures clash. *Blood Ties* is a cross between *The Godfather* and *Buffy–The Vampire Slayer* , and despite the film's obvious lack of adequate financing, it does clearly set up the vampire characters as those to be admired. Obviously a horror comedy, the film could serve as an example for those who argue that Hollywood is waging an assault on traditional values. The good vampires are surely waging war against the vampirephobic crusading Christians in *Blood Ties*. Such a reading of the film would miss the whole comic point of the film, however, but it is significant that in the 1990s a successful film could assert that vampires are good and fundamentalist Christians are evil. Professor Van Helsing, never one to appreciate comedy or side with the vampires, would not have approved. Similarly, in *Innocent Blood* director John Landis, who successfully combined horror with humor in *An American Werewolf in London,* tells the story of a caring, beautiful young vampire living in Pittsburgh who functions as a vigilante vampire, only stalking evil men. In a film full of humor as well as horror, vampire Marie, played with enthusiasm by Anne Parillaud, hungry for Italian, accidentally transforms a Mafia don into a vampire when her

dinner is interrupted. She becomes the target of the turned Don, well played by Robert Loggia, and his family, but with the help of a handsome undercover policeman who puts his life in her hands, she destroys the evil vampire and wins true love. As in *Blood Ties*, the vampire protagonist is obviously the most attractive and intelligent character in *Innocent Blood*.

In both *Dracula Rising* (1993) and the *Subspecies* series—*Subspecies* (1991), *Bloodstone* (1993), and *Bloodlust* (1994)—filmmakers create vampire pairs: the good, sympathetic vampires who agonize over their condition and suffer as they hunt, and the evil vampires who lust for blood without any remorse. In *Dracula Rising*, directed by Fred Gallo, Teresa, a beautiful, young art historian travels to Romania to restore a Renaissance painting. There she meets a dark-haired stranger, Alec, the bad vampire, and a blond stranger, Vlad, the good vampire. The two vampires are sons of Vlad the Impaler, and the film chronicles their struggle for the body and soul of Teresa. Similarly, in the *Subspecies* trilogy, filmed on location in Romania, director Ted Nicolau tells a similar story in which the two vampire sons of an ancient Transylvanian king named Vladimir, Radu, the bad, and Stefan, the good, fight for their birthright, a jewel containing saints' blood that keeps the vampires from needing human blood, and several beautiful young women who attract both vampires. Although predictable, like *Dracula Rising*, the *Subspecies* films are effective and contribute to the development of the character of the sensitive, suffering vampire who must confront the evil in his nature, which in these films is not only a need for blood but the presence of an evil brother. This doubling of vampires is perhaps most obvious in the long-awaited *Interview with the Vampire* (1995).

In director Neal Jordan's adaptation of Anne Rice's best-selling novel, the traditional vampire is doubled: Tom Cruise's Lestat is wickedly amoral and comic, and Brad Pitt's Louis is broodingly tragic and self-absorbed. As in Rice's novel, both vampires are sympathetic, intelligent, powerful, and erotic, and the result is a full-blown gothic romance rather than a horror film, as viewers familiar with Rice's Vampire Chronicles fully expected.

Perhaps no one is more responsible for the rise of the sympathetic vampire and the popularity of the dark romance than Anne Rice. Her vampire narratives have sold millions of copies, and in each novel her vampires are classic gothic heroes, isolated sufferers. In Jordan's version of *Interview with the Vampire*, Rice's sympathy for her devils is clear. As in many of the contemporary

vampire films, the main characters, Louis and Lestat, are without a doubt the most intelligent, interesting, and sympathetic characters in the film; there is no way they cannot be attractive. In fact, Jordan is so successful in making his vampires sympathetic that viewers at times forget they are not human, and the line between the living and the undead is erased. In the vampire world of Anne Rice, and in Jordan's well-crafted adaptation, the vampires are us.

Mel Brooks, like Francis Ford Coppola, could not resist the call of Dracula. Brooks, who has made a career of producing genre parodies, including the inspired horror parody *Young Frankenstein* (1974) and the wonderful western parody *Blazing Saddles* (1973), draws on the entire tradition of vampire cinema in his *Dracula: Dead and Loving It* (1995).

Unlike Coppola's costly adaptation, Brooks's parody is low-key and small-scale. As did Tod Browning, Brooks uses the Deane/Balderston screenplay rather than Stoker's novel as the source for the film, adding costumes, dialogue, and scenes from the Coppola and Christopher Lee films as well. The result is a film full of Dracula references and a summary of the century's film vampires; the movie is, however, for a Brooks film, curiously dead.

Mel Brooks's most successful parodies, particularly *Young Frankenstein* and *Blazing Saddles*, worked through a combination of puns, scatalogical humor, and outrageous variations on source material—the monster's black-tie rendition of "Puttin' on the Ritz" in *Young Frankenstein*, for example. In *Dracula: Dead and Loving It*, Brooks moderates his usual madness, and the result is a film that is more an appreciation than a parody. Seldom does Brooks strive for the outrageous; instead, his actors, including Leslie Nielsen as Dracula and Brooks himself as Van Helsing, exaggerate earlier film performances. Nielsen broadens Lugosi's accent and mannerisms, occasionally sporting a wig reminiscent of that worn by Gary Oldman in Coppola's film, and Brooks pushes the pedanticism and bad syntax of earlier Van Helsings.

There is nothing new in *Dracula: Dead and Loving It*, and yet it may be an appropriate adaptation for the Stoker centennial. Brooks's film clearly demonstrates how familiar and how fond audiences have become of Stoker's Count Dracula and his many screen appearances. Nielsen's Dracula does not frighten; instead, he appears as a favorite uncle who has come to visit after a long absence. Viewers know his eccentricities and listen with good humor to all of the old stories from the old country.

5

NOT ALL FANGS ARE PHALLIC: FEMALE FILM VAMPIRES

"Ladies by their dress and manner."

—Jonathan Harker, *Dracula*

Despite the domination of Dracula in vampire film and fiction during the past hundred years, some of the most memorable vampires have been female, and no discussion of the development of the image of the vampire in twentieth-century film, even one focused on the adaptations of *Dracula*, would be complete without an examination of the character of the female vampire in literature and film.

It is possible that the earliest vampires were female. In her insightful introduction to *Daughters of Darkness: Lesbian Vampire Stories*, Pam Keesey asserts that female vampires were imaginative constructs developed out of the destructive side—blood, death, and dangerous sexuality—of the great mother goddesses of prehistory. Keesey argues that

> this representation of the goddess as vampire is, in part, tied to the rise of the Judeo-Christian influence in the

> West and the dichotomous vision of the world which this belief espoused. Goddesses embodied all that was evil in Judeo-Christian philosophy: they were female, sexual, pagan, and embraced death as part of the cycle of life. These women were not holy; these women were monsters. (1993, 8)

Many researchers into the origins of vampirism point to the ancient Indian goddess of death, Kali, as a primal source, noting that many of her attributes are similar to those of later female vampires. Whether directly related to the worship of the mother goddess or not, the image of the female vampire is clearly influenced by patriarchal attitudes and is also clearly ancient in origin. As I have discussed in *Mythical and Fabulous Creatures*:

> Specific references to vampirism abound in the records of Babylonia and Assyria. R. Campbell Thompson, in *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, discusses the belief in the Ekimmu, the soul of a dead person that could not rest and wandered about the earth tormenting the living until a priest could exorcise it (1:xxiii-xxv). In addition, Assyrian, Babylonian, and ancient Hebrew legends refer to Lilitu, Lilith, Lamia, or Lamme, a night-roaming female monster who sought the blood of young children. According to the Talmud, Lilith was Adam's original wife. She argued with him over his authority and left him, but her children were destroyed on account of her disobedience. After the creation of Eve, Lilith ~~u~~ndead, immortal, and vengeful ~~a~~ttempted to kill all of Eve's children. A similar legend appears in Greek mythology. Lamia bears Zeus' children, but jealous Hera kills them. Seeking revenge, Lamia wanders the earth attempting to kill as many children as possible. (244)

Violence, rebellion, and sexuality, the most consistent and significant elements in vampire lore, are fully developed in these early narratives. Sexuality begets jealousy and violence; and male authority, Adam's and Zeus's, is questioned by strong, sexually active females. These and similar creation myths and legends clearly depict struggle between men and women for autonomy and authority, and in the canonical versions handed down to us, the patriarchs

triumphed, and female monsters were created out of a perceived threat to patriarchal order.

The literary history of female vampires is also ancient and honorable. The first literary vampires were German, perhaps because the first reports of the "vampire epidemics" of Eastern Europe in the early eighteenth century were published by German scholars, and vampirism became a subject of serious study on the continent. German poets followed German scholars, and both Berger's "Lenore" and Goethe's "The Bride of Cornith" feature female vampires. "Lenore" tells the tale of a spectral lover who carries away a beautiful maiden, and "The Bride of Cornith" is a retelling of the famous classical vampire story of Phlegon of Tralles about a beautiful young woman who returns from the dead to seek the love of her beloved. Berger's poem was translated into English in 1796, and Goethe's, published in 1797, made vampirism a legitimate subject of serious literary effort.

The English Romantic poets also were attracted to female vampires. Perhaps the most famous example is Samuel Taylor Coleridge's famous poem "Christabel." Coleridge's poem, published in 1797, without mentioning the word vampire, describes a vampiric meeting between a mysterious Lady Geraldine, abandoned in a forest by kidnappers, and a beautiful young woman, Christabel, who befriends her. Christabel brings Lady Geraldine into her father's castle, they share a bottle of wine, and then they undress and go to bed. Lady Geraldine awakes younger and refreshed, but Christabel rises feeling guilty and immediately rushes to the chapel to pray. At the end of the poem, Christabel's father has become enraptured by Lady Geraldine and leaves his daughter to go away with her. Coleridge's suggestions of lesbianism and use of vampiric motifs throughout the poem are quite powerful, and the effect is successful, as numerous critics have observed. Devendra Varma, for example, pointed to Coleridge's "Christabel" and "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" as direct sources for Stoker's *Dracula*.

Female vampires, or lamia figures, as they are sometimes known, appear in a number of the works of Edgar Allan Poe, who was familar with the work of both the German and the British Romantics. As such critics as D. H. Lawrence, James Twitchell, and Lyle Kendall have pointed out, Poe's gothic world is haunted by female figures who drain the life from other characters. In *The Living Dead: A Study of the Vampire in Romantic Literature* (1981), Twitchell argues that the development of the vampire analogy was one of Poe's

central artistic concerns, and cites such works as "Bernice," "Morella," "Ligeia," "The Oval Portrait," and "The Fall of the House of Usher" as examples (33). "Ligeia" and "The Fall of the House of Usher" are the two most famous examples. In "Ligeia," perhaps Poe's most overtly vampiric tale, the title character, who has the physical attributes of a vampire—pale skin, large teeth, hypnotic eyes—apparently returns from the dead to reclaim her lover, who had, in life, drained her of her spirit. In the overtly gothic "The Fall of the House of Usher," Madaline Usher rises from her tomb to claim her lover/brother who had placed her there, combining the themes of incest revenge and vampirism, and in doing so, establishing conventions for later creators of vampire narratives.

The most famous, and perhaps still most haunting female vampire narrative is Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's 1871 novella, "Carmilla," which originally appeared in *In a Glass Darkly*. "Carmilla" is the story of seduction and addiction, narrated by a young woman who describes events that occurred ten years earlier. "Carmilla" is clearly influenced by earlier Romantic narratives; it is obviously gothic in setting and creates a mood of isolated uneasiness. As in "Christabel," a mysterious woman appears outside a castle and is invited in. The woman, Carmilla, attracts Laura, the narrator, to her with erotic dreams and then transforms herself into a cat and bites the narrator on the breast. The narrator begins to succumb to Carmilla's attractions, but it is discovered that Carmilla is actually the Countess Karnstein, a 150-year-old vampire. A patriarchal trio composed of a general, a doctor, and a clergyman, representing three of the most significant foundations of male authority—the military, science, and religion—track down and destroy Carmilla, who has threatened conventional authority and order with both her vampirism and her lesbianism. Conventional order appears to have been reestablished, but the narrator ends the story by announcing that she oftens hears Carmilla's footsteps outside her door, suggesting either the resurrection of the vampire or madness or her own growing vampirism. In any of these cases, the restored order is called into question, a device that later creators of vampire narratives will exploit.

"Carmilla" is an outstanding story, and one that should be familiar to anyone interested in vampire films and fictions. Le Fanu's short work is both terrifying and erotic, and it combines a well-developed gothic atmosphere with an examination of modern emotions and psychology. In addition, "Carmilla" helped revitalize

the vampire tale, which had seemed to have run its course with the popular *Varney the Vampire,* published two decades before. "Carmilla" also has been an extremely influential narrative. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that Bram Stoker used La Fanu's novella as a model for parts of *Dracula*, and numerous film adaptations of "Carmilla" have appeared, including *Vampyr* (1931), *Dracula's Daughter* (1936), *Blood and Roses* (1960), *La Maldicion of the Karnsteins* (1962), *Lust for a Vampire* (1971), *The Vampire Lovers* (1970), *Twins of Evil* (1972), *The Daughter of Dracula* (1972), *La Comtessa aux Seiens* (1973), *Nux* (1973), *Till Death Do Us Part* (1974), *The Evil of Dracula* (1975), and *Valerie* (1991).

An equally fertile source for the development of the female vampire is the life of Elizabeth Bathory, a Hungarian countess born in 1560 and brought to trial in 1611 for the torture and murder of somewhere between 150 and 650 young women. A member of a powerful aristocratic family and married to Count Ferenz Nadasdy, a soldier in one of the seemingly endless Eastern European wars against the Ottoman Empire, Bathory had close connections with the Hungarian royal court and the nobility of Transylvania. After hearing repeated rumors of the disappearance of the young women, Hungarian authorities raided the Bathory castle in Transylvania in late December 1610, and discovered the body of one dead girl outside the door of the manor house and two other victims inside. During two trials, evidence was presented that the countess and accomplices had killed a large number of poor young women from the surrounding countryside after torturing them. It was reported that Bathory's acts gave her erotic pleasure (her captives, for example, were usually stripped naked while she watched their suffering). She also took pleasure in bleeding her victims. Some were struck with needles; most were cut and slashed. It also was reported that Bathory drank some of her victims' blood and bathed in the blood to keep herself young, but Raymond McNally, in *Dracula Was a Woman*, argues that there was no direct evidence produced at the trial that Bathory drank blood or bathed in it, although almost all later reports of Bathory's activities emphasize those two acts (1983, 82). After the trials, four of the countess's associates were executed, but because of her aristocratic connections and relationship to the royal and noble houses of Hungary, Poland, and Transylvania, she was spared execution but imprisoned in her castle for life. She died in 1614, and after her death the records of her trial were sealed by order of Hungarian authorities.

In the early eighteenth century, however, a Jesuit priest, Laszlo Turoczy, discovered some of the documents about her and published a story of her life. His narrative was adapted and translated, usually with additions and embellishments. Bathory has been infamous ever since, and some scholars, including Ray McNally, believe her activities served as a source for Bram Stoker as he was writing *Dracula*. In particular, McNally in *Dracula was a Woman: In Search of the Blood Countess of Transylvania* (1983) sees the Bathory connection as the reason Stoker moved the original setting of *Dracula* from Austria to Transylvania and included Dracula's appearing younger after each feeding.

The Bathory legend has inspired numerous films, including *I Vampiri* (1957), *Countess Dracula* (1970), *Daughters of Darkness* (1971), *Legend of Blood Castle* (1972), *Curse of the Devil* (1973), *Immortal Tales* (1974), *Thirst* (1979), and *The Mysterious Death of Nina Chereau* (1987).

Of course, Bram Stoker's *Dracula* has also had a crucial role in influencing the development of the female vampire during the last one hundred years. Although significant, the influence of Ligeia, Christobel, Madaline Usher, Elizabeth Bathory, and even Carmilla are secondary to that of Stoker's female vampires, who dominate the third chapter of his novel and were first transferred to the screen and the popular imagination by Tod Browning in his famous 1931 adaptation of *Dracula* for Universal Pictures. The confrontation between Jonathan Harker and the three vampire women, often incorrectly referred to as "the Brides of Dracula," draws on the earlier gothic conventions but dramatizes them in one spectacular scene. It is worth looking at the entire scene from the novel.

Writing in his diary at Castle Dracula on the morning of May 16 after his encounter with the three strange women, Jonathan Harker recalls leaving his rooms in Dracula's castle and falling asleep in what appears to be a lady's room. He awakes with a start and observes:

> I was not alone. The room was the same, unchanged in any way since I came into it; I could see along the floor, in the brilliant moonlight, my own footsteps marked where I had disturbed the long accumulation of dust. In the moonlight opposite me were three young women, ladies by their dress and manner. I thought at the time I must be dreaming when I saw them, for, though the

moonlight was behind them, they threw no shadow on the floor. They came close to me, and looked at me for some time, and then whispered together. Two were dark, and had high acquiline noses, like the Count, and great dark, piercing eyes that seemed to be almost red when contrasted with the pale yellow moon. The other was fair, as fair as can be, with great wavy masses of golden hair and eyes like pale sapphires. I seemed somehow to know her face, and to know it in connection with some dreamy fear, but I could not recollect at the moment how or where. All three had brilliant white teeth that shone like pearls against the ruby of their voluptuous lips. There was something about them that made me uneasy, some longing and at the same time some deadly fear. I felt in my heart some wicked, burning desire that they should kiss me with those red lips. It is not good to note this down, lest some day it should meet Mina's eyes and cause her pain; but it is the truth. They whispered together, and then they all three laughed—such a silvery musical laugh, but as hard as though the sound never could have come through the softness of human lips. It was like the intolerable, tingling sweetness of water-glasses when played on by a cunning hand. The fair girl shook her head coquettishly, and the other two urged her on. One said:—

"Go on. You are the first and we shall follow; yours is the right to begin." The other added:—

"He is young and strong; there are kisses for us all." I lay quiet, looking out under my eyelashes in an agony of delightful anticipation. The fair girl advanced and bent over me till I could feel the movement of her breath upon me. Sweet it was in one sense, honey-sweet, and sent the same tingling through the nerves as her voice, but with a bitter underlying the sweet, the bitter of offensiveness, as one smells in blood.

I was afraid to raise my eyelids, but looked out and saw perfectly under the lashes. The girl went on her knees, and bent over me simply gloating. There was a deliberate voluptuousness which was both thrilling and repulsive, and as she arched her neck she actually licked her lips like an animal, till I could see in the moonlight the moisture shining on the scarlet lips and on the red tongue

> as it lapped the white sharp teeth. Lower and lower went her head as the lips went below the range of my mouth and chin and seemed about to fasten on my throat. Then she paused, and I could hear the churning sound of her tongue as it licked her teeth and lips and could feel the hot breath on my neck. Then the skin of my throat began to tingle as one's flesh does when the hand that is to tickle it approaches nearer—nearer. I could feel the soft, shivering touch of the lips on the super-sensitive skin of my throat, and the hard dents of two sharp teeth, just touching and pausing there. I closed my eyes in a languorous ecstasy and waited—waited with beating heart. (Stoker 1897, 38–39)

Almost every serious *Dracula* scholar has commented upon this rich, ambiguous and erotic scene, noting Jonathan Harker's attraction and repulsion, the "agony of delightful anticipation" and the "deliberate voluptuousness which was both thrilling and repulsive," clearly erotic elements in the approach of the three vampires—obviously ladies by their dress and manner—and the explicit sexuality of the fair lady's kneeling and kissing Harker. In fact, the kneeling and kissing has engendered an ongoing critical debate among *Dracula* scholars, some seeing it as an obvious reference to fellatio, others interpreting it as a set stage device borrowed by Stoker from his years of association with Henry Irving and the Victorian theater. Either interpretation is possible. The scene is rich in melodrama, sexuality, and horror. It also provides a perfect miniature portrait of the female vampire and the ambiguous response by the male character, and presumably both male and female readers. The three ladies are mysterious, sensual, seductive, and threatening. Harker is both fascinated and horrified by the erotic and and mysterious possibilities suggested by a nighttime encounter with three ladies. This scene suggests, of course, the invitation of the forbidden; everything that the patriarchal, Victorian world, represented by the proper English solicitor Jonathan Harker, denies is offered. In many of the representations of the female vampire in the twentieth century, what is denied women by the culture—authority, sexuality, independence—will be emphasized, as it is in this crucial scene from Stoker's novel. In fact, it is possible to read this scene and other depictions of the female vampire in completely different ways. In the traditional interpre-

tation, the female vampire, who threatens to disrupt, in a more personal way than the male vampire, the conventions of a patriarchal and authoritarian society by breaking all of the conventions of appropriate gender behavior, represents the object of the sadistic male gaze. On the other hand, Rhona Berenstein, in *Attack of the Leading Ladies: Gender, Sexuality and Spectatorship in Classic Horror Cinema* (1996), argues that women as well as men gaze upon the action, that horror provides an opportunity for a variety of forms of gender behavior, and that as a result the female vampire is far more than an object to be gazed upon in a sadistic manner and then destroyed (44–50). She is a symbol of freedom from the conventions established by Western culture.

Two film adaptations of *Dracula*, Tod Browning's 1931 *Dracula* and Francis Ford Coppola's 1992 *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, demonstrate alternate approaches to filming this scene. In Browning's *Dracula*, it is the character of Renfield rather than Jonathan Harker who travels to Transylvania and Castle Dracula to conduct real estate business with the Count. Browning presents the events in Castle Dracula—Renfield's welcome, the famous dinner scene, and the confrontation with the female vampires—as taking place in one evening. In Browning's version, three strange women approach a horrified rather than an aroused Renfield, only to be repelled by Dracula, who has returned to claim Renfield for himself before the three ladies can reach him. In Browning's adaptation, the strangeness of female vampires is emphasized. Their eroticism, which is the main subject of the scene, is downplayed dramatically, and their submissiveness to Dracula undercuts the power they possess in Stoker's novel and in some of the later adaptations.

Coppola directs the same scene in a different manner. In *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, the confrontation between Harker and the "brides of Dracula" is one of the most dramatic scenes in the film. Coppola includes significant parts of Stoker's dialogue, and provides the "brides" with sensuous costumes that are a cross between the diaphanous gowns of Greek legend and the robes depicted in the work of the French artist Mucha. Coppola's scene is also more graphic, showing a four-way kiss and Harker's overtly sexual response, including orgiastic writhings on a large bed. In addition, when Dracula returns, his ladies challenge him with the assertion that he "never loved," before leaving Harker for Dracula's offering, a newborn child. Coppola's female vampires are far more erotic, confident, and assertive than Browning's. They establish that there

are other sources of attraction and authority in the film, and they foreshadow the eroticism of both Lucy and Mina. In most other adaptations of *Dracula*, the role of the "brides" is diminished or omitted entirely. In the Hammer Films *Dracula* series, for example, the conflict between Dracula and Van Helsing is central, and nearly all female characters are displaced to the margins of the narratives, taking on the role of helpless victims and/or helpless assistants. In the Hammer *Dracula* series, female vampires, as well as all other female characters, tend to be mere objects, as the central conflict in the films is the confrontation between the authoritarian vampire and the patriarchal vampire hunter.

More central to the *Dracula* adaptations is the role of Lucy Westenra, the friend of Mina Harker who is turned into a vampire by Dracula and then preys on children as the mysterious "boofer lady" (Cockney pronunciation for "beautiful lady") until she is destroyed by Van Helsing and Arthur Holmwood. Lucy Westenra, or the light of the West, the representation of all that Victorian culture held dear, is a significant character in *Dracula* because she draws together all the major characters. She is Dracula's victim, Mina's friend, Van Helsing's patient, and the object of the affection of three suitors: Arthur Holmwood, soon to be Lord Godalming; Doctor John Seward; and the American Quincy Morris. In addition, she provides a contrast to the novel's heroine, Mina Harker. Lucy, especially in the film adaptations, is more openly sexual than Mina, and once she is infected by Dracula's bite, her openly aggressive sexuality becomes a threat to the Victorian community. Coppola establishes Lucy's potential for sexuality even before her turning, showing her appreciation of pornography—graphic illustrations of the *Kama Sutra*—and her openly sexual flirtation with all of her suitors. After the encounter with Dracula, her sexuality is even more obvious, and open female sexuality was a clear threat to patriarchal Victorian society. This threat is met when Van Helsing organizes the men to hunt Lucy and, in a sexually and violently graphic scene, drive a stake through her body, at which moment Lucy's aggressive, fiendish grin disappears and a sweet, innocent expression returns. The reimposition of male authority by a violent assault on Lucy is clear in Stoker's description of Lucy's staking:

> The Thing in the coffin writhed; and a hideous, blood-curdling screech came from the opened red lips. The body shook and quivered and twisted in wild contortions;

> the sharp white teeth champed together till the lips were cut, and the mouth was smeared with a crimson foam. But Arthur never faltered. He looked like a figure of Thor as his arm rose and fell, driving deeper and deeper the mercy-bearing stake, whilst the blood from the pierced heart welled and spurted up about it. His face was set, and high duty seemed to shine through it; the sight of it gave us courage so that our voices seemed to ring through the little vault. (1897, 227–28)

Lucy's fate is illustrative of the relationship between male and female in Stoker's novel. Both of Lucy's transformations, Dracula's turning her into a vampire and Van Helsing's returning her to humanity, involve penetrating violations of her body and are, clearly, described as rape. Dracula, of course, bites her neck, and Van Helsing supervises the staking through her heart. In both situations she is acted upon by powerful older men who use her for their own ends. Even as a vampire, she is unable to confront adult males; she feeds on children, and her attempt to seduce her husband fails.

As J. Gordon Melton notes in *The Vampire Book: An Encyclopedia of the Undead* (1994), the character of Lucy has received unequal treatment in the adaptations of *Dracula* (177). She is dropped from *Nosferatu*, the Hamilton Deane play, and the Deane/Balderston collaboration; she returns, in a badly edited subplot, in Tod Browning's *Dracula*; and she is transformed into Jonathan Harker's fiancée in Hammer Films' *Horror of Dracula*. In both the Jack Palance (1973) and Frank Langella (1979) versions of *Dracula*, Lucy is restored to her central position, and in Francis Ford Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (1992), the character of Lucy is emphasized.

In Coppola's adaptation, the sexual nature of the vampire is foregrounded. Lucy's turning by Dracula is portrayed as a sexual initiation and awakening, and her staking by Arthur Holmwood clearly is portrayed as a violent assault. Coppola's adaptation, following Stoker's novel, suggests that Lucy can be vampirized and then must be destroyed or put back in her proper place, because she is willing and capable of embracing her sexuality. As a result she threatens all of the men in the film and serves as a bad role model for Mina, the film's "good" woman.

The female vampires based on *Dracula*, despite representing sexual assertiveness, defiance of patriarchal authority, and inde-

pendence, play secondary roles in the narratives, as they do in Stoker's novel. Some adaptations omit them altogether. In other vampire films, roles are reversed.

As mentioned earlier, Hammer Films produced three films in the early 1970s based on J. Sheridan Le Fanu's "Carmilla." The first was *The Vampire Lovers* (1970), a relatively faithful adaptation of Le Fanu's work. Hammer Films executives realized that although vampire films had retained their popularity, the Hammer *Dracula* series had run short of new ideas and new audiences. The Christopher Lee films were moving ever farther away from Stoker's original conception, and the changes in audience expectations and rating systems in both Great Britain and the United States allowed for the depiction of more explicit material. *The Vampire Lovers*, directed by Roy Ward Baker and based on a Tudor Gates, Harry Fine, and Michael Style adaptation of "Carmilla," was intended as a more erotic vampire film than the later Christopher Lee *Dracula* movies. In this film veteran horror actress Ingrid Pitt portrays the female vampire Countess Mircalla Karnstein, who, after being awakened, returns to her ancestral estate and attacks two beautiful young women, Laura and Emma, whom she finds living there. Eventually she is discovered and tracked down by a group of male vampire hunters led by the patriarchal General Von Spielsdorf, played, in the traditional Van Helsing manner, by Peter Cushing. The countess is eventually trapped and beheaded in a chapel, reestablishing the order of church and state threatened by the appearance of an openly sexual female vampire. Director Baker combines graphic violence, a gothic setting, criticism of male authority, and lesbianism in his adaptation of "Carmilla." The result is a film that has the impact of some of the early Hammer horror films, and *The Vampire Lovers* was a success for Hammer. *Lust for a Vampire* (1971) was a quickly produced sequel to *The Vampire Lovers* that borrows the Karnstein name but little from "Carmilla." As they had with the *Dracula* films, Hammer executives quickly exploited their new vampiric success. In this film Countess Karnstein is revived again, following the example of Chistopher Lee's Dracula, who was destroyed at the end of each film only to rise again at the beginning of the next. She enrolls in a private girls' school in which she seduces beautiful young virgins, turning them into vampires. She eventually kills her loyal servant and lover. The film ends as she is discovered and impaled by a burning ceiling rafter. Originally intended to star Peter Cushing under Terence

Fisher's direction, *Lust for a Vampire* captures little of the power of *The Vampire Lovers*.

Twins of Evil (1972), the third film in Hammer's "Carmilla" series, is far more successful. Screenwriter Tudor Gates combined material from Le Fanu's story with a witch-hunting narrative, and the result is an effective horror film. In this film the vampire Countess Karnstein is revived by the latest Count Karnstein in an attempt to communicate with the devil. Beautiful twins are attacked by the countess, who is eventually destroyed by Gustav Weil, played by Peter Cushing, the leader of a witch-hunting group called The Brotherhood, a secret male society determined to destroy such threats to authority as witchcraft, lesbianism, and vampirism. In a variation on the theme of reimposition of patriarchal authority and revenge, Weil is killed by the evil Count Karnstein. Both Cushing's performance and the production ~~s~~et design and camera work ~~a~~re exceptional in this film. *Twins of Evil* is a relatively unknown film that is well worth the attention of students of the undead.

Although Hammer Films borrowed from "Carmilla" for source material for the Karnstein Trilogy, other filmmakers had used the source before. The first was German director Carl Dryer, in his famous *Vampyr* (1932). *Vampyr* tells the story of a young man's encounter with a female vampire who is menacing a small European village. Dryer and cinematographer Rudolph Mate use the basic elements of "Carmilla" to create a hauntingly atmospheric tale of terror. Dryer, drawing on his expressionistic background, employs a subjective camera to pull viewers into the film. Especially effective is a scene in which the viewer sees the action from inside a coffin. The result is a film that, despite a lack of visual horror, captures the atmosphere of unease at the heart of the best vampire films.

Another equally well-made adaptation is Roger Vadim's *Blood and Roses* (1960). Vadim, who had previously directed *And God Created Woman* and would later direct *Barbarella* and *Pretty Maids All in a Row*, set out to faithfully adapt Le Fanu's novella, and to a surprising degree he succeeded. In general, Vadim follows the basic story of "Carmilla," but in this film Carmilla is possessed by the spirit of Mircalla, an ancient vampire. While possessed, she seduces her cousin's beautiful young fiancé before she accidentally falls upon a wooden stake that pierces her heart. *Blood and Roses* downplays the patriarchal revenge of the original narrative and emphasizes the lesbian elements of "Carmilla." As a result, both

British and American censors demanded serious cuts in Vadim's material. Nevertheless, like *Vampyr*, *Blood and Roses* is a well filmed and effective adaptation of Le Fanu.

All of the adaptations of "Carmilla" emphasize the seductive eroticism of the original, often making the lesbian elements of the story the films' focus. The female vampire in the "Carmilla" films is younger, more attractive, and more sexually active than the representations of Dracula, but she is also a character clearly outside of the accepted norms of traditional Western culture: she is not only undead, she is a lesbian or a bisexual and sexually aggressive. As a result, these female vampires, although seen as physically desirable, are destroyed at the end of their films. The "Carmilla" adaptations can be read in two different ways, as Rhona Berenstein (1996) suggested in regard to the female characters in the classic Universal Pictures horror films. On one hand, the destruction of the lesbian and/or bisexual female vampires reasserts male imposed order and authority, reaffirming conventional cultural attitudes about the roles of men and women in society. On the other hand, the positive depiction of attractive lesbian and/or bisexual female vampires, at least for part of each film, suggests that alternative forms of behavior and belief are possible. It is also worth noting that it is in the often-dismissed vampire film that such serious questions of gender roles can be raised, although in a carefully masked manner. The vampire film, with its distancing of the action from the audience through the use of gothic setting and the other conventions of the horror genre, has become a vehicle for the transmission of alternative ideologies and the source of serious cultural debate.

The life of Elizabeth Bathory also provided filmmakers with a source for a series of female vampire films emphasizing lesbian and bisexual behavior. The Bathory films, like those based on "Carmilla," vary significantly in quality. Perhaps the best is *Daughters of Darkness* (1971), a multinational production directed by Harry Kumel and based on Michael Parry's novel, *Countess Dracula* (1971). *Daughters of Darkness* is considered one of the most successful films dealing with lesbian vampirism, and it is an intelligent and atmospheric vampire film, in fact one of the best of the many vampire films made in the early 1970s.

Daughters of Darkness is a serious and visually stunning film that is both erotic and horrific. It depicts a contemporary Elizabeth Bathory who has survived for hundreds of years as a vampire. With

her lover and companion, Ilona, she visits a Belgian seaside resort, where she meets a newly married couple. Bathory and Ilona set out to seduce the couple, discovering in the process that the husband is a sadist. Sexual ambiguity pervades *Daughters of Darkness*, as all of the characters attempt to seduce and betray each other. In the end, death comes to all. *Daughters of Darkness* , despite its modern setting, captures the emotional center of "Carmilla" in its suggestion that that manipulation and power rather than love is at the heart of relationships.

A more traditional adaptation is Hammer Films' *Countess Dracula* (1970), in which the veteran horror actress Ingrid Pitt portrayed Elizabeth Bathory in a traditional Hammer gothic horror film, complete with pseudo period costumes and gothic settings. The other films based on or influenced by Bathory, *I Vampiri*, *Legend of Blood Castle*, *Curse of the Devil*, *Immortal Tales*, *Thirst*, and *The Mysterious Death of Nina Chereau*, are less significant.

Although nearly all of the films featuring female vampires end with the restoration of traditional values and the destruction of the vampire ~~a~~fter, of course, a narrative full of forbidden behaviors to be enjoyed by the audience ~~s~~everal of the films mentioned, especially *Daughters of Darkness* and *Blood and Roses*, are sympathetic in their depiction of female vampires. Several recent films have used the figure of the female vampire as a possible positive image for women, and in doing so they contribute to the development of the more sympathetic vampire, the central character in the developing genre of the dark romance.

In her introduction to *Daughters of Darkness: Lesbian Vampire Stories,* Pam Keesey notes that *Blood and Roses* is a pioneering film in that it presents a narrative in which lesbianism is portrayed in a positive manner and heterosexuality is "abnormal and ineffectual" (1993, 14). Similar depictions occur in *Vampyres* (1974), in which a lesbian couple is killed by a homophobic man and returns as man-attacking vampires; *The Mark of Lillith* (1986); and *Because of the Dawn* (1988).

Two additional contemporary films depicting positive female vampires, *The Hunger* (1983) and *Innocent Blood* (1992), deserve special attention. *The Hunger*, based on a novel by Witley Strieber, was directed by Tony Scott. The MGM/United Artists film was well financed, and as a result there is a first-rate cast that performs well in this visually stunning narrative. Catherine Deneuve plays Miriam Baylock, a beautiful, ageless, bisexual vampire living in

New York City with John Blaylock, played by David Bowie. Bowie, who had been turned by Deneuve, has begun to experience rapid aging, the fate of all of Deneuve's previous vampire lovers. Bowie attempts to get gerontologist Susan Sarandon to help stop the rapid aging. The attempt fails, and Bowie continues to age terribly, until Deneuve places him in a storage room with all her previous lovers. Deneuve then, in a well-filmed erotic scene, seduces Sarandon, who turns on Deneuve, however, and locks her away with all her rotting, undead lovers. Unlike most vampire films, *The Hunger* depicts not only the violence and eroticism of vampire life but also the isolation and despair of an undead existence. Deneuve's Miriam Baylock is such a sympathetic character that the film moves toward the boundary between horror and tragedy. In *The Hunger* Tony Scott has created a film that forces viewers to reexamine attitudes toward horror and vampirism.

An equally effective stretching of the horror genre occurs in Warner's *Innocent Blood* (1992), directed by John Landis. *Innocent Blood* is part horror film, part gangster film, and part comedy; unlike most multigenre films, *Innocent Blood* manages to keep all the elements in balance. The film's plot is relatively simple. Marie, a beautiful young female vampire living in Pittsburgh, feeds only on evil men. In the mood for "some Italian," she bites but fails to kill a local Mafia boss, Sallie the Shark. He turns into a vampire and quickly realizes the advantages of being an undead don, turning his lawyer and bodyguards into vampires as well in an attempt to create an unbeatable crime family. With the help of a handsome undercover policeman, Maria eventually destroys the don.

Innocent Blood works for several reasons. First, Landis skillfully draws on the conventions of both gangster and horror films. Second, the cast of Anne Parillaud, Robert Loggia, and Don Rickles turns in strong performances. Most important, however, is the character of the female vampire. Marie, although undead, is no longer an outcast creature of darkness; she is, in fact, a dark avenging angel, killing only those who deserve death and mortified when she unintentionally creates another vampire. She is attractive, intelligent, strong, witty, and honest. She does have an unusual diet, however. In this depiction the female vampire is a role model rather than an outcast, and audiences are expected to both sympathize and identify with her. In Marie, female vampires have moved from the margin to the mainstream.

In a number of ways, the representation of the female vampire in film has paralleled that of the male vampire; what was at first horrific with an undercurrent of sexual attraction has become more familiar and more attractive, although still dangerous. John Landis's Marie and Tony Scott's Miriam Baylock are attractive and sympathetic female characters whose vampirism is part of their makeup; they are not mere monsters. A similar comment can be made about Francis Ford Coppola's Dracula and Anne Rice's Lestat and Louis. During the past century, the distance between vampire and audiences has narrowed.

6

CONCLUSIONS: A CENTURY OF DRACULAS

"We have no proofs. We ask none to believe us!"
—Jonathan Harker, *Dracula*

Bram Stoker's king vampire, Dracula, has been alive, or at least undead, for a century, lurking in the pages of countless reprints and adaptations and haunting movie and television screens throughout the world, equally at home in Romania, America, and Japan, adopting the conventions of every country he visits. He is far more popular one hundred years after his creation than he has ever been, appearing in an almost infinite number of formats—breakfast food spokesman, comic book hero, mathematics teacher, Halloween symbol—and there are no signs that his ability to attract large audiences will decrease after the dawn of the new millennium. Some horrors never die; they simply adapt to their changing environment and reproduce themselves in an almost infinite variety of shapes. Such is Dracula on the centennial of his first appearance; he is both a monster and a romantic hero, two images reflected in the mirror of popular culture.

The popularity of the vampire in contemporary culture is reflected in the critical interest in the undead. Much of the contemporary critical inquiry about vampires in general and Dracula in particular attempts to explain the phenomenal popularity of the vampire, its continually changing nature, and the expanding role of horror narratives in the popular culture. Drawing on the work of a number of scholars from a variety of disciplines, Ken Gelder, in the conclusion to his insightful study *Reading the Vampire*, attempts to explain why the vampire has survived so long. Gelder notes that the figure of the vampire has a host of meanings in the culture. First, the vampire represents the foreign or unassimilated in the culture, while at the same time offering a "mediation" between "what is beyond culture (nature, the folk, rustic superstitions) and what is culturally definitive (the nation, society, science)" (1994, 141). In addition, the vampire is an "uncanny" figure, simultaneously unfamiliar and familiar. Gelder observes that in order to deal with the vampire's difference, the early vampire narratives employed "structures of management" that were conceived in sexual terms "to place the creature beyond culture even as culture found itself drawn towards it" (1994, 141). Next, Gelder observes that both early and later vampire narratives placed the figure of the vampire, a representation of the unassimilated, alien, or "queer" figure in a "sexually inflected struggle between youth subcultures or 'cults' (located 'beyond' culture) and the family (which is in the culture)" (1994, 141). Finally, Gelder asserts that

> the fantasies of paranoia that these fictions entertain often work, in fact, by shifting from a conventional view of the vampire as culturally marginal (of little social significance, confined to low cultural forms) to a recognition that the vampire is not only central to culture but may even be (re)constructing it in its own image-~~or~~ vice versa. (1994, 142)

Similarly, Nina Auerbach notes that vampires are an ongoing and meaningful cultural presence:

> Individual vampires may die; after almost a century, even Dracula may be feeling his mortality, but as a species vampires have been our companions for so long that it is hard to imagine living without them. They promise

> escape from our dull lives and the pressure of our times, but they matter because when properly understood, they make us see that our lives are implicated by theirs and our times are inescapable. (1982, 8–9)

Auerbach's announcement of Dracula's potential demise is rather premature, as the preceeding pages demonstrate, but her assessment of the popularity of the vampire is correct, and Dracula remains the best-known vampire in the worlds of either the living or the undead. One reason for the continued popularity of Bram Stoker's vampire is that in writing *Dracula* Stoker was able to call on a variety of valuable resources, and as a result produced a text rich in ambiguities, a text that has resisted simple readings. Many works of horror fiction invite simple readings with one-dimensional characters stereotypical conflicts. In fact, because of the repetition of formula elements that appear in many works of horror ~~a~~nd in many works of vampire fiction and film ~~m~~many critics have dismissed the entire genre of horror fiction and horror films. But *Dracula*, despite being dismissed as a mere thriller, just a horror novel, sensational trash, or, perhaps most revealing, only a product of the popular culture, is a well-written, complex novel combining elements of travel literature, gothic fiction, cultural critique, satire, and, of course, horror. *Dracula* is also a novel that continues to engage readers and invite interpretations and adaptations. In fact, a number of perceptive readers have seen in Stoker's use of multiple points of view ~~h~~his use of notes, letters, and diaries to tell his tale ~~a~~an early example of modernist fiction. Other critics, equally perceptive, have placed Stoker's use of those same devices within the mainstream of the gothic tradition. *Dracula* continues to confound and confuse. Despite one hundred years of close observation, commentary and criticism, *Dracula* has remained undead for a century, never out of print, continually adapted, and always fascinating to readers.

Stoker himself recognized the dramatic possibilites of his novel, staging a public reading in Dublin shortly after the book's publication, to secure the novel's theatrical copyright. Other attentive readers and eager adapters quickly followed. In 1920 a Hungarian film entitled *Drakula*, now lost, but perhaps an adaptation of Stoker's work or an early film biography of Vlad the Impaler, was released. In 1922 German expressionist F. W. Murnau adapted, without permission, Stoker's novel, transforming it into the silent

film classic *Nosferatu: Eine Symphonie des Grauens* (Nosferatu: A Symphony of Horror) in which Dracula became Count Orlock, a personification of plague and disease. Florence Stoker, recognizing that her husband's most popular novel and most valuable copyright had been violated, sued to have all prints of *Nosferatu* destroyed (but destroying a vampire is more difficult than she could imagine, and despite the efforts of the British courts, *Nosferatu* survived). To ensure a proper return on her late husband's intellectual property, she agreed to let British playwright Hamilton Deane adapt *Dracula* for the English stage.

Deane's play premiered in Derby in 1925, successfully toured the British provinces, and eventually opened in London at the Little Theater in 1927. Florence Stoker sold the American rights of the play to Horace Liveright, who hired John Balderston to adapt Deane's stage play, and the Deane/Balderston adaptation opened at the Fulton Theater on Broadway in October 1927, starring a little-known Hungarian actor named Bela Lugosi in the title role.

In 1930 Universal Pictures purchased all rights to the novel and the stage play. Producer Carl Laemmle hired Tod Browning to direct the film and eventually settled on Bela Lugosi to reprise his stage role as Dracula. In 1931 Universal Pictures' *Dracula* was released to popular success but mixed critical notices, mirroring the reception of both Stoker's novel and the British play, and prefiguring the reception of nearly all of the *Dracula* adaptations. It seems that works of horror, and particularly vampire narratives, have had until recently more credibility with the public than with the critics. Lugosi's portrayal of Dracula as a seductive foreign aristocrat dressed in cape and evening clothes defined Dracula and the film vampire for decades.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s a number of actors portrayed Dracula-inspired vampires, almost all donning versions of Bela Lugosi's cape and character. Lon Chaney, Jr., John Carradine, and Francis Lederer all created Draculas in the Lugosi tradition, foreign aristocratic patriarchs threatening middle-class virtues and values with the seductions of power and sensuality. In 1958 the image of Dracula changed forever with the release of Hammer Films' *Dracula* (*Horror of Dracula* in the United States).

Hammer Films' popular *Dracula* transformed the popular conception of Bram Stoker's vampire. Starring Christopher Lee as Dracula and Peter Cushing as Professor Van Helsing, the Hammer *Dracula* dispensed with the stage formalities of the Deane/Balder-

ston script and the Universal/Lugosi adaptation and emphasized the violent and erotic elements of Stoker's novel. Lee portrayed Dracula as a powerful, erotic predator, and Cushing played Van Helsing as a thoroughly professional vampire hunter. The confrontation between the two characters, in a highly stylized, colorful gothic setting, recreated popular interest in *Dracula*, an interest that Hammer Films exploited in a series of *Dracula* adaptations during the 1960s and 1970s.

Lee's modern portrayal of Stoker's Count Dracula defined the vampire during three decades, relegating the Lugosi interpretation to historical interest. From 1958 through 1974, Hammer Films produced an entire series of *Dracula* films: *Dracula* (1958), *Brides of Dracula* (1960); *Dracula, Prince of Darkness* (1965); *Dracula Has Risen from the Grave* (1968), *Taste the Blood of Dracula* (1969), *Scars of Dracula* (1970), *Dracula A.D. 1972* (1972), and *The Satanic Rites of Dracula* (1973). In addition, Lee played the role of Dracula in *El Conde Dracula* (1972), a non-Hammer production that attempted, unsuccessfully, to portray Dracula as Stoker had created him.

Christopher Lee's dramatic presence transformed both Dracula in particular and vampires in general. Lee's Dracula combined aggressive authoritarianism with eroticism, fusing violence and sexuality far more explicitly than Bela Lugosi and Universal Studios were able to do in the 1930s. As a result, all vampires became related, especially in the public imagination, to Lee's Dracula, and vampires also became terribly popular.

One indication of the vampire's new popularity is the increase in its appearances in the last forty years. In the past several decades, vampires, led by Dracula, have been seen everywhere; and as they have become more familiar, they have become less fearsome; familiarity has bred comfort. Dracula has been shifting shape again.

One of the first places to unearth the new vampire is in contemporary horror fiction. Numerous writers have chronicled the adventures of the postmodern predator. Such writers as Brian Aldiss, Scott Baker, Elaine Bergstrom, Tanya Huff, Robert Lory, Brian Lumley, Peter Tremayne, and Terri Wright, among others, have created sympathetic and/or self-aware vampires whose struggles with their peculiar conditions mirror readers' uncertainties with their own. In the works of these skilled writers, the condition of the vampire has become a metaphor for the human condition. Even more influential has been the work of four successful novelists who

have explored vampire territory extensively in successful series of novels: Chelsea Quinn Yarbro, Fred Sabergahen, Nancy Collins, and Anne Rice.

Chelsea Quinn Yarbro, the author of over thirty novels, has been influential in establishing the conventions of contemporary vampire fiction. In her popular series about the vampires Count St. Germain and Olivia—*Hotel Transylvania* (1978), *The Palace* (1978), *Blood Games* (1979), *Path of the Eclipse* (1981), *Tempting Fate* (1984), *The St. Germaine Chronicles* (1983), *A Flame in Byzantium* (1987), and *Crusader's Torch* (1988)—Yarbro downplays the religious elements of the vampire tradition, disregarding the significance of hosts, holy water, crucifixes, and sin. She makes traditional religious figures such as priests and monks, usually the heroes of the vampire narrative, her villains. She portrays her vampires as intelligent characters with acute sexual awareness and conditional immortality, figures who are aware of their own limitations and powers. Yarbro's vampires are always the most humane characters in her novels.

Fred Saberhagen became a popular science fiction writer with his famous Beserker series. Like Yarbro, Saberhagen began to rethink the basic assumptions and conventions of vampire narratives, eventually asserting that Dracula is the hero of Stoker's novel, an interpretation shared by more than a few readers. The result of that assertion is a series of novels in which an intelligent, powerful, and caring Dracula struggles to help humans. Saberhagen's series—*The Dracula Tape* (1975), *Dominion* (1982), *The Holmes-Dracula File* (1978), *A Matter of Taste* (1992), *An Old Friend of the Family* (1979), *A Question of Time* (1992), and *Thorn* (1980)—celebrates a Dracula proud of his vampiric state but clearly a hero, not a monster. In these novels Dracula is an intelligent friend of mankind who offers his services to combat forces far darker than vampires.

Nancy Collins's Midnight Blue novels—*Sunglasses after Dark* (1990), *In the Blood* (1992), and *Paint It Black*—depict a vampire world that mirrors the horrors of the real world and an angry, intelligent female vampire who is out of place in both. Sonja Blue is a strong, independent character at war with herself and the vampires around her.

The most influential of the contemporary vampire mythologists is, without a doubt, Anne Rice, whose Vampire Chronicles—*Interview with the Vampire* (1986), *The Vampire Lestat* (1985), *Queen of the Damned* (1988), *The Tale of the Body Thief* (1992), and *Memnoch*

the Devil (1994) developed a complete dark universe in which vampires, humans, demons, and spirits coexist. Rice's vampires, especially her charismatic vampire hero Lestat, are powerful, intelligent, erotic figures who are aware of both their possibilities and their limitations. In the Vampire Chronicles, Rice created a complete vampire mythos that explained the origin of the vampires, outlined their history, and suggested their future, and in doing so she popularized the vampire as a romantic figure, helping to create, along with a number of recent vampire films, the emerging genre of the dark romance, in which the agonies of the self-aware vampire are representative of the agonies of those living in a confused Western culture at the end of the second millennium.

During the 1970s, filmmakers also explored new interpretations of traditional vampire stories. One of the earliest films to attempt to transform Dracula into a more sympathetic character was Dan Curtis's 1973 *Dracula* starring Jack Palance. Curtis, who had produced the famous *Dark Shadows* television series, relied on Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu's research on Vlad the Impaler and Stoker's novel more than the Deane/Balderston stage play. Curtis's film was the first to tie the fictitious Transylvanian count to the historical Wallachian prince in sympathetic manner, and in doing so established a tradition that numerous other filmmakers followed. One of the first was the BBC production *Count Dracula* (1978), starring Louis Jourdan as a clearly romantic vampire.

In 1979 three successful adaptations of *Dracula* were released. The first, *Nosferatu: The Vampire* was written, produced, and directed by German filmmaker Werner Herzog. Starring Klaus Kinski, in a recreation of Max Schreck's role in the original *Nosferatu*, Herzog's film is a carefully crafted remake of the earlier film, emphasizing the plaguelike nature of the vampire and the inevitability of contagion. Although Herzog's film was a critical success, it had little popular impact, and as a remake of Murnau's famous film did little to change the perception of the title character. The two other adaptations released in 1979, John Badham's *Dracula* and Stan Dragoti's *Love at First Bite*, helped transform the popular perception of Dracula.

John Badham's lush adaptation of Stoker's novel relied heavily on the Deane/Balderston stage play, which provided the text for the 1967 Frank Langella performance of *Dracula* in the Berkshire Theater Festival. Langella later brought the *Dracula* revival to Broadway, where it received two Tony awards. In his film Badham

emphasized the romantic aspects of Langella's stage performance, and the result was a Dracula who was less a monster than a traditional gothic hero, a character who was attractive, sensual, intelligent, but flawed. Langella's Dracula is less bloody and more romantic than the more famous Gary Oldman interpretation in Francis Ford Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula*.

Comedy is a form that assumes both familiarity and affection, and Stan Dragoti's *Love at First Bite* is an effective parody of the Dracula legend that acknowledges viewers' awareness of the conventions of the traditional vampire narrative and transforms the character of Dracula from villain to victim/hero. George Hamilton's Dracula is a nonthreatening, self-aware vampire who recognizes the humor as well as the pathos of his undead condition, and when he "gets the girl" at the end of the film, audiences approve.

By 1980s, the figure of the vampire, most familiar in the form of Dracula, had become a popular and sympathetic character in the popular culture, thanks to the well-known films of Herzog, Dragoti, and Badham and the work of novelists Rice, Saberhagen, and Yarbro. Also helping to introduce the sympathetic vampire to the culture was the publication of Radu Florescu and Raymond McNally's *In Search of Dracula* (1972), the first modern account of the historical Dracula, and such successful vampire films as *The Craving* (1980), *Life Force* (1985), *The Lost Boys* (1987), and the critically and popularly successful *The Hunger* (1983), starring Catherine Deneuve, Susan Sarandon, and David Bowie.

The best example of the new romantic vampire, other than the character of Lestat in Anne Rice's novels, is Gary Oldman's Dracula in Francis Ford Coppola's operatic *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (1992). *Bram Stoker's Dracula* was released on Halloween in 1992 and earned over $32 million in its initial weekend. It has proven to be the most expensive and successful vampire film ever made. Advertised as the first legitimate adaptation of Stoker's novel, Coppola and screenwriter James Hart's film borrowed not only from Stoker, but from most of the other screen adaptations as well. As Robert Marrero observed, Coppola's *Dracula* is an accumulation of over seventy years of *Dracula* films; it also defines the image of Dracula in the 1990s and is the prime example of the popular new genre—the dark romance, a narrative form that foregrounds the romantic elements of the traditional vampire story and pushes the horrific to the edges of the frame (1994, 160–161). In Coppola's film, as in

other dark romances, the suffering of the sensitive vampire is more important than the victims' loss of blood.

Despite Coppola's ambitious title, his *Dracula* is not a faithful adaptation of Stoker's novel. It is, as Marrero rightly noted, an attempt to pull the numerous images of Dracula together. Unfortunately, despite some excellent performances and some stunning visual images, Coppola's composite Dracula creates far more pity than fear, more sympathy than repulsion. The basic problem with Coppola's contemporary Dracula, and many of the other vampires hunting at the end of the millennium, is that he is too familiar, and familiarity cannot breed terror. Despite what is gained by making the late twentieth-century vampire a sympathetic figure, something even more important has been lost in this film, the ability to terrify. Coppola's *Bram Stoker's Dracula* creates a fascinating title character, but unlike Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, it fails to frighten.

Coppola's film is a romance, not a horror thriller, a form, according to critic Terry Heller in *The Delights of Terror*, in which "we make a kind of game out of what in our lives is deadly serious, the creation and maintenance of a self in culture. The game gives brief license to the culturally forbidden, allowing it to take form in monsters to which our responses are, inevitably, ambivalent" (1987, 85). Coppola's adaptaton of *Dracula* is actually a retelling of the "Beauty and the Beast" legend. There is little ambivalence about Dracula, as the film tells the tale of a prince turned into a monster because of his overwhelming love, a monster who eventually regains his human form and achieves salvation, through the unselfish love of a beautiful woman. This story of the sacrificial love of a beautiful, intelligent young woman for her dark and dangerous lover draws upon both historical gothic and contemporary popular romances as much as from Stoker's novel.

Perhaps one of the reasons for the emphasis on romance in *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, and other contemporary vampire narratives as well, is that many of the horrific elements of the original novel have moved from the pages of fiction to the pages of newspapers. Stoker's horror novel, according to Heller, "presents a reenactment of repression. The repressed is released in order that we may, in the guise of the implied reader, repress it again" (1987, 83). Thus the novel allowed Victorian readers to address such issues as the changing role of women, the technological revolution, imperialism, racism, threats to European culture, and the role of religion. Those issues are no longer repressed by the culture; rather, they are the

subject matter of political debate among presidential candidates and of freshman composition courses at colleges and universities. What remains, as Coppola observed, is the love story.

This is not to say that there is no life left in Dracula after a century of appearances. After all, Mel Brooks managed to bring him back in comic form in *Dracula: Dead and Loving It* in 1995, and the vampire as both character and metaphor is undead and well in the popular culture. The depiction of Dracula, however, has changed, as has his function. Modern readers and viewers are, like Stoker's "superstitious Transylvanian peasants," familar with vampires and their ways. They are, after all, part of our culture now. Dracula no longer represents the other, the alien, the repressed; instead, he represents the familiar, the acknowledged, the self. Contemporary *Dracula* narratives no longer produce terror; they evoke sympathy. One interesting question remains as we examine the many faces of Dracula at the end of his first century, and that is, has Dracula become more like us, or have we become more like Dracula?

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"There are such things as vampires; some of us have evidence they exist."

—Abraham Van Helsing, *Dracula*

FURTHER READING

Prior to the revival of interest in vampires that began in the 1950s and 1960s, which was sparked by the popularity of Hammer Films' *Dracula* series starring Christopher Lee, very little helpful or illuminating scholarship was available to either general readers or scholars interested in the creatures of the night. Most of the sources, such as Dom Augustin Calmet's *Traite sur les apparitions des esprits, et sur les vampires, ou les revenants de Hongrie, de Moravie*. . . and Montague Summers's *The Vampire: His Kith and Kin* and *The Vampire in Europe*, were esoteric studies, combining theological discussion with folkloric observation. These works accepted the reality of the vampire in history while ignoring the presence of the vampire, and Dracula, within the popular culture or the world of literature. Summers's work was perhaps the best

known and most influential of the early studies. Summers's *The Vampire* is an encyclopedic natural history that traces the vampire from ancient Near Eastern origins through classical literature into the folk life of Eastern Europe and finally into the consciousness of Western Europe. Summers describes the many possible origins of vampires, the multifarious ways to destroy vampires, theological interpretations of the meanings of vampires, and folk beliefs concerning the habits of vampires. Summers says little about the vampire in literature and art, however, as he views the creature as a natural phenomenon rather than a creation of the literary and popular culture. As did many of the other early sources, Summers accepted the vampire as part of the supernatural order of things, as real as the other spirits that lived in the premodern imagination.

When, following the popular success of Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula*, vampires began appearing with increased regularity in movie theaters, on television, and in the pages of novels and short stories, many fearless vampire scholars, following in the footsteps of Professor Van Helsing, began to hunt the vampire, its origins, its habitats, its beliefs, its strengths, its weaknesses, and its significance in the culture. The result was an explosion of interest, research, scholarship, literature, and film. Because of this interest, there now exists a body of scholarship that is as rich and complex as the subject it describes. In almost all fields of scholarly interest, from art and medicine to popular culture and literature, the vampire has moved from the margin to the mainstream. No longer a creature lurking in dark shadows or the forests of far-away places, the vampire has moved into the spotlight of the popular and critical gaze and become a central concern for Western culture in the late twentieth century. It serves as a metaphor for the human condition in the culture.

Students interested in the vampire now have access to a variety of sources, ranging in quality from slick fanzines and vampire club newsletters to substantial works of scholarship and proceedings of academic congresses sponsored by international associations. In the wealth of scholarship now available, a number of significant works deserve special mention and serious attention. All of these works recognize the earlier lack of sources and openly acknowledge the erudition and enthusiasm of the work of other researchers and scholars. Unlike some other literary disciplines, vampire studies is still a friendly field. At most conferences participants are eager to share information and insights, an attitude often lacking

when academics gather to discuss more traditional subjects. Perhaps the most useful general source of material for both serious scholars and general readers is J. Gordon Melton's well written and intelligent source, *The Vampire Book: The Encyclopedia of the Undead*. Melton provides historical, literary, biographical, folkloric, and mythological information about the vampire; his book is a excellent research tool for scholars interested in the folkloric, literary, or popular culture aspects of the vampire. It is also a wonderful source of information for the casual reader. Of special interest are Melton's excellent appendices, which provide information on vampire sources, vampire films, vampire drama, and vampire fiction. *The Vampire Book* is both a scholar's bedside guide and an enthusiast's introduction to the world of the undead; its 852 pages offer readers a treasure of information. Also useful and readable, but not as comprehensive as *The Vampire Book*, is Mathew Bunson's *The Vampire Encyclopedia,* which also provides readers with a wealth of useful information, including vampire theories and lists of organizations devoted to the creatures of the night. *The Vampire Encyclopedia* is both concise and intelligent, and offers readers a most useful source of vampire lore and folklore. Both *The Vampire Book* and *The Vampire Encyclopedia* should be on the library shelves of anyone seriously interested in any aspect of vampire studies.

Contemporary students interested in literary criticism and the study of the vampire have numerous sources of intelligent and insightful information. Among the many useful studies, a small number are essential for a thorough understanding of the vampire's history, genealogy, morphology, and role in modern literary and popular culture. Perhaps the most informative work is Margaret Carter's *Dracula: The Vampire and the Critics*, an excellent collection of major scholarly essays on Bram Stoker's famous novel and the figure of the vampire in literature. Carter's critical anthology includes many of the significant studies of *Dracula*, including Maurice Richardson's 1959 Freudian analysis and the political and ideological essays of Christopher Craft, Gail Grifton, and Burton Hatlin. Carter, who has an encyclopedic knowledge of vampire literature and scholarship as well as a taste for creative writing dealing with vampires, provides an intelligent and comprehensive introduction to the subject. *Dracula: The Vampire and the Critics* should be required reading for any serious student of Stoker's *Dracula*. Also quite useful is Clive Leatherdale's intelligent

Dracula: The Novel and the Legend, which places Stoker's novel in its historic and cultural context as well as providing a useful reading of the text. James Twitchell's *The Living Dead: A Study of the Vampire in Romantic Literature* and *Dreadful Pleasures: An Anatomy of Modern Horror* are significant literary studies from a psychological perspective. They emphasize the attractions of horror and vampires through an examination of traditional gender roles and sexual development. Twitchell asserts that vampire fiction and films provide audiences with traditional models of gender difference. His work was the most influential approach to the subject in the 1970s and 1980s, a time that saw rapid growth in the number of scholarly works on the subject of *Dracula* and vampires. Many of the more recent studies of both *Dracula* and vampire narratives are responses to Twitchell's work. Ken Gelder's insightful *Reading the Vampire* is a more recent work that draws heavily on contemporary theory, especially feminist and gay criticism, to argue that the vampire narrative, in many of its forms, is far more radical and subversive than some readers, including Twitchell, believe. In fact, Gelder argues that the vampire narrative is a subversive form, undercutting traditional gender roles and challenging the ideological underpinnings of patriarchal society. Vampires, of course, constantly shift shapes, allowing for a multiplicity of intelligent readings; that is one of their virtues.

For information on the historical Dracula, the Wallachian Voivode Vlad Tepes, who ruled in what is now Romania during the fifteenth century and who has become a patriotic icon in that country during the last half century after having been ignored for over four hundred years, the two primary scholars remain Radu Florescu and Raymond McNally, whose research pioneered an entire field of study that is now becoming a focus of multinational interest. Their three collaborations—*In Search of Dracula*; *Dracula, A Biography of Vlad the Impaler, 1431–1476* ; and *Dracula: Prince of Many Faces*—provide readers with a comprehensive biography of the "real" Dracula and a well-written history of his life and times. Although the actual connection between the historical figure of Vlad Tepes and Stoker's Count Dracula is the subject of critical debate—some scholars argue against any connection whatsoever, seeing the Vlad/Dracula identification as a mere hypothesis, while others draw historical and linguistic links between the Wallachian warlord and the Transylvanian count—the impressive scholarship of Florescu and McNally has linked the two figures in the popular

imagination and critical discourse. This research established the fifteenth-century warlord who impaled several hundred thousand people as the source for and in some cases the same character as Stoker's Transylvanian vampire count as he appears in a number of recent films and novels. Because of the work of these two Boston College professors, the Wallachian warlord is now as well known to *Dracula* fans as Bela Lugosi or Christopher Lee.

One of the most popular, productive and insightful contemporary students of *Dracula* is David Skal, and his three fine studies—*The Monster Show: A Cultural History of Horror*, *Hollywood Gothic: The Tangled Web of Dracula from Novel to Stage to Screen*, and his edition of *Dracula: The Ultimate Illustrated Edition of the World Famous Vampire Play*—provide readers with an intelligent context for the study of *Dracula*. Skal is one of the most productive and insightful cultural critics working with the field of horror today, and he is now working on a new Norton critical edition of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* that will be useful to scholars, students, and general readers. His earlier works provide an intelligent view of the history and influence of various *Dracula* texts in a variety of forms. Skal's work is especially valuable in demonstrating how *Dracula* evolved as it was transformed from fiction to drama to film, and his discussion of the significance of horror narratives in American culture is well written and insightful.

Three recent studies deserve special mention and special attention to serious students of *Dracula* and the world of the undead. The first is Nina Auerbach's excellent study *Our Vampires, Ourselves*. Auerbach charts the changing image of the vampire in its many appearances from the eighteenth century to the last decade of the twentieth century, arguing that the vampire adapts to the ever-shifting demands of the evolving popular culture. She uses vampire narratives as a way to chart over two centuries of literary and popular culture by following the figure of the vampire from the early horror figures in gothic and romantic fiction to the self-aware, conscience-stricken vampires of contemporary culture. Her study, informed by contemporary political and feminist theory, is intellgent, insightful, and well written. The second work is Barbara Belford's long-awaited biography of Bram Stoker. Her study, *Bram Stoker: A Biography of the Author of Dracula*, is the first comprehensive modern biography of Stoker, and Belford provides readers with an insightful commentary on Stokers' writing, especially *Dracula*, as well as a comprehensive presentation of Stoker's

theatrical career at the Lyceum with the famous Victorian actor Henry Irving. Earlier biographies of Stoker provided outlines of his life but ignored motivation and literary analysis. Belford employs recent literary scholarship and other newly published sources to trace the influence of the Victorian theater, especially Stoker's long relationship with Henry Irving, who dominated the British theater during the late nineteenth century, on Stoker's life and writing, especially his composition of *Dracula*. Belford recognizes, for example, the important influence on *Dracula* of such plays performed by Irving and produced by Stoker as *Faust* and *Macbeth*. The result is an excellent literary biography that illuminates both Stoker's life and his literary creations.

Numerous studies of the horror genre are now also available to scholars and students who wish to take their terrors seriously. Especially insightful are Jonathan Lake Crane's *Terror and Everyday Life*, William Patrick Day's *In the Circles of Fear and Desire: A Study of Gothic Fantasy,* Terry Heller's *The Delights of Terror*, Stephen King's *Danse Macabre*, Jerry Palmer's *Thrillers: Genesis and Structure of a Popular Genre*, Tzvetan Todorov's *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre*, and, as mentioned earlier. James Twitchell's *Dreadful Pleasures: An Anatomy of Modern Horror.* Todorov's work is the most theoretical and scholarly, providing the background for the studies of Crane and Heller. King's *Danse Macabre* is the most popular of the studies, drawing on King's experience as a creator of the horrific rather than as a theoretician, but all the works listed provide useful frames of reference for the discussion of vampire narratives.

The works mentioned are, of course, just some examples of the excellent research now available to those interested in Dracula and the world of vampires. What follows is a more comprehensive list of critical studies, fiction, and film for the edification of those interested in Dracula and other creatures of the night.

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ter University Press. A useful source combining theory with an aesthetic approach to the horror genre.

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Berenstein, Rhona. 1996. *Attack of the Leading Ladies: Gender, Sexuality and Spectatorship in Classic Horror Cinema.* New York: Columbia University Press. An intelligent analysis of gender and horror that focuses on the Universal horror films of the 1930s and 1940s. Berenstein's study is an essential work for students of the horror genre.

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Bunson, Mathew. 1993. *The Vampire Encyclopedia*. New York: Crown. One of the basic general sources for information on all aspects of the undead. Contains a wealth of information. Useful for the general reader.

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Wright, Dudley. [1914] 1973. *Vampires and Vampirism*. Reprinted. as *The Book of Vampires*. New York: Causeway. One of the most popular studies of vampires of the early twentieth century and a useful source of premodern attitudes toward the vampire.

CHRONOLOGICAL *DRACULA* FILMOGRAPHY

Drakula. Hungary, 1920. Only the title of this film exists. It may have been an adaptation of Stoker's novel.

Nosferatu: Eine Symphonie des Grauens F. W. Murnau. With Max Schreck, Gustav von Wagenheim, Greta Schroeder. Prana, Germany, 1922. The classic German, silent, unauthorized adaptation of *Dracula*. Murnau's film is one of the great *Dracula* adaptations, noted for Max Schreck's portrayal of the vampire as a monstrous, ratlike figure. An influence on many of the later adaptations.

Dracula, Tod Browning. With Bela Lugosi, Helen Chandler, Edward Van Sloan, Dwight Frye. Universal, United States, 1931. Perhaps the most famous adaptation of Stoker's novel. Adapted from the Deane/Balderston screenplay, Tod Browning's *Dracula* made Bela Lugosi the iconic representation of Stoker's vampire.

Dracula (Spanish-language version), George Melford. With Carlos Villarias, Lupita Tovar. Universal, United States, 1931. The Spanish-language version of Universal's *Dracula.* Using the same set that Tod Browning did, George Melford

created a carefully crafted *Dracula* for Spanish-speaking audiences. Rediscovered by David Skal.

Dracula's Daughter, Lambert Hillyer. With Gloria Holden, Edward Van Sloan. Universal, United States, 1936. An atmospheric film that depicts a vampire torn between her desire for blood and her guilt.

Son of Dracula, Robert Slodmak. With Lon Chaney, Jr., Louise Albritton. Universal, United States, 1943. Set in Louisiana, the film lacks the drama and spectacle of the original.

House of Frankenstein, Erle C. Kenton. With Lon Chaney, Jr., Boris Karloff, John Carradine. Columbia, United States, 1944. One of the multiple-monster movies popular in the 1940s.

Return of the Vampire, Lew Landers. With Bela Lugosi, Nina Foch. Columbia, United States, 1944. Of interest only for Lugosi's performance.

House of Dracula, Erle C. Kenton. With Lon Chaney, Jr., John Carradine. Columbia, United States, 1945. Another classic multiple-monster film.

Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein, Charels T. Barton. With Bud Abbott, Lou Costello, Lon Chaney, Jr., Bela Lugosi. Universal, United States, 1948. The most interesting of the multiple-monster movies of the 1940s, combining comedy and horror.

Drakula Istanbula, Mehmet Muhtar. With Atif Kaptan. Turkey, 1952. Although set in Istanbul, this is a relatively faithful adapation of Stoker's novel.

The Return of Dracula, Paul Landres. With Francis Lederer. United Artists/Gramercy, United States, 1957. The first serious *Dracula* in a decade. Lederer is an effective vampire.

El Vampiro, Fernando Mendez. With German Robles. Cinematografica, Mexico, 1957.

Blood of Dracula, Herbert L. Strock. With Sandra Harrison. Carmel, United States, 1957.

Horror of Dracula aka *Dracula*, Terence Fisher. With Christopher Lee, Peter Cushing. Hammer, United Kingdom, 1958. One of the best of the *Dracula* adaptations. Lee is a magnificent Dracula, Cushing is a wonderful Van Helsing, and Fisher's direction brings Dracula alive. Lee's portrayal of Dracula defined the vampire for a generation of viewers.

Blood of the Vampire, Henry Cass. With Sir Donald Wolfit, Barbara Shelley. Tempean, United Kingdom, 1958.

The Brides of Dracula, Terence Fisher. With David Peel, Peter Cushing. Hammer, United Kingdom, 1960. An underrated film. Peel's performance as a Dracula disciple whose mother must bring victims is interesting.

Billy the Kid vs Dracula, William Fisher. With John Carradine, Chuck Courtney, Melinda Plowman. Circle, United States, 1965. A sad attempt to mix genres.

Dracula, Prince of Darkness, Terence Fisher. With Christopher Lee, Andrew Keir, Barbara Shelley. Hammer, United Kingdom, 1965. A sequel to Hammer Films' *Dracula*, with Christopher Lee reprising his role as the vampire. Although Lee disliked the film because of his lack of dialogue, the film is effective.

The Fearless Vampire Killers, Roman Polanski. With Roman Polanski, Sharon Tate, Jack McGowran, Ferdy Mayne. MGM/Filmways, United States, 1967. One of the few successful vampire parodies. Polanski borrows from Stoker's novel for the film's plot and characters, and he infuses comedic life into the undead.

A Taste of Blood, Herschell Gordon. With Bill Rogers. Creative Films, United States, 1967.

Dracula Has Risen from the Grave, Freddie Francis. With Christopher Lee, Rupert Davies, Veronice Carlson. Hammer, United Kingdom, 1968. The most financially successful of the Hammer *Dracula* films starring Christopher Lee. By this time the narrative energy of the series was beginning to run out.

Santo y el Tesoro del Dracula, Rene Cardona. With Rudolfo Guzman Huerta. Cinematografica Calderon, Mexico, 1968.

Blood of Dracula's Castle, Al Adamson, Jean Hewitt. With John Carradine, Lon Chaney, Jr. A & E Film Co., United States, 1969.

Dracula: The Dirty Old Man, William Edwards. With Vince Kelly. Whit Boyd Productions, United States, 1969.

Guess What Happened to Count Dracula? Laurence Merrick. With Des Roberts. Merrick International, United States, 1969.

Taste the Blood of Dracula, Peter Sasdy. With Christopher Lee, Isla Blair. Hammer, United Kingdom, 1969. Another Hammer adaptation. Lee is effective as the vampire called from his grave by worshippers of Satan.

The Black Harvest of Countess Dracula, Leon Klimovsky. With Paul Naschy. Hifi Stereo 70/Plata Films, Spain, West Germany, 1970.

Count Dracula, Jesus Franco. With Christopher Lee, Herbert Lom, Klaus Kinski. Fenix Films/filmproduktion/Filmar Compagnia/Cinematografica/ Towers of London, Spain, Italy, West Germany, 1970. One of the first attempts to adapt Stoker's *Dracula* faithfully. Lee is exceptional as Count Dracula, but Franco's direction and an inadequate budget make this adaptation less then it could have been.

Countess Dracula, Peter Sasdy. With Ingrid Pitt, Nigel Grenn. Hammer, United Kingdom, 1970. An adaptation of the Countess Bathory story that failed with both audiences and critics.

Dracula Contra Frankenstein, Jesus Franco. With Dennis Price. Fenix/Comptoir Francais du Film, France, Portugal, 1970.

Dracula's Great Love, Javier Aguirre. With Paul Naschy. Janus Films/Eva Films, Spain, 1970.

Dracula's Lust for Blood, Michio Yamamoto. With Mori Kishida. Toho, Japan, 1970.

Dracula's Vampire Lust, Mario D'Alcala. With Des Roberts. Switzerland, 1970.

Dracula vs Frankenstein, Al Adamson. With Zandor Vorkov, J. Carroll Naish, Lon Chaney, Jr. United States/Spain, 1970.

La Fille du Dracula, Jesus Franco. With Jose Clement, Britt Nichols. Interfilm/Comptoir Francais du Film, France, Portugal, 1970.

The Scars of Dracula, Roy Ward Baker. With Christopher Lee. Hammer, United Kingdom, 1970. One of the least successful of the Hammer *Dracula* series, of interest primarily because Christopher Lee has a larger part than in some of the other films of the series.

Twins of Dracula, John Hough. With Peter Cushing. Hammer United Kingdom, 1970.

Bloodthirsty Eyes, Michio Yamamoto. Toho International, Japan, 1971.

Dracula A.D. 1972, Alan Gibson. With Christopher Lee, Peter Cushing. Hammer, United Kingdom, 1972. Of interest because of Lee and Cushing. The modern setting does not work.

The Saga of Dracula, Leon Klimovsky. With Tina Saenz, Tony Isbert. Profilms, Spain, 1972.

Blacula, William Crain. With William Marshall, Charles McCauley, Vonetta McGee. American International, United States, 1972. Marshall is effective as a black vampire in contemporary America.

Vampyr, Pedro Portabella. With Christopher Lee. Films 59, Spain, 1972.

Satanic Rites of Dracula. Alan Gibson. With Christopher Lee, Peter Cushing. Hammer, United Kingdom, 1973. The Hammer series had run out of steam by this film. Only interesting for fans of Lee and Cushing.

Dracula, Dan Curtis. With Jack Palance, Simon Ward, Nigel Davenport. Dan Curtis Productions/Universal, United States, 1973. An excellent, although neglected, adaptation. Palance is an effective Dracula, and Curtis links the vampire with Vlad Tepes in this interesting film originally made for television.

Andy Warhol's Dracula, Paul Morrissey. With Udo Keir, Vittoria de Sica, Joe Dallesandro. CC Champion/Jean Yanne-Jean Pierre Rassan Productions, Italy, France, 1973. An attempt to combine humor, horror, and sex. The film has its moments, but is uneven at best.

Countess Dracula, Paolo Solvey. With Sara Bey, Mark Damon, Francis Davis. Virginia Cinematografica, Italy, 1973.

Scream, Blacula, Scream, Bob Keljan. With William Marshall, Pam Grier, Michael Conrad. American International, United States, 1973. A sequel to the successful *Blacula*.

Son of Dracula, Freddie Francis. With Harry Neilson, Ringo Starr. Apple Films/Cinemation, United Kingdom, 1973. An attempt to combine vampirism, comedy, and rock and roll.

Tender Dracula, or the Confessions of a Blood Drinker, Alaine Robbe-Grillett. With Peter Cushing. Trintignant, France, 1974.

Old Dracula, Clive Donner. With David Niven, Teresa Graves, Peter Bayless. World Film International/American International, United Kingdom, 1974.

Deafula, Peter Wechberg. With Peter Wechberg, James Randell. Signscope, United States, 1975.

El Jovencito Dracula, Carlos Benpar. With Carlos Benpar, Victor Isreal. Los Film del Mediterraneo, Spain, 1975.

Dracula, Father and Son, Eduard Molinero. With Christopher Lee. France, 1976.

Zoltan, Hound of Dracula, Albert Band. With Jose Ferrer, Michael Pataki. VIC, United States, 1977.

Lady Dracula, Franz-Joseph Gottlieb. With Evelyn Kraft, Brad Harris. TV 13/IFV Produktion, West Germany, 1977.

Mama Dracula, Boris Szulzinger. With Louise Fletcher, Maria Schneider. Valisa Films/Radio Television Belge Francaise/SND, Belgium, 1978.

Count Dracula. Philip Saville with Louis Jourdan. BBC-TV, United Kingdom, 1978. Made for television, this film emphasizes Jourdan as a romantic Dracula.

Dracula, John Badham. With Frank Langella, Laurence Olivier, Kate Nelligan, Donald Pleasance. BBC Television, United Kingdom, 1979. Based on the Deane/Balderston stage play and Langella's Broadway performance. An effective adaptation that emphasizes the romantic elements of *Dracula*.

Nosferatu, Phantam der Nacht, Werner Herzog. With Klaus Kinski, Isabelle Adjani, Bruno Ganz. Werner Herzog/Gaumont, West Germany, France, 1979. An atmospheric remake of Murnau's classic 1922 film. Kinski is especially effective as the vampire.

Love at First Bite, Stan Dragoti. With George Hamilton, Susan St. James, Richard Benjamin. Simon Productions, United States, 1979. A successful comic adaptation. Dragoti's direction is crisp, and all the actors perform with enthusiasm.

Graf Dracula, Beisst Jerzt in Oberbayern, Gregory Goodell. With Linda Haynes, Geoffrey Kewis. Lisa Films/Barthonia Films, 1979.

Dracula's Last Rites, Demonic Paris. With Patricia Lee Hammond, Gerald Fielding. New Empire Features, France, 1980.

Dracula Rises from the Coffin, Lee Hyoung Pyo. With Kang Yong Suk. Tai Chang Inc., Republic of Korea, 1982.

To Die For, Deran Serafian, With Sydney Walsh, Brendan Hughes, Amanda Wyss, Steve Bond. Skouras/Trimark Pictures, United States, 1988. Set in contemporary California, this loose adaptation emphasizes the sufferings of the self-aware vampire.

Bram Stoker's Dracula, Francis Ford Coppola. With Gary Oldman, Anthony Hopkins, Winona Ryder. Columbia/Zoetrope, United States, 1992. The most expensive adaptation of Stoker's novel links Count Dracula with Vlad Tepes in a film influenced by the work of Florescu and McNally. Despite the title, this is not Bram Stoker's *Dracula* but a gothic romance that emphasizes the love and suffering of Dracula.

Dracula Rising, Fred Gallo. With Cristopher Atkins, Stacy Travis. Concorde/Roger Corman, United States, 1993. An inexpensive but effective film that employs the device of brother vampires, one good and one evil. The result is a love story.

Dracula: Dead and Loving It, Mel Brooks. With Leslie Neilsen. United States, 1995. A surprisingly sedate parody by Brooks, who includes references from most of the major adaptations.

CHRONOLOGICAL FEMALE VAMPIRE FILMOGRAPHY

Vampyr, Carl Theodor Dryer. With Julian West, Henriette Gerard. Germany/France, 1932. The first adaptation of "Carmilla," this film is an effective and atmospheric horror classic. Dryer's direction is outstanding.

Dracula's Daughter, Lambert Hillyer. With Gloria Holden and Edward Van Sloan. Universal, United States, 1936. The sequel to Universal's successful *Dracula*, with Holden as a vampire torn between her desire for peace and her need for blood. A relatively bloodless but effective work of horror.

Blood of Dracula, Herbert Strock. With Sandra Harrison. AIP, United States, 1957.

Lust of the Vampire, Riccardo Freda. Titan/Athena, Italy, 1957.

Black Sunday, Mario Bava. With Barbara Steele and Arturo Dominici. AIP/Galatea, Italy, 1960. An excellent black-and-white vampire film directed with enthusiasm by Bava. Draws on both the work of Christopher Lee and literary gothicism.

Blood and Roses, Roger Vadim. With Annette Vadim, Elsa Martinelli. E.G.E. Films/Paramount, France, Italy, 1960. A successful adaptation "Carmilla" that emphasizes the mystery and eroticism of Le Fanu's classic story.

The Vampire's Last Victim, Pieri Regnoli. With Walter Bandi. Nord Film/Fanfare, Italy, 1960.

Santo vs. the Vampire Women, Alfonso Garcia Blake. With Santo. Corona Panamerica/AIP, Mexico, 1961.

The Vampire's Lover, Renato Polselli. With Maria Luisa Rolando and Iscaro Ravajoli. CFA/United Artists, Italy, 1961. Also known as *The Vampire and the Ballerina*, this film is relatively successful in its creation of a female vampire.

Terror in the Crypt, Thomas Miller. With Christopher Lee. Hispaner Films/AIP, Italy, Spain, 1962.

The Vampire of the Opera, Renato Polselli. NIE, Italy, 1964.

The Empire of Dracula, Federico Curiel. With Lucha Villa. Filmica Vergara, Mexico, 1966.

Queen of Blood, Curtis Harrington. With John Saxon, Dennis Hopper, Basil Rathbone. AIP, United States, 1966.

She Was a Hippy Vampire, Jerry Warren. With Katherine Victor. ADP, United States, 1966.

The Vampire Girls, Federico Curiel. With John Carradine and Mis Mascaras. Filmica Vergara/Columbia, Mexico, 1967.

Draculita, Consuelo Osorio. With Rossana Ortiz. RJF, Philippines, 1969.

Blood Suckers, Robert Hartford Davies. With Patrick Macnee, Imogen Hassal, Patrick Mower. Titan International–Chevron, United Kingdom, 1970.

Curse of the Vampires, Gerardo de Leon. With Amelia Fuetes and Eddie Garcia. Hemisphere, United States/Philippines, 1970.

Le Frisson De Vampires, Jean Rollin. Production Films Moderns et films, A.B.C., France, 1970.

Lesbian Vampires, Jesus Franco. With Dennis Price, Susan Korda. Telecine and Fenix, Spain, Germany, 1970.

The Vampire Lovers, Roy Ward Baker. With Ingrid Pitt, Madeline Smith, Peter Cushing. Hammer/AIP, United Kingdom, 1970. A stylish Hammer adaptation of "Carmilla." Ingrid Pitt turns in an effective performance in this explicitly erotic and violent film.

The Night of the Walpurgis, Leon Klimovsky. With Paul Naschy. Plata Films/Ellman Enterprises, Spain, Germany, 1970.

The Velvet Vampire, Stephanie Rothman. With Celeste Yarnell, Sherry Miles, Michael Blodgett. New World, United States, 1970.

Countess Dracula, Peter Sasdy. With Ingrid Pitt. Hammer, United Kingdom, 1970. Based on the life of Countess Elizabeth Bathory, this film is well directed and well acted.

Daughters of Darkness, Harry Kumel. With Delphine Seyrig, Andrea Rau, Jonathan Karlen. Gemini, Belgium, 1971. Based on the life of Countess Elizabeth Bathory and Michael Parry's novel *Countess Dracula*, this is a visually stunning and erotic film that captures the complexity of the character of the female vampire.

Lust for a Vampire, Jimmy Sangster. With Mike Raven, Ralph Bates, Yvette Stensgaard. Hammer, United Kingdom, 1971. A sequel to the successful *The Vampire Lovers*, this film uses little of the "Carmilla" source material.

The Daughter of Dracula, Jesus Franco. With Britt Nichols. Comptoir, Spain/France/Portugal, 1972.

The Female Butcher, Jorge Grau. With Lucia Bose. Film Ventures, Italy/Spain, 1972.

Twins of Evil, John Hugh. With Katya Keith, Damien Thomas, Hammer/Universal, United Kingdom, 1972. The third of Hammer Films' "Carmilla" series combines vampirism with witchcraft.

Virgins and Vampires, Jean Rollin. Box Office International, France, 1972.

Blood Ceremony, Jorge Grau. X Films/Louis Films, Spain, 1973.

The Devil's Wedding Night, Paul Sovay. With Sara Bay and Mark Damon. Dimension/AIP, 1973.

Erotikill, Jesus Franco. With Jesus Franco and Lina Romay. Eurocine, Spain, 1973.

Ganja and Hess, Bill Gunn. With Duane Jones. Kelly-Jordan Enterprises, United States, 1973.

Vampira, Clive Donner. With David Niven and Teresa Graves. AIP, United Kingdom, 1973.

Vampyres, Joseph Larras. Cambrist, United Kingdom, 1974.

Lemora—The Lady Dracula, Richard Blackburn. With Cheryl Smith. Blackburn/Media, United States, 1975.

Mary Mary, Bloody Mary, Juan Lopez Moctezuma. With DeLorean Christina Ferrare. Summit/Translor, Mexico, 1975.

Mama Dracula, Boris Szulzinger. With Louise Fletcher and Maria Schneider. Valisa, France/Belgium, 1979.

The Hunger, Tony Scott. With Catherine Deneuve, David Bowie, Susan Sarandon. MGM/UA, United States, 1983. One of

the most effective vampire films ever made. Scott's direction is intelligent, and all the members of the cast turn in fine performances in this tale of the emptiness at the heart of the life of the undead.

Life Force, Tobe Hooper. Cannon/Tri-Star, United Kingdom, 1985.

I Married a Vampire, Jay Raskin. With Grace Jones and Rachel Gordon. Prism Entertainment, United States, 1986.

The Mark of Lillith, Isiling, Mack-Natif. Re-Vamp Productions, United Kingdom, 1986.

Because of the Dawn, Amy Goldstein. United States, 1988.

Beverly Hills Vamp, Fred Olen Ray. With Britt Ekland. Trans World Entertainment, United States, 1988.

Dracula's Widow, Christopher Coppola. With Lenny Von Dohlen, Stefan Schnabel, Sylvia Kristel. DEG, United States, 1988.

Carmilla, Gabrielle Beaumont. With Meg Tilly and Ione Skye. Showtime, United States, 1989. Based on Le Fanu's famous story and reset in the South, this made-for-television film is quite effective.

Red-Blooded American Girl, David Blyth. With Christopher Plummer and Heather Thomas. Prism Entertainment, United States, 1990.

Children of the Night, Tony Randel. With Karen Black and Maya McLaughlin. Fangora/Columbia, United States, 1991.

Innocent Blood, John Landis. With Anne Parillaud, Robert Loggia, Don Rickles. Warner, United States, 1992. A surprisingly effective mixture of humor, crime, and vampires. Parillaud is stunning as a female vampire who attacks only bad guys, and Loggia is wonderful as a Mafia don turned into a vampire.

CHRONOLOGICAL FILMOGRAPHY OF OTHER NOTABLE VAMPIRE FILMS

London after Midnight, Tod Browning. With Lon Chaney, Sr. MGM, United States, 1927. A mystery; one of the lost vampire films. All that remains of this film are a few publicity stills. There is critical debate about whether the film is a mystery or a vampire film.

Vampire Bat, Frank Strayer. With Lionel Atwill. Majestic, United States, 1933.

Mark of the Vampire, Tod Browning. With Bela Lugosi, Carroll Borland. MGM, United States, 1935. A remake *London after Midnight*. A murder mystery disguised as a vampire film, with Lugosi and Borland in fine form. Of considerable historical, if not dramatic, interest.

The Return of Dr. X, Vincent Sherman. With Humphrey Bogart. Warner, United States, 1939. An excellent example of a grade B vampire film, of interest only for Bogart's performance.

Dead Men Walk, Sam Newfield. With Dwight Frye. PRC, United States, 1943.

The Vampire's Ghost, Lesley Selander. With John Abbott. Republic, United States, 1945.

Old Mother Riley Meets the Vampire, John Gilling. With Arthur Lucan. Renown, United Kingdom, 1952. An example of the depths to which films had sunk prior to the Hammer resurrection.

El Vampiro, Fernendo Mendez. With German Robles. Cinematografica, Mexico, 1956.

The Vampire, Paul Landres. With John Beal. UA, United States, 1957. An effective vampire film, overshadowed by Hammer's *Dracula* of the following year. Landres makes a fine vampire.

Curse of the Undead, Edward Dein. With Michael Pate, Kathleen Crowley. Universal, United States, 1959.

The Curse of Nostradamus, Frederick Curiel. With German Robles. Cinematografica/AIP, Mexico, 1960. The first of a series of popular films linking Nostradamus with vampires.

Santo vs. the Vampire Women, Alfanso, Corona Blake. With Santo. Corona Panamerica/AIP, Mexico, 1961.

The Vampire of the Opera, Renato Polselli. With Giuseppi Addobati. NIF, Italy, 1961.

The Last Man on Earth, Ubaldo Ragona and Sidney Salkow. With Vincent Price. AIP, Italy, 1964.

Planet of the Vampires, Mario Brava. With Barry Sullivan. AIP, Italy, Spain, 1965.

Billy the Kid vs. Dracula, William Beaudine. With John Carradine, Chuck Courtney. Embassy, United States, 1966. An attempt to mix genres that was so absurd that the film has developed a cult following.

A Taste of Blood, Herschell Gordon Lewis. With Bill Rogers. Creative Film Enterprises/Ajay Films, United States, 1966.

Space Vampires, Ted V. Mikels. With John Carradine. Gemini Films, United States, 1968.

Count Yorga–Vampire , Robert Kelljan. With Robert Quarry. AIP, United States, 1970. A surprising popular success that brought a Dracula-like vampire to California.

House of Dark Shadows, Dan Curtis. With Jonathan Frid. MGM, United States, 1970. A film version of the popular television program.

The House that Dripped Blood, Peter Duffell. With John Pertwee and Ingrid Pitt. Amicus/Cinerama, United Kingdom, 1970. A mediocre film with fine performances by Pertwee and Pitt.

Jonathan, Hans Geissendorfer. With Jurgen Jung. Iouna Films/New Yorker, West Germany, 1970. An intellectual's vampire film that suggests parallels between vampirism and Nazism.

The Night of the Walpurgis, Leon Klimovsky. With Paul Naschy. Plata Films/Ellman Enterprises, Spain/Germany, 1970.

Bloodthirsty Eyes, Michio Yammamoto. Toho International, Japan, 1971.

The Return of Count Yorga, Bob Kelljan. With Robert Quarry. AIP, United States, 1971.

Vampire Circus, Robert Young. With Robert Tayman. Hammer/Rank, United Kingdom, 1971.

The Vampire Happening, Freddie Francis. With Ferdy Mayne. Acquila Films, Germany, 1971. As bad as it sounds.

Captain Kronos: Vampire Hunter, Brian Clemens. With Horst Janson, John Carson. Hammer/Paramount, 1972. A most underrated film about a heroic vampire hunter in seventeenth-century Europe. The film is dramatic and well acted, and contains a wealth of vampire folklore.

The Legend of the Seven Golden Vampires, Roy Ward Baker. With Peter Cushing, John Forbes Robertson. Hammer/Run Run Shaw Brothers, United Kingdom, Hong Kong, 1973.

Dracula's Dog, Albert Band. With Michael Pataki, Reggie Nalder. Crown International, United States, 1975. The title says it all.

Spermula, Charles Matton. With Udo Keir. PPFC, France, 1975. A pornographic vampire film, of course.

Martin, George Romero. With John Amplas. Braddock/libra, United States, 1975–1977. An exceptional film about drug addiction and vampirism.

Salem's Lot, Tobe Hooper. With Reggie Nalder, James Mason, David Soul. TV/Warner, United States, 1979. A popular adaptation of Stephen King's fine vampire novel. Although overly long, the film has powerful moments, and James Mason's performance is outstanding.

Thirst, Rod Hardy. With Chantel Contouri and David Hemmings. New Line Cinema, Australia, 1979.

The Craving, Jack Molina. With Paul Naschy, Silvia Aguilar. Dalmata Films, Spain, 1980. An interesting film with references to both "Carmilla" and *Dracula*.

Fright Night, Tom Holland. With William Ragsdale, Christopher Sarandon, Roddy McDowall. Columbia, United States, 1985. A popular vampire thriller combining comedy and horror.

Life Force, Tobe Hooper. Cannon/TriStar, United States, 1985.

Once Bitten, Howard Storm. With Jim Carrey, Lauren Hutton. Samuel Goldwyn, United States, 1985. An early Carrey comedy vehicle that uses vampire folklore with a twist. Mildly amusing.

The Tomb, Fred Olen Ray. With Michelle Bauer. Trans World Entertainment, United States, 1985.

Vamp, Richard Wenk. With Grace Jones. New World, United States, 1986. A tale of contemporary vampirism combining comedy and horror.

Graveyard Shift, Gerard Ciccoritti. With Silvio Oliviero. Cinema Ventures, United States, 1987.

The Lost Boys, Joel Schumacher. With Keifer Sutherland, Jason Patrick. Warner, United States, 1987. One of the more successful vampire films. Set in California, the film chronicles the confrontation between a one-parent family and a band of teenage vampires. The film has overtones of both *Dracula* and *Peter Pan*.

Monster Squad, Fred Dekker. With Duncan Regehr. Vestron, United States, 1987.

Near Dark, Kathryn Bigelow. With Lance Henriksen, Adrian Pasdar. DEG, United States, 1987.

Dance of the Damned, Katt Shea Ruben. With Starr Andreef, Cyril O'Reilly. Virgin/New Classics, United States, 1988. One of

the contemporary films emphasizing the angst of the modern vampire.

Fright Night II, Tommy Lee Wallace. With Roddy McDowell and William Ragsdale. Columbia, United States, 1988. A sequel to the popular *Fright Night*.

Transylvanian Twist, Jim Wynorski. With Robert Vaughn. MGM, United States, 1989.

Vampire's Kiss, Robert Bierman. With Nicholas Cage, Jennifer Beals, Elizabeth Ashley. Hemdale/Magellan, United States, 1989.

I Was a Teenage Vampire, Samuel Bradford. New World, United States, 1990.

Nightlife, Daniel Taplitz. With Ben Cross, Maryam D'Abo. TV/USA, United States, 1990.

Sundown: The Vampires in Retreat, Anthony Hickox. With David Carradine, John Metzler. Vestron Pictures, United States, 1990.

Subspecies, Ted Nicolau. With Anders Hove, Michael Watson, Laura Tate, Michelle McBridge. Full Moon/Paramount, United States, 1991. The first of a series of films involving brother vampires ~~o~~ne good and one bad ~~w~~ho work out their differences over five hundred years. The story is interesting, and the Romanian setting is beautiful.

Blood Ties, Jim McBridge. With Bo Hopkins. New Horizons, United States, 1992. Vampires are unappreciated immigrants in this comic film that sets up Christian fundamentalists as the force of evil.

Buffy ~~t~~he Vampire Slayer , Fran Rubel Kuzui. With Kristy Swanson, Donald Sutherland, Rutger Hauer. Fox, United States, 1992. Despised by many vampire film fans, this film manages to combine comedy and horror. Sutherland and Hauer perform well.

My Grandpa Is a Vampire, David Blyth. With Al Lewis. Tucker Productions, New Zealand, 1992. About as bad as it sounds.

Vampires in Venice, Alan Cummings. With Klaus Kinski. Italy, 1992.

Midnight Kiss, Joel Bender. With Michael McMillan. Academy, United States, 1993.

To Sleep with a Vampire, Adam Friedman. With Charlie Spradling and Scott Valentine. Concorde, United States, 1993.

A Vampire in Brooklyn, Wes Craven. With Eddie Murphy. Paramount, United States, 1995. Despite an effective opening echoing *Dracula*, Murphy cannot sustain this story of an African vampire in New York.

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