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# Vampiromania in the Eighteenth Century: The Other Side of Enlightenment

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# 1. Vampiromania in the Eighteenth Century: The Other Side of Enlightenment

Strange shadows persisted in the period which is commonly called the Enlightenment, *le Siècle des Lumières*, *Aufklärung*, *illuminismo*, *siglo de las Luces*, *seculo das Luzes*, *prosvešćenie*, or *prosvećenost*. The Age of Reason was not only the time of the philosophers, neoclassical rules and certified traditions. It was also the era of rococo decoration and architecture, Piranesi's 'Prisons'; of gloomy nights, haunted churchyards, and desolate ruins in the poetry of Young, Gray, Thomson, and Gessner; of the tortured sensibility of Richardson's novels, the anguish of *Manon Lescaut*, the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Werther*; of the integral originality of the *Sturm und Drang* group and of Sebastian Mercier; of the 'crisis of laughter' which began with the black humour of Swift's *Modest Proposal*; of Macpherson's 'Ossian' and the rediscovery of genuine ballads, tales and legends of folklore; of nightmarish Gothic romances, dark tales of brigandism, and de Sade's reversal of codes and morals; of Germanic pietism, Wesley's methodism, and Fénelon's and Rousseau's personalized catholicism of feelings; and it was also the time of the esotericism and illuminism of secret societies ...<sup>1</sup>

Intense feeling for the holy and the daemonic persisted throughout the period. Controversies over miracles, divination, witchcraft, and possession by evil spirits swept Europe and some of the colonies.<sup>2</sup> Probably the most fashionable and the most scandalous irrational element was the fear of living corpses: those who have perished more than once, have known

the land of darkness and the shadow of death, and who have still refused to conform to Pascal's maxim 'On mourra seul.' The troublesome walking dead belonged, of course, to the beliefs and superstitions of all times and nations. Preternatural beings that are said to suck the blood of persons at night seem to have been known in most regions of the world at least since the times of Sumer, Babylon, Assyria, the Egypt of the pharaohs, and the Jews of the Old Testament, as well as in the younger civilizations of India, China, and Japan, and in the Graeco-Roman and Arabic cultures. In literature, the most famous infamous feeders on blood, among many ancient ones, have been the Indian and Arabic *ghoul*, the Greek *λαμία*, and Roman *larva*.<sup>3</sup>

In the Middle Ages, rulers and church dignitaries often had to forbid the opening of graves and killing of corpses, regardless of the deceased's reputation. Such prohibitions were made or mentioned by Charlemagne in the eighth century, by Bishop Burchard of Worms around 1000, the Second Council of Limoges in 1031, the theologian Guillaume d'Auvergne in the first half and the Dominican judge Etienne de Bourbon in the middle of the thirteenth century, and by the Serbian emperor Stefan Uroš Dušan Nemanjić in the middle of the fourteenth. Fairly clear cases of the un-dead who attacked the living were described by William of Newburgh, who under the year 1196 notes in his chronicle the case of a 'sanguisuga.' Such episodes appeared also in various Icelandic sagas, which were usually recorded about the middle of the thirteenth century. The oldest Slavic stories appeared in a Czech chronicle of the fourteenth-century, but are preserved only in a dubious manuscript of 1587. In the Balkans, there are reports in Latin, German, and the native tongues dating from the fifteenth, sixteenth and especially the seventeenth centuries. During the sixteenth century, such anecdotes were related in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and particularly in German speaking countries, so that Martin Luther once had to reassure a fainthearted priest from Wittenberg that they were 'des Teufels Betrügerei und Bosheit; wenn sie es nicht gläubeten, so schadete es ihnen nicht' (Tischrede Nr. 6823, Weimarer Ausgabe).

A few of the seventeenth-century rumors from many corners of Europe were printed in a number of languages. For some 'incidents,' up to twenty-three versions and re-editions have been identified, for example those in François de Rosset's *Les Histoires tragiques de notre temps* (1605) and its German adaptation by Martin Zeller (1625). Corpses able to kill and to die a second time appeared also in such popular German anthologies of magical phenomena as Henning Gross' *Magica* (1600) and especially Erasmus Franciscus' *Der höllische Proteus* (1690 and 1708). A German scholar from Leipzig, Philipp Rohr, published the first scientific

investigation in 1679, the *Dissertatio historico-philosophica de masticatione mortuorum*; he rejected some cases as unverified and explained others through natural causes, but concluded that a few must be the workings of the devil and of warlocks. Among serious writers, such beliefs are mentioned by the Cambridge Platonist Henry More (*An Antidote Against Atheism*, 1653, b. III, ch. viii-ix), Paul Rycaut (*Histoire de l'état présent de l'église grecque et de l'église arménienne*, 1692), and Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (*Voyage au Levant*, 1702). Two of the most startling revelations appeared in the French journal *Mercure Galant* in May 1693 and February 1694, which is exactly at the time deemed by Paul Hazard to be the critical period of the enlightenment's 'crise de la conscience européenne'.<sup>4</sup> The first contribution, under the title 'Article fort extraordinaire,' and the second, under the heading 'Traité sur les Striges de Russie,' described vampiric phenomena in Russia and parts of Poland, attributing the crimes to the devil or the body soul. The filthy habits and the heretical creed of these barbaric peasants have provoked such unusual visitation by a just Lord. These anonymous articles were often reprinted in the eighteenth century, the reprints unobtrusively substituting the terms *vampire* and *oupire* for the circumlocutions used in the original. In any case, after Jan Sobieski's victory over the Turks at Vienna in 1683 and the subsequent advances of the Austrian armies into the Balkans, the time seemed ripe to show greater interest in the backward and sinful ways of the Slavic tribes.

Delegated by Emperor Charles VI (Karl VI) as official Austrian witnesses, Frombald, Glaser, and later Flückinger described in 1725 the antics of Petar Plogojević (probably Blagojević) in the village Kisiljeva and even more dramatically in 1731/32 the crimes of the Arnautin (i.e. Albanian) Pavle (the Arnold Paole or Paul of Western sources) in the hamlet Medveđa, very small places not far from Belgrade. These reports launched the term *vampire* (or *vampyre*), a word of Slavic origin whose beginnings are not known (from *upyr*, blood-sucker?) or, less likely, derived from Turkish words for wizard and witch (*über*, *uğer*).<sup>5</sup> In 1725, the news made head-lines in fashionable journals like *Wiener Diarium*, *Vossische Zeitung*, *Leipziger Zeitungen*, *Breßlauische Sammlungen*, and was publicized in broadsheets (the so called 'Fliegende Blätter'). In 1732, the year of the great vampire scare, articles appeared twice in *Le Glaneur Historique*, repeatedly in *Mercure de France*, and once in *Mercure Historique et Politique*, *The London Journal*, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and *The Craftsman*. In German speaking countries twelve books and four dissertations appeared in this year and the next. Some books were the result of the labours of more than one author, and one specialist, Johann Christian Harenberg, wrote three volumes in seven years, but all

the works concerned stressed in their titles the sensational and bloody nature of the events, as well as the Christian and reasonable character of their own interpretation. Quotations and summaries found their way into standard encyclopaedias, like *Zedlers Universal Lexikon* (v. XLVI, 1745), and into popular works on other topics, for example the *Lettres juives* by the Marquis Boyer d'Argens (lettre 137, beginning with the 1738 edition, and also in the English and German translations), *The Harleian Miscellany: A Collection of Scarce, Curious and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, As Well in Manuscript as in Print, Found in the Late Earl of Oxford's Library* (v. IV, 1745, sect. i-ii, pp. 348-59, often reissued), and, most particularly, into Dom Augustin Calmet's notorious *Dissertations sur les apparitions des anges, des démons et des esprits et sur les revenants et vampires de Hongrie, de Bohême, de Moravie et de Silésie* (Paris, 1746).<sup>6</sup> This latter work by the well-known French Biblical scholar and church historian was reprinted in 1749, and a revised edition published in 1751 under the title *Traité sur les apparitions ...*; it was translated into major European languages and read by most leading intellectuals of the century. The book contained an almost complete survey of all 'well attested cases.'

At this point it is useful to freely translate into English a few passages of the original report:

Having heard from various quarters that ... so-called vampires have been responsible for the death of several persons, by sucking their blood, I have been commissioned by Her Majesty to throw some light on this question. ... This report has been compiled with the help of the captain of the company of *heyduks* [foot soldier], and other most respected *heyduks* of the neighbourhood. After much questioning, these have declared unanimously that *about five years ago a heyduk of the area, named Arnold Paole, broke his neck, falling from a hayrick*: the said Arnold Paole had told various people, in the course of previous years, that he had been bitten by a vampire, near Cossowa, in Turkish Serbia.

This is why he himself ate earth taken from the tomb of a vampire, and bathed his wounds in the blood of a vampire (as is the custom) to "cleanse" himself of its cursed influence. However, twenty or thirty days after his death, several persons complained that the said Arnold Paole had come back to torment them, and that he had caused the deaths of four others. In order to put a stop to this danger, the *heyduk* suggested that the vampire be disinterred: this was duly done, forty days after his death, and he was found to be perfectly preserved. His flesh had not decomposed, his eyes were filled with fresh blood, which also flowed from his ears and nose, soiling his shirt and funeral shroud. His fingernails and toenails had dropped off, and others had grown through in their place, from which it was

concluded that he was an arch-vampire. So, according to the custom of those regions, a stake was driven through his heart. ...

He gave a great shriek, and an enormous quantity of blood spurted from his body. The body was burned that same day and the ashes cast into his tomb. But the people in these parts claim that all those who are victims of a vampire become vampires in turn when they die. That is why it was decided to execute the four corpses mentioned above, in the same way. ...

The *heyduk* Jobira let it be known that his daughter-in-law Stanojka, having gone to bed a fortnight before, in perfect health, had woken up screaming horribly; terrified, she claimed that she had been *touched on the neck* by a man who had been dead for more than four weeks, the son of *heyduk* Miloje. From that moment, she became weaker and weaker and died within eight days. ...

Of the twelve exhumed corpses, eight were 'judged to be in a vampiric state'; the rest had decomposed. Stanojka still bore the marks of the night visitor: '*under her left ear, we could clearly make out a bluish scar, from which blood had been sucked.*' The report, like many others, coyly alludes to the sexually aroused state of some of the male vampires.

After having taken the appropriate action, we ordered the heads of all these vampires to be cut off by some wandering Bohemians, their bodies to be burned, and their ashes scattered in Moravia, while the corpses found to be in a state of decomposition were returned to their coffins. I affirm — together with the assistant field surgeons despatched to me — that all these things took place just as we have reported them at Medwegya, in Serbia, on January 7th 1732. Signed: Johannes Flückinger, Regimental Surgeon [and four others].<sup>7</sup>

The sensational news was earnestly discussed by the Academies in Vienna and Berlin, the Paris Sorbonne and the Budim and Vatican councils. Faced in later years with renewed rumours of epidemic proportion, the Empress Maria Theresia asked her personal physician Gérard Van Swieten to investigate the matter, Louis XV ordered the Duc de Richelieu to find out as much as he could, and the Prussian King Friedrich-Wilhelm I and lesser potentates of Germanic countries instigated similar inquiries; apparently, only King George II did not have questions. He staunchly believed in the existence of vampires.

Various explanations were offered. Some people of the cloth at first accepted the veracity of the alleged phenomena and attempted to find for them the proper theological context. Already Cardinal Prospero Lambertini, who later became Pope Benedict XIV, had very harsh words about 'these priests who gave credit to such stories, in order to encourage simple folk to pay them for exorcism and masses.'<sup>8</sup> Others opted for

medicine and common sense. To them many stories were inventions or distortions; certain cases were to be understood as the consequence of food poisoning or the use of opium; in others, it was a matter of corporeal liquids only resembling blood. More systematic approaches included arguments about premature burial, unusually well-preserved corpses under exceptional soil conditions, natural growth of hair and nails after death, diseases, especially the plague, theological confusions due to the conflicts between Roman Catholicism and the Orthodox Churches, heresy, communal superstitions developing under the stress of national disasters and social contradictions. Dom Calmet, while leaning towards a sceptical point of view and duly mentioning all these theories, remained himself strangely undecided:

Mais supposant qu'il y ait quelque réalité dans le fait de ces Apparitions des Vampires, les attribuera-t-on à Dieu, aux Anges, aux Ames de ces Revenans, ou au Démon? ...

Il faut donc demeurer dans le silence sur cet article, puisqu'il n'a pas plû à Dieu de nous révéler, ni quelle est l'étendue du pouvoir du Démon, ni la manière dont ces choses se peuvent faire. ...

Car rien n'est plus mal fondé que ce qu'on dit des Apparitions, des véxations, des troubles causés par les prétendus Vampires & par les Brucolaques. Je ne suis pas surpris que la Sorbonne ait condamné les exécutions sanglantes & violentes, que l'on exerce sur ces sortes de corps morts; mais il est étonnant que les Puissances séculaires & les Magistrats n'emploient pas leur autorité & la sévérité des Loix, pour les réprimer. ...

Dans tout cela je ne vois que ténèbres & difficultés, que je laisse à résoudre à de plus habiles & plus hardis que moi.<sup>9</sup>

Some of the main figures of French Enlightenment found Dom Calmet's hesitations quite ridiculous. Under the word 'Vampire' D.J., i.e. Louis, chevalier de Jaucourt, one of the most assiduous contributors to Diderot's *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (v. XVI, 1765, p. 828) commented: 'Le p. Calmet a fait sur ce sujet un ouvrage absurde dont on ne l'auroit pas cru capable, mais qui sert à prouver combien l'esprit humain est porté à la superstition.'<sup>10</sup> And Voltaire's own *Dictionnaire philosophique*, after the publication of the Supplement in the 1765 Varberg edition, contained a jibe under the heading 'Résurrection':

Le profond philosophe dom Calmet trouve dans les vampires une preuve bien concluante. Il a vu de ces vampires qui sortaient des cimetières pour aller sucer le

sang des gens endormis; il est clair qu'ils ne pouvaient sucer le sang des vivants, s'ils étaient encore morts: donc ils étaient ressuscités; cela est péremptoire.<sup>11</sup>

Voltaire returned to the same topic in his *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* (neuvième partie, 1772) in a text under the title 'Vampire,' which was later added to the *Dictionnaire philosophique* by the publishers of the posthumous Kehl edition of the *Œuvres complètes* and since cited as belonging to his 'Dictionary.' The main paragraphs again displayed biting irony and a metaphoric use of the word 'vampire' which was by then common in Western languages:

Quoi! c'est dans notre XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'il y a eu des vampires! ... C'était en Pologne, en Hongrie, en Silésie, en Moravie, en Autriche, en Lorraine, que les morts faisaient cette bonne chère. On n'entendait point parler de vampires à Londres, ni même à Paris. J'avoue que dans ces deux villes il y eut des agisseurs, des traitants, des gens d'affaires, qui sucèrent en plein jour le sang du peuple; mais ils n'étaient point morts, quoique corrompus. Ces suceurs véritables ne demeuraient pas dans des cimetières, mais dans des palais fort agréables. ... les rois ne sont pas, à proprement parler, des vampires. Les vrais vampires sont les moines, qui mangent aux dépens des rois et des peuples.<sup>12</sup>

A parenthesis may be in order here. The first instance of a metaphorical use of 'vampire' probably occurred in a witty article on 'Political Vampires' published in May 1732 by *The Gentleman's Magazine* of London:

This account, of *Vampyres*, you'll observe, comes from the Eastern Part of the World, always remarkable for its *Allegorical Style*. The States of *Hungary* are in subjection to the *Turks* and *Germans*, and govern'd by a pretty hard Hand; which obliges them to couch all their Complaints under *Figures*. This Relation seems to be of the same kind.

These *Vampyres* are said to torment and kill the *Living* by *sucking out all their Blood*; and a *ravenous Minister*, in this part of the World, is compared to a *Leech* or *Bloodsucker*, and carries his Oppressions beyond the Grave, by anticipating the *publick Revenues*, and entailing a Perpetuity of *Taxes*, which must gradually drain the Body Politick of its Blood and Spirits. In like manner, Persons who groan under the Burthens of such a *Minister*, by selling or mortgaging their estates, torment their *unhappy Posterity*, and become *Vampyres* when dead. Paul Arnold, who is call'd a Heyduke, was only a *Ministerial Tool*, because it is said he had kill'd but 4 Persons; whereas, if he had been a *Vampyre* of any Rank, we should probably have heard of his *Ten Thousands*. ... History, especially our own, supplies us with so many Instances of *Vampyres*, in this Sense, that it would



fill Volumes to enumerate them. ... Private Persons may be *Vampyres*, or *Blood-Suckers*, i.e. *Sharpers*, *Usurers*, and *Stockjobbers*, unjust *Stewards* and the dry *Nurses of the Great Estates*; but nothing less than the Power of a *Treasury* can raise up a compleat *Vampyre*.<sup>13</sup>

Throughout the eighteenth century, this usage can be attested in English, French and German letters. Among many examples, in Christoph-Martin Wieland's *Schach Lolo oder das göttliche Recht der Gewalthaber. Eine morgenländische Erzählung* (1778) there is the following: 'Nicht Menschen mehr, *Vampyren* nur erblickt, / Die an ihm saugen und ihn nagen.'<sup>14</sup> (Five years later, Wieland used the word again, this time referring, albeit metaphorically, to the original meaning — *Clelia und Sinibald oder die Bevölkerung von Lampeduse. Ein Gedicht in zehn Büchern*, 1783.)<sup>15</sup> Oliver Goldsmith invented in his satirical *The Citizen of the World; or Letters from a Chinese Philosopher, Residing in London, to his Friends in the East* a Colonel Leach and a Major Vampire, and he linked certain judges to vampirism: 'a corrupt magistrate may be considered a human hyena, ... [he] sucks blood like a vampyre.'<sup>16</sup> The *Songes d'un hermite* (1770) of Louis Sebastien Mercier contained in the guise of the thirteenth dream 'Les Vampires,' a satirical piece rejecting old wives' superstitions and condemning social bloodsuckers. A similar metaphorical use of the word vampire, linking him to booksellers, is present in Robert Burns' poem 'Thou Nature, partial Nature, I arraign ...'<sup>17</sup>

Earlier in the century, the Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus (Carl von Linné) had erroneously applied the term to a harmless South American fruit bat. Later on, Parisian newspapers featured reports about vampire-like monsters which had been observed in South America, for example the *Courrier de l'Europe* in October 1784. And even to-day, any of several Central and South American flying mammals of the genera *Desmodus*, *Diphylla*, and *Diaemus*, which feed on the blood of man and other vertebrates, are known to zoology as vampires or vampire bats.

But let us return to the preternatural vampire. Rousseau as well treated this matter twice, although in passing and in a spirit different from that of Voltaire. In the first draft of his treatise on education, *Emile*, he used this example to make a point about the Church's reliance on miracles, and a little later, in defence of the same *Emile*, he printed an open letter to the Archbishop of Paris (*Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Citoyen de Genève, à Christophe de Beaumont, Archevêque de Paris*. Amsterdam, 1763). In his letter, Rousseau balks at Dom Calmet's apparent attempt to encourage an act of faith by use of factual evidence:

S'il y a dans le monde une histoire attestée, c'est celle des Wampirs. Rien n'y

manque; procès verbaux, certificats de Notables, de Chirurgiens, de Curés, de Magistrats. La preuve juridique est des plus complètes. Avec cela, qui est-ce qui croit aux Wampirs? Serons-nous tous damnés pour n'y avoir pas cru?<sup>18</sup>

In written literature, the first use of the vampire motif was made by Heinrich August Ossenfeld, a German poetaster, in his poem 'Mein liebes Mägdelein glaubet ...'; the I proposes to the girl 'Und wenn du sanfte schlumerst ... [ich werde dich] Und als ein Vampir küssen.'<sup>19</sup> These playful lines were deemed by nineteenth-century critics to be very daring ('sehr anstößig' is the expression used by Erich Schmidt in 1887).<sup>20</sup> In oral literature, besides a wide range of typical legends (usually classified today as 'Memorate's'), there were a few eighteenth-century versions of two types of the folktale. These are, in Aarne's and Thompson's classification, the Type Nr. 307: The Princess in the Shroud ('Die Prinzessin im Sarge und die Schildwache' in the Grimm manuscript) and especially the popular Type Nr. 365: The Dead Bridegroom Carries off his Bride (sometimes referred to as the 'Fiancée du Mort' or 'Lenore' type). Gogol's story 'Vij' and Juliusz Słowacki's 'Królowna strzyga,' works of the first half of the nineteenth century, were based on the first type; Gottfried August Bürger gave world prominence to the second in his ballad 'Lenore' (1773). While Bürger did not designate the unquiet bridegroom a vampire but only a revenant and a killer, his probable sources – often studied in great detail since – included tales with explicitly vampiric traits.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless, the vampire entered great literature in a work by Goethe, who, as in many other areas, seemed to be able to combine and express the opposing tendencies of the times. A child of the cosmopolitan century, Goethe was the first to express the idea of world literature and to realize it in his own works which then rapidly became 'a spiritual bond among the nations.' Fritz Strich, who used these words in his book *Goethe und die Weltliteratur* (1946), went on to describe the following principal sources of Goethe's inspiration: the liberating impact of Shakespeare's drama, the classical balance provided by Italy, the formative discipline taught by French letters, the example of spirituality given by Spanish theatre, the expanding cultural horizon offered by the Orient, and the democratic spirit embodied by America. But in the context of the vampire-motif, Goethe's important contribution was the ballad 'Die Braut von Korinth,' and its roots are in part elsewhere, in more obscure soil.<sup>22</sup> As often in his writings, Goethe borrowed from Antiquity, but transposed here the subject matter into a startling example of his own shocked fascination with the daemonic. The poet was, needless to say, aware of the darker side of this great ballad; by now well into his

classical period, the courtier of Weimar wrote in his diary of Jena under the 4th of June 1797: 'Anfang des Vampyrischen Gedichtes' ('Beginning of the vampiric poem'). In the evening he noted a discussion with Schiller about the 'Romanze' ('romance'), and already under the 5th of June the same diary mentioned 'das Ende des vampyrischen Gedichtes' ('conclusion of the vampiric poem'). This poem, the first in world literature to be based on the vampire motif, was published a year later by Schiller in his *Musen Almanach für das Jahr 1798*.

Directly or indirectly, Goethe took the main plot from the *Antropodemus Plutonicus* (1666) by Johannes Praetorius, who printed a hellenistic tale recorded in the time of the Emperor Hadrian (117-138) by Phlegon of Tralles in his 'Book of Wanders' (*Peri thaumiōn kai makrobiōn*) and later copied by Proclus (412-485). The source tells a simple ghost story about a lecherous wench and it is only Goethe who combined this anecdote with two other topics, one being the problem of conflicting religious beliefs and the other the theme of the dead's inalienable right to love. This right had been mentioned by him in the *Sturm und Drang* ballad 'Es war ein Buhle ...' ('There was a dallier ...') of 1774, better known under the later title 'Der untreue Knabe' ('The faithless youth'). In 'The Bride of Corinth' he added to this right of the dead traits derived from Serbian and Dalmatian beliefs about vampires. He knew the Serbian superstition from Dom Calmet's notorious *Dissertations*, a source very rarely mentioned in Goethe scholarship although the French historian already connected Phlegon's story with vampirism;<sup>23</sup> information about the Dalmatian not quite dead was obtained from the travelogue of the abbate Alberto Fortis, i.e. his *Viaggio in Dalmazia*. The relevant chapter of this book on the customs of the Morlacchi ('De' costumi de' Morlacchi') had provided him twenty years earlier with the Italian text of the Serbian ballad 'Hasan-aginica,' which as 'Klaggesang der edlen Frauen des Asan Aga' became in Goethe's translation an internationally accepted example of folk poetry. The rather brief passage in Fortis about the existence of vampires contains also one of the oldest references to Transylvania.<sup>24</sup> Regardless of Slavic additions, Goethe preserved the Greek setting, holding fast to the conviction derived during his trip to Italy that Antiquity is the ideal basis of European civilization.

The content of the ballad is well known. A pagan Athenian youth comes to Corinth to claim a promised bride. Since the betrothal by the parents, the girl's family has embraced the new Christian creed and sent the daughter to a nunnery, where she has died of sorrow. Ignoring these events and arriving late at night, the youth is led to a guest room. In the middle of the night, the maiden comes to his room and couch, to partake with him in the gifts of Ceres and Bacchus. The true nature of the girl is

suggested by stages: her pallid hand and pale face, the request of a ringlet of his hair, her eager drinking of draughts of dark purple wine, her shuddering dread of the wheaten bread, the ice cold limbs and the breast without heartbeat. The impassioned youth insists: 'Hoffe doch bei mir noch zu erwarmen,/ Wärst du selbst mir aus dem Grab gesandt!' ('I could warm thee well with my desire,/ Wert though even from the grave ascended!').<sup>25</sup> The poem reaches the tragic turning-point when the mother, hearing love's mysterious stammerings and fiery protestations, enters the chamber expecting to find a shameless minion, but espies her own deceased daughter. The maiden 'hebet ... lang and langsam sich im Bett empor' ('long and slowly rises from the bed') and arraigns her mother's ascetic religion, because 'die Erde kühlt die Liebe nicht' ('love must still burn on, though wrapped in clay'); she proclaims at last her metamorphosis:

Aus dem Grabe werd' ich ausgetrieben,  
 Noch zu suchen das vermißte Gut,  
 Noch den schon verlorenen Mann zu lieben  
 Und zu saugen seines Herzens Blut.  
 Ist's um den geschehn,  
 Muß nach andern gehn,  
 Und das junge Volk erliegt der Wut.<sup>26</sup>

She will rest in peace only if her corpse is burned together with that of the youth, because he, too, must soon decay, his black hair turn gray and his body die.

It is instructive to compare the last stanza of the ballad ('Eilen wir den alten Göttern zu' — 'To the ancient gods aloft we soar') with the ending of Bürger's 'Lenore.' Baroque images of man's mortal coil are followed in 'Lenore' by the howling of ghosts; crying out in their dance of death, they proclaim the victory of unyielding destiny and confirm *in extremis* the mother's Lutheran credo:

Geduld! Geduld! Wenn's Herz auch bricht!  
 Mit Gottes Allmacht hadre nicht!  
 Des Leibes bist du ledig;  
 Gott sei der Seele gnädig!<sup>27</sup>

On the contrary, in *The Bride of Corinth* tensions are not dissolved in religious belief and no solace is offered. The last words are uttered by the girl, who proclaims her defiant wish to soar to the *ancient gods* on the sparks of the funeral pyre. The ballad in this way sharpens the contrast

between the hellenistic, pagan enjoyment of the senses and Christian self-denial, and permits a reading which rejects Christianity's fear of the body's instincts and appetites. (Whoever wishes to read more of Goethe's extreme attacks against Christianity and even against the person of Christ, may consult his suppressed *Venezianische Epigramme*, especially those taken in the twentieth century from sealed manuscripts, published in the last supplements to the monumental 'Sophien Ausgabe' of Weimar, and – to the best of my knowledge – never reprinted since.)<sup>28</sup>

Goethe's poem provoked a minor sensation. Of those who were close to the poet, only Wilhelm von Humboldt, the philologist and diplomat, showed sincere enthusiasm. Herder, at that time head ('General-superintendent') of the Lutheran church in Weimar and altogether cool towards his erstwhile close friend, rejected the poem as incompatible with his own Christian and spiritualistic convictions, and spoke acrimoniously of a priapic, revolting and disgusting topic.<sup>29</sup> Even Madame de Staël condemned, in *De l'Allemagne* (1810), the 'volupté funèbre' ('deadly voluptuousness') of the poem,<sup>30</sup> and French translators and literary critics shied away from the 'paganisme de son sujet' ('paganism of its subject').<sup>31</sup> They simply eliminated the offending passages, which had not fared better in Madame de Staël's detailed summary. To illustrate one characteristic nineteenth-century voice, the historian Jules Michelet, in his *La Sorcière* (1862), which is, incidentally, a book against the mediaeval church and in favour of nature, regards Goethe's treatment of the antique story as a 'pollution':

Goethe, si noble dans sa forme, ne l'est pas autant d'esprit. Il gâte la merveilleuse histoire, souille le grec d'une horrible idée slave. Au moment où l'on pleure, il fait de la fille un vampire. Elle vient parce qu'elle a soif du sang, pour sucer le sang de son cœur. Et il lui fait dire froidement cette chose immonde: "Lui fini, je passerai à d'autres; la jeune race succombera à ma fureur."<sup>32</sup>

True enough, the Romantics reacted otherwise and Friedrich Schlegel declared, in one of the programmatic fragments of 1798, that this ballad (he called it a romance) was an epitome of the genre and that it 'is epoch-making in the history of poetry' ('Epoche in der Geschichte der Poesie macht').<sup>33</sup> Indeed, in the twentieth century critics have also praised the immense poetic strength of the work, but have continued to be perturbed by the meaning. Three examples may stand for many. Max Kommerell in his famous *Gedanken über Gedichte* steadfastly rejected anti-Christian interpretations:

eine heftige, schwül gespannte Liebesstimmung, die ins Gespenstische umschlägt,

schließlich die feierlich beschwörende Verrufung der christlichen Frevel an Liebe, Leib und Blut aus dem Munde der Wiedergängerin; ... Die letzten Strophen rechnen unter die größten sprachlichen Taten dieses Dichters. Altertümlich ist also nur das Motiv, das weniger antik als slavisch ist, ein echtes Balladenmotiv, nur daß es hier eine weltgeschichtliche Tragweite bekommt. ... Dennoch ist es nicht erlaubt, das Gedicht als antichristliches Manifest aufzufassen. Es ist Ballade. ... Es gibt in Goethes Werk mehrere Ordnungen und mehrere Gerichtsbarkeiten. Und nur alle zusammen sind Goethe selbst.<sup>34</sup>

Emil Staiger, in the Artemis memorial edition reacted to this ballad and to 'Der Gott und die Bajadere' as to 'unheimliche fremde Gäste' ('uncanny alien guests'):

Wie fremd bleibt ... der innige Bund von Liebe und Tod, wie fremd zumal die Vampyrage mit ihrer verführerisch grausigen Stimmung! Gleich einem ungeheuren Traum, zu dem der Erwachte sich kaum zu bekennen wagt, muß das Gedicht sich von der Seele Goethes losgelöst haben. Wir hören denn auch, daß es als Geheimnis jahrzehntelang in ihm verborgen lag, bevor es in solcher Vollenendung, in solcher dämonischen Stille, in diesen Strophen von evokativer Kraft als Kunstwerk gestaltet werden konnte. Einige Freunde, darunter bedeutende Kenner des Dichters, waren bestürzt.<sup>35</sup>

And one of the most recent interpreters, the academician Sergej Ivanovič Sobolevskij totally neglects the vampire element in his study 'Goethe's "Bride of Corinth" and its Antique Source' and then by necessity finds certain parts to be 'enigmatic' and 'unexplainable'.<sup>36</sup>

Goethe mentioned the vampire later, in passing, in the Second *Faust*,<sup>37</sup> and praised John Polidori's *The Vampyre*, which he, with many contemporaries, mistook for a work by Lord Byron.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, the aging court counsellor spoke often enough against 'morbid exaggerations,' Kleist's 'perversions,' the 'sick' and 'pathologic' romanticism, castigating the 'excesses' of that 'ultra-romantic' tendency which, in his words, swamps literature with infamies and revolting ugliness, and chooses its heroes among thieves and galley slaves, vampires and monsters. Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris* merited the distinction of being the most disgusting novel ever written.<sup>39</sup> Still, Goethe had himself given an early example of such ambiguities. He provided the very first, and for this reason the most disturbing, image of one of man's existential dualities: a poetic picture of that impassioned love which is also an obsession with death, of that lustful marriage of Eros and Thanatos which prefigures the voluptuous mating of Freud's sex and death instincts. Goethe's vampirism was, as a result, not only a forerunner of the romantic agony

depicted by Mario Praz in his inquiry into the beauty of the Medusa, the metamorphoses of Satan, the shadow of the divine Marquis, and *la belle dame sans merci*.<sup>40</sup> It was also a milestone on the road to romantic exploitations of this motif in works by Southey, Coleridge, Lamb, Moore, Polidori, Shelley, Keats, Poe, Tieck, Brentano, Hoffmann, Nodier, Mérimée, Dumas, Baudelaire, Potocki, Mickiewicz, Gogol', Aleksej Tolstoj, and others. 'The Bride of Corinth' is likewise the direct impetus of such works as Théophile Gautier's novella 'La Morte amoureuse' (1836) and his poem 'Les Taches jaunes' (1844).<sup>41</sup> It is tempting – and comparatists succumb easily to such blandishments – to perceive an uninterrupted red thread leading from this ballad to the peculiar concept about the relationship of love, beauty, and death expressed by August von Platen in the brief fragment 'Tristan' (1825):

Wer die Schönheit angeschaut mit Augen,  
Ist dem Tode schon anheimgegeben,  
Wird für keinen Dienst der Erde taugen,  
Und doch wird er vor dem Tode beben,  
Wer die Schönheit angeschaut mit Augen. ...<sup>42</sup>

One finds here a concept which Richard Wagner and Thomas Mann later used so skillfully as an element of their large embroidered tapestries of music, poetry, and fiction. Love and death, love stronger than death, death which kills lovers – these are motifs which existed before Goethe and which can be traced back to Greek mythology. But his ballad is the first poetically perfect rendering of the violent erotic *Liebestod*.<sup>43</sup>

Let us return to the opening proposition. Throughout the century – as shown by Georges Gusdorf and Roland Mortier among many contemporary scholars<sup>44</sup> – the light of reason had to contend with that of sentiment, passion, enthusiasm, and genius, the striving for order and culture with that for freedom and nature. If Voltaire opted for scepticism and irony, Rousseau for the voice of intuition and emotion, Diderot and Goethe demonstrated the coincidence or alternation of both motivations within one life. Roland Mortier is justified, therefore, in rejecting the more traditional scheme of an eighteenth century characterised by a succession of three distinct phases: critical reason, preromantic sensibility, and romanticism, and in concluding that the century was founded on the dialectic between two main tendencies, that of the rational which dominates towards the beginning, and that of the irrational which becomes increasingly prominent towards the end.<sup>45</sup>

It is useful to remind oneself that vampiromania, so popular in paraliterature since Polidori and Bram Stoker, and a favourite of modern

moviegoers and T.V. watchers, had already titillated the reading classes of the self-consciously civilized and enlightened parts of eighteenth-century Europe. And there is a more serious side to the delightful shivers provided by this motif. Borrowed from the darkest collective beliefs of the less progressive oral cultures of Eastern, Central, and South-Eastern Europe, the idea of the vampire met and merged with the deep shadows stretching from the dim, ancient past and reaching up from within the unfathomable depths of the Western psyche, revealing its powers of horror, its own abjection.<sup>46</sup> Even Goethe, ever endeavouring to overcome a certain 'daemonic side' ('das Dämonische') in the world and in himself,<sup>47</sup> nourished in his subconsciousness for long years the archetypal fear of the dead, the primordial dread of the woman, and for a creative moment succumbed to both.

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## Notes

- 1 For these contrasts see, among many other studies, Auguste Viatte, *Les Sources occultes du romantisme, illuminisme — théosophie, 1770-1820*. Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée, 46-47, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Champion, 1928); Georges Gusdorf, *Les Sciences humaines et la pensée occidentale. VII: Naissance de la conscience romantique au siècle des lumières* (Paris: Payot, 1976). For the rise of black humour in the eighteenth century see Patrick O'Neill, 'The Comedy of Entropy: The Contexts of Black Humour,' *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/ Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée*, 10 (1983), esp. 149-156.
- 2 R.D. Scott, *The Holy and the Daemonic from Sir Thomas Browne to William Blake* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982). See also the same author's, 'The Witch of Endor and the Gadarene Swine: The Debate over Witchcraft and Daemonianism in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' *Essays in Literature*, 9 (1982), 143-154.
- 3 Some of the more useful general studies and anthologies of vampirism are: Stefan Hock, *Die Vampyrsagen und ihre Verwertung in der deutschen Litteratur, Forschungen zur neueren Litteraturgeschichte*, 17 (Berlin: A Duncker, 1900; rpt. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1977); Ernst Havekost, *Die Vampyrsage in England* (Halle a.S.: privately printed, 1914); Dudley Wright, *Vampires and Vampirism*, 2nd rev. ed. (London: W. Rider, 1924; rpt. as *The Book of Vampires*, New York: Causeway Books, 1973); Montague Summers, *The Vampire: His Kith and Kin* (London: K. Paul, 1928; rpt. New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1960); same, *The Vampire in Europe* (London: K. Paul, 1929; rpt. New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1968); Tihomir Đorđević, *Vampir i druga bića u našem narodnom verovanju i predanju*, ed. V.S. Radovanović, Srpska Akademija Nauka, Od. društvenih nauka, Srpski etnografski zbornik, 66, drugo od., Život i običaji narod-



- ni, 30 (Beograd: S.A.N., 1953); Ornella Volta and Valerio Riva, eds., *I vampiri tra noi* (Milano: G. Feltrinelli, 1960; French adaptation as *Histoires de vampires*, Paris: R. Laffont, 1961); Ornella Volta, *Le Vampire: la mort, le sang, la peur*, Bibl. internationale d'Érotologie, 8 (Paris: Pauvert, 1962); Dieter Sturm and Klaus Völker, eds., *Von denen Vampiren oder Menschensaugern: Dichtungen und Dokumente* (München: C. Hauser, 1968); Raymond T. McNally and Radu Florescu, *In Search of Dracula: A True History of Dracula and the Vampire Legends* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1972); Aribert Schroeder, *Vampirismus: Seine Entwicklung vom Thema zum Motiv*, Studien zur Anglistik, 8 (Frankfurt a.M.: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1973); Jan L. Perkowski, *Vampires of the Slavs* (Cambridge, MA: Slavica Publishers, 1976); Christopher Frayling, ed., *The Vampire: Lord Ruthven to Count Dracula* (London: V. Gollancz, 1978); Harry A. Senn, *Were-Wolf and Vampire in Romania*, East European Monographs, 99 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982). These studies notwithstanding, all original sources mentioned in the text have been used *de visu*.
- 4 Paul Hazard, *La Crise de la conscience européenne, 1680-1715* (Paris: Boivin, 1935).
- 5 For a Slavic origin see among the old sources J.J. Hanus[h], 'Die Vampyre,' *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, 4 (1859), 198-201, esp. 200-201; among the newer Summers, *The Vampire*, pp. 18-20; Milan Budimir, 'Vampirizam u evropskoj književnosti,' *Analni Filološkog fakulteta*, 6 (1966), 268-73, esp. 271-72; Schroeder, pp. 13-28; and most standard etymological dictionaries of European languages. For the first instance of the often cited 'Turkish' theory, see Franz Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen* (Wien: W. Braumüller, 1886), pp. 374-75.
- 6 For the Austrian reports see part II, ch. xi, pp. 278ff., 281ff.
- 7 The report is printed in most sources mentioned in note 3 and also in Dom Calmet's book (see notes 6 and 9). With small corrections, I am following the English translation in Frayling, pp. 28-31.
- 8 *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et de Beatorum Canonizatione* (Romae: Salomoni, 1749 and 1756), liber IV, pars I, caput xxi, pp. 323-24 (my translation).
- 9 Dom Augustin Calmet, *Traité sur les apparitions des esprits, et sur les vampires, ou les revenans de Hongrie, de Moravie, & c.*, nouvelle éd. (Paris: Debure l'ainé, 1751), II, 257, 259, 305, and 307 respectively. (In Frayling's translation, pp. 34f.: 'Supposing there be any reality in the fact of these apparitions of vampires, shall they be attributed to God, to angels, to the spirits of these ghosts, or to the devil? ... We must remain silent on this matter, since it has not pleased God to reveal to us either the extent of the demon's power, or the way in which such things may come to pass ... The stories told of these apparitions, and all the distress caused by these supposed vampires, are totally without solid proof. I am not surprised that the Sorbonne has condemned the bloody and violent retribution wrought on these corpses; but it is astonishing that the magistrates and secular bodies have not employed their authority and legal force to put an end to it ... This is a mysterious and difficult matter, and I leave bolder and more proficient minds to resolve it ...')
- 10 'Father Calmet has written an absurd book on this subject, a book one would not have thought him capable of writing. It only goes to show how far the human mind is prone to superstition.' (Translation in Frayling, p. 35.)

- 11 Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes*, nouvelle éd. [L. Moland] conforme pour le texte à l'éd. de Beuchot (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1879; rpt. Nendeln/Lichtenstein, 1967), XX, 367. ('The profound philosopher Father Calmet found in vampires a conclusive proof. He has seen vampires come out from graveyards to go and suck the blood of sleeping people; it is clear that they could not suck the blood of the living if they were still dead: therefore, they were resurrected; this is imperative.' My translation.)
- 12 Voltaire, pp. 547-51, the quoted sentences are on p. 547, 548, and 550. ('What! Vampires in our Eighteenth Century? Yes ... in Poland, Hungary, Silesia, Moravia, Austria and Lorraine — there was no talk of vampires in London, or even Paris. I admit that in these two cities there were speculators, tax officials and businessmen who sucked the blood of the people in broad daylight, but they were not dead (although they were corrupted enough). These true bloodsuckers did not live in cemeteries: they preferred beautiful palaces. ... Kings are not, properly speaking, vampires. The true vampires are the churchmen who eat at the expense of both the king and the people.' Translation in Frayling, p. 37.)
- 13 Quoted in Frayling, pp. 33-34.
- 14 Wieland, *Gesammelte Schriften: Dichtungen I*, ed. W. Kurrelmeyer, I. Abt. (Berlin: Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1935), XII, 332, vv. 180-81. ('Shah Lolo or the Divine Right of Potentates: An Oriental Tale: Not People, but only vampires he can see, who suck him and devour.' My translation.)
- 15 *Dichtungen II*, XIII, 338, vv. 240-43. ('Clelia or Sinibald or the Inhabitants of Lampeduse: A Poem in Ten Books')
- 16 Goldsmith, *Collected Works*, ed. Arthur Friedman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), II, 206 and 329 (quote).
- 17 Burns, *Poems Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T. Cadell and W. Creech, 1793), II, 183.
- 18 Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes*, éd. Bernard Gagnabin et Marcel Raymond, Bibl. de la Pléiade, 208 (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), IV, 987. ('If there is in this world one story that has been attested, it is that of Vampires. No evidence is lacking: the testimonies on oath, certificates signed by Notables, Surgeons, Priests, Magistrates. The proof in law is thoroughly convincing. Yet with all this, who actually believes in Vampires? Will we all be damned for not believing in them?' Translation in Frayling, p. 37.) The early draft of the MS. Favre of *Emile* is published in *La Profession de foi du vicaire Savoyard de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, éd. Pierre-Maurice Masson, *Collectanea friburgensis*, NS. 16 (Fribourg: O. Gschwend, 1914), cf. p. 331, n. 3.
- 19 'Der Vampir,' *Der Naturforscher*, 48 (Leipzig, 25. 5. 1748), 380-81. Rpt. in Hock, p. 45, but not in Ossenfelder, *Oden und Lieder*, 4 Theile in 1 Band (Dresden und Leipzig: J.W. Harpetern, 1753). ('My dear sweetheart believes ... And when you slumberst peacefully ... [I Will] kiss you like a vampire.' My translation.)
- 20 Erich Schmidt, 'Ossenfelder, Heinrich August,' in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 24 (1887), 498.
- 21 See i.a. Wilhelm Wackernagel (and Heinrich Hoffmann), 'Zur Erklärung und Beurteilung von Bürgers Lenore,' *Altdeutsche Blätter*, 1 (1836), 174-204; W. Wollner, 'Der Lenorenstoff in der slavischen Volkspoesie,' *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 6 (1882), 239-69; Bogomil Krek, 'Ein Beitrag zur Literatur des Lenorenstoffes,' *Archiv*

für slavische Philologie, 10 (1887), 356-59; Karl Krumbacher, 'Ein Problem der vergleichenden Sagenkunde und Litteraturgeschichte (Die Lenorensage),' *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, 1 (1887), 214-20; Nikola Andrić, 'Bajka o Lenori,' *Vienac*, 25 (1893), 513-18, 528-30; Heinrich von Wlislöck, 'Zur Lenorensage,' *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, NS. 11 (1897), 467-74; [Carl] Mengis, 'Lenore,' *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 5 (1932/33), 1209-1211; Will-Erich Peuckert, *Lenore*, FFC, 158 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1955); Gh. Vrabie, 'Călătoria fratelui mort sau motivul Lenore in folclorul sud-est European,' *Limba și literatură*, 3 (București, 1957), 257-94 (revised in G.V., *Balada populară română*, București, 1966, 108-144); Felicia Marinca, 'O variantă a ballada călătoria fratelui mort (motivul Lenore),' *Limba și literatură*, 6 (1962), 387-95; Lutz Röhrich (and Rolf Wilhelm Brednich), *Deutsche Volkslieder I: Erzählende Lieder* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1965), pp. 65ff., No. 8; Jerzy Śliński, 'Zum Lenorenmotiv in den westslawischen Literaturen,' *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Gesellschaftlich- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, 16 (1967), 749-53; Dagmar Burkhart, 'Nachträge zum Lenoren-Motiv auf dem Balkan,' in *Actes du Premier Congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes* (Sofija, 1971), II, 863-68; Maria Ioannidu-Barbarigou, 'La Chanson du Frère Mort: Les Variantes du Pont,' *Actes du II<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Etudes du Sud-est Européen* (1970), V: *Linguistique et Littérature* (Athènes: Assoc. Internationale des Etudes du Sud-est Européen, 1978), 731-40 (with an overview of the older critical literature in Greek). For literary interpretations see, besides Wackernagel, esp. Erich Schmidt, 'Bürgers "Lenore,"' in *Charakteristiken I* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1886), pp. 199-244; Friedrich Gundolf, 'Bürgers "Lenore" als Volkslied,' [1930] rpt. in F.G., *Beiträge zur Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, Eds. V.A. Schmitz and F. Martini, Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung, 54 (Heidelberg: Schneider, 1980), 277-98; Albrecht Schöne, 'Bürgers Lenore,' *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 28 (1954), 324-44; Lore Kaim, 'Bürgers Lenore,' *Weimarer Beiträge*, 2 (1956), 32-68; Hermann Pongs, *Das Bild in der Dichtung III: Der symbolische Kosmos der Dichtung* (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1969), pp. 71-83; Elizabeth Chadwick, 'Poetry as Literate Response: G.A. Bürger and the Ballad Audience in Germany and England 1773-1800,' Diss. Yale 1976-77 (DA, 37, 4382A); Louis Vax, *Les Chefs-d'œuvre de la littérature fantastique* (Paris: P.U.F., 1979), pp. 172-74.

- 22 'Die Braut von Korinth,' in Goethe, *Werke*, Hamburger Ausgabe, ed. Erich Trunz, 12th ed. (München: C.H. Beck, 1981), I, 268-73 (text), 659-64 (commentary). The main critical references to the ballad are: Hock, pp. 66-72; Albert Leitzmann, *Die Quellen von Schillers und Goethes Balladen*, Kleine Texte für Theologische und Philologische Vorlesungen, 73 (Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Weber, 1911; 2nd. ed. 1923), esp. pp. 34-37; Georg Mayer, 'Die Braut von Korinth — eine visionäre Ballade,' *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 181-82 (1920), 30-41; Ludwig Heilbrunn, *Die Braut von Korinth: Vortrag*, Privatdruck der Frankfurter Gesellschaft der Goethe Freunde, 8 (Frankfurt a.M.: Frankfurter Gesellschaft der Goethe Freunde, 1926), 18p.; Paul Ludwig Kämpchen, *Die numinose Ballade: Versuch einer Typologie der Ballade*, Mnemosyne, 4 (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1930), pp. 10-12, 23-24; Max Kommerell, *Gedanken über Gedichte* (Frankfurt a.M.: V. Klostermann, 1943; 2nd. ed. 1956), pp. 361-64; James Boyd, *Notes to Goethe's Poems II (1786-1832)* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1949; rpt. 1958), pp. 82-93; Emil Staiger, *Goethe II: 1786-1814* (Zürich: Atlantis, 1956), pp. 303, 307-15, 346; Albert Zastrau, 'Ballade: Die Braut von Cor-

inth,' in Zastrau, ed., *Goethe Handbuch: Goethe, seine Welt und Zeit in Werk und Wirkung*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1961), I, 643-664; Vax, pp. 174-78.

- 23 The conventional wisdom of Goethe-studies is expressed for instance by Erich Schmidt, 'Quellen Goethescher Balladen. a) Zur "Braut von Korinth,"' *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 9 (1888), 229-34; Eduard von der Hellen, ed., *Goethes Sämtliche Werke: Jubiläums-Ausgabe* (Stuttgart-Berlin: J.G. Cotta, 1912), XL, 347; Leitzmann, p. 34; Mayer, p. 31; Hermann Baumgart, *Goethes lyrische Dichtung in ihrer Entwicklung und Bedeutung* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1933), II, 57; Boyd, II, 85ff. (with reservations); Trunz, p. 663. Exceptions are Hock, pp. 67f., who believes in a contamination of Calmet with Fortis, and Zastrau, who repeatedly signals the general importance of Calmet for Goethe's interest in vampires (*Goethe Handbuch*, 2nd ed., I, 650, 653 — s.v. Ballade, 1535 — s.v. Calmet). For Staiger, the exact source is unknown (Staiger, II, 308).

In any case, Goethe denied the direct use of Phlegon of Tralles. The Chancellor F. von Müller notes in Weimar, under 6 June, 18245: 'Webers Vorlesung über die Braut von Korinth gefiel ihm. Doch fügte er hinzu, habe ich nicht aus Phlegons von Tralles (eines Freigelassenen Kaiser Hadrians) Traktat von wunderlingen Dingen, sondern wo anders her das Sujet genommen, es aber meist vom Stoffartigen entkleidet. Philinnion hieß die Braut.' (Weber's lecture about the Bride of Corinth had pleased him. Nevertheless he added, I have not taken the theme from the Treatise about Wonders by Phlegon of Tralles [a freedman of the Emperor Hadrian], but from somewhere else, and have purified most elements of the subject matter. The bride's name was Philinnion.' My translation.) Flodoard Frhr. v. Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche: Gesamtausgabe*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: F.W. v. Biedermann, 1909-1911), n° 2266, III, 119. For probable family 'table talk' about vampires during Goethe's childhood and youth cf. Franz Götting, 'Die Bibliothek von Goethes Vater,' *Nassauische Annalen*, 64 (1953), 23-69, esp. p. 39.

Dom Calmet juxtaposes this anecdote about 'Philinnium et Machates' with stories about vampires in all versions of his book: Augustin Calmet, *Dissertations sur les apparitions des anges, des démons & des esprits et sur les revenans et vampires ...* (Paris: de Bure l'ainé, 1746), pt. II, ch. v, pp. 265-68; also the same author's, *Traité...* (1751), II, 22-25; etc. The French versions speak of similar stories ('une Histoire qui a quelque rapport à celle-ci'), but the German translations identify the phenomenon with 'Vampiren.' Cf. the same author's, *Gelehrte Verhandlung der Materi von Erscheinungen der Geister, und denen Vampiren in Ungarn...*, 3rd ed. (Augsburg: Matthäus Rieger, 1757), 2. Theil, V. Capitul: Auferstehung oder Erscheinung einer ledigen Weibs-Person, welche seit einigen Monaten verstorben ware, II, 15-21, which is immediately followed, on p. 21, by: VI. Capitul: Ein Weib wird lebendig aus dem Grab gezogen. In einem gantz neuen Buch wird eine Geschichte gelesen, welche dame, so man von denen Vampiren erzehlt, einiger massen aehnlich ist. The story is then compared to that about Machates and Philinnium (p. 22). The 'Hungarian' vampires follow a few pages later (pp. 29ff., 31ff.). The earlier German editions are from 1751, 1752, and perhaps 1755 (cf. *Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums / G.V. / 1700-1910*, v. 23, München-New York-Paris, 1980).

- 24 Abbate Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, 2 vols. (Venezia: A. Milocco, 1774), I, 64 (about vampires), I, 98 ('Asan Aga'). Goethe used the translation by Werthes, *Sitten der Morlacken aus dem Italiänischen übersetzt* (Bern: Typographische Gesellschaft, 1775), p. 33 (vampire), p. 90 ('Klaggesang'); cf. *Reise zu den*

- Morlacken*, 2 vols. (Bern: Typographische Gesellschaft, 1776), pp. 95 and 152, respectively.
- 25 All quotations from the poem follow the edition by Trunz. English translations are provided by W.E. Aytoun and Theodore Martin in Thomas Mann, ed., *The Permanent Goethe*, The Permanent Library Series (New York: The Dial Press, 1948), pp. 353-58.
- 26 Nightly from my narrow chamber driven,/ Come I to fulfil my destined part,/ Him to seek to whom my troth was given,/ And to draw the life-blood from his heart./ He hath served my will;/ More I yet must kill,/ For another prey I now depart.'
- 27 Gottfried August Bürger, *Gedichte*, ed. August Sauer, Kürschner's Deutsche National-Litteratur, 78 (Berlin and Stuttgart: W. Spemann, s.d. [1884]), p. 174. These lines became in Walter Scott's 'William and Helen' (1795), his so-called 'imitation from the German of Bürger,' the following stanza: 'E'en when the heart's with anguish cleft,/ Revere the doom of Heaven!/ Her soul is from her body reft:/ Her spirit be forgiven!' Scott, *Poetical Works: With the Author's Introduction and Notes*, ed. J. Logie Robertson (London: Oxford University Press, 1904; rpt. 1967), pp. 630-34, quotation on p. 634.
- 28 See *Goethes Werke*, Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Großherzogin Sophie von Sachsen-Weimar, 143 vols., Abt. I: Werke, 55 vols. (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1887-1919), Abt. I, vol. 53, pp. 8-18, 347-51, 430 (No. 158).
- 29 Herder is quoted by Boyd, II, 84-85.
- 30 Germaine Necker, Baronne de Staël-Holstein, *De l'Allemagne*, éd. Comtesse Jean de Pange [and S. Balayé], 5 vols., Les Grands Ecrivains de la France (Paris: 1958-60), II, 202-209, quotation on p. 207.
- 31 Voyslav M. Yovanovitch, *'La Guzla' de Prosper Mérimée: Etude d'histoire romantique* (Paris: Hachette, 1911), pp. 318-19.
- 32 *La Sorcière* (Paris: Club Français du Livre, 1959), p. 333. ('Goethe, so noble in form, does not reach the same perfection in meaning. He spoils the marvellous story, pollutes the Greek with a horrible Slavic notion. The very moment we are ready to shed tears, he transforms the girl into a vampire. She comes because she thirsts for blood and wants to suck his heart-blood. And Goethe lets her coldly state this filth: "After finishing him off, I am going to the others, the young generation will succumb to my fury." ' My translation)
- 33 'Wie die Novelle in jedem Punkt ihres Seins und ihres Werdens neu und frappant sein muß, so sollte vielleicht das poetische Märchen und vorzüglich die Romanze unendlich bizarr sein; ... Es gibt eine Bizarrerie der Begeisterung, die sich mit der höchsten Bildung und Freiheit verträgt, und das Tragische nicht bloß verstärkt, sondern verschönert und gleichsam vergöttlicht; wie in Goethes "Braut von Korinth," die Epoche in der Geschichte der Poesie macht. Das Rührende darin ist zerreißend und doch verführerisch lockend. Einige Stellen könnte man fast bürlesk nennen, und eben in diesen erscheint das Schreckliche zermalmend groß.' Friedrich Schlegel, 'Fragmente,' *Athenäum: Eine Zeitschrift von August Wilhelm Schlegel und Friedrich Schlegel*, 1. Bd., 2. Stück (Berlin, 1798), No. 429; rpt. in *Goethe im Urteil seiner Kritiker*, ed. Karl Robert Mandelkow (München: C.H. Beck, 1975), I, 155. ('As the novella has to be new and astonishing in every moment of its being

and becoming, so the poetic folk-tale and especially the ballad probably should be infinitely strange; ... There is a bizarrerie of enthusiasm which accords well with the highest refinement and freedom; this bizarrerie not only strengthens the tragic, but also embellishes and almost apotheosizes it. This is the case with Goethe's "Bride of Corinth," which is epoch-making in the history of poetry. Its pathos is lacerating, but still seductively attractive. A few passages could be called almost farcical, but in the very same ones appears a horror of annihilating proportions.' My translation)

- 34 Kommerell, p. 362 and 364, respectively. ('... a passionate, overheated and tense mood of love, turning into the ghastly; at the end the solemn incantatory curse ... pronounced by the revenant ... The last stanzas belong among the greatest rhetorical achievements of the poet. Old is therefore only the motif, which is less from Antiquity and more Slavic, a genuine balladic motif, but enlarged to proportions of world history ... Nevertheless, it is not permissible to understand the poem as an anti-Christian manifesto. It is a ballad ... There are in Goethe's works several orders and several moral judgements. And only all taken together represent Goethe himself.' My translation)
- 35 Goethe, *Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche*, ed. Ernst Beutler, I: *Gedichte*, ed. Emil Staiger (Zürich, Artemis, 1950), p. 741. ('How strange remains ... the intimate link between love and death, how strange especially the vampire legend with its seductively horrible mood! The poem must have arisen from Goethe's soul as a monstrous dream, almost unacceptable after waking up. And we know that it slumbered in him for decades as a secret, before he could shape it with such perfect artistry, in such daemonic silence, into these stanzas of extreme evocative power. A few of his friends, among them important connoisseurs of his work, were dumfounded.' My translation)
- 36 Sergej Ivanovič Sobolevskij, ' "Korinfskaja nevesta" Gëte i eë drevnij original,' *Izvestia Akademii Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie literatury i jazyka*, 19 (Moskva, 1960), No. 4, 284-300, esp. p. 300.
- 37 *Faust II*, act I, prose text after v. 5298.
- 38 In a conversation with F. v. Müller, Weimar, Febr. 25, 1820 (No. 1902 in *Goethes Gespräche*, 2nd ed. Biedermann; No. 4756 in *Goethes Gespräche*, ed. Wolfgang Herwig, 4 vols. [Zürich-Stuttgart: Artemis, 1965-72]).
- 39 About Kleist see e.g. the paragraph in 'Ludwig Tieck's Dramaturgische Blätter,' *Goethes Werke*, Weimarer Ausgabe, XL, 178-79, and the conversation with J.D. Falk, probably in 1810 (No. 1373, ed. Biedermann; No. 3338, ed. Herwig). About Victor Hugo: 'Notre-Dame de Paris gelesen ... Es ist das abscheulichste Buch, das je geschrieben worden!' in a conversation with Soret, Weimar, June 27, 1831, as rendered by Eckermann (No. 2976a ed. Biedermann, Nachträge), see also Soret's version (No. 2976, ed. Biedermann; No. 6861, ed. Herwig); also the private journal of Maria Pawlowna, June 16, 1831 (No. 6854, ed. Herwig) and June 23, 1831 (No. 6859, ed. Herwig). About Mérimée's *La Guzla*, in a MS entry: 'der gräßliche Vampirismus' (Weimarer Ausgabe, XLII/1, 281-82). About Romanticism e.g.: Conversation with Riemer, Karlsbad, Aug. 28, 1808 (No. 1091, ed. Biedermann; No. 2731, ed. Herwig); 'Das Klassische nenne ich das Gesunde! und das Romantische das Kranke,' in a conversation with Eckermann, Weimar, April 2, 1829 (No. 2672, ed. Biedermann); 'pathologisch, oder auch romantisch,' in a conversation with Eckermann, Weimar, April 5, 1829 (No. 2674, ed. Biedermann); 'Classisch ist das

- Gesunde, romantisch das Kranke,' in *Maximen und Reflexionen über Literatur und Kunst (Aus dem Nachlaß)*, Weimarer Ausgabe, XLII/2, 246, and similar statements on p. 247.
- 40 Mario Praz, *La carne, la morte e il diavolo nella letteratura romantica*, 3rd enl. ed., *Contributi alle storia della 'civiltà europea'*, (Firenze: Sansoni, 1948).
- 41 'La Morte amoureuse,' *La Chronique de Paris*, 23 and 26 June, 1836; later in Gautier, *Nouvelles* (Paris: Charpentier, 1845). 'Les Taches jaunes,' in Gautier, *Poésies complètes*, éd. René Jasinski, nouvelle éd. (Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1970), II, 242-44, No. 70.
- 42 August Graf von Platen, 'Tristan,' in *Sämtliche Werke*, historisch-kritische Ausgabe, eds. Max Koch and Erich Petzet (Leipzig: M. Hesse, s.d. [1910]), II, 94-95. ('Whosoever has seen beauty with his eyes,/ Is already a prey of death,/ He will not be able to serve life,/ And still he will tremble before death,/ Whosoever has seen beauty with his eyes.' My translation)
- 43 For the less immediately sexual death through love see Michel Fougères, *La Liebestod dans le roman français, anglais et allemand au dix-huitième siècle* (Ottawa: Naaman, 1974).
- 44 For Gusdorf see n. 1. Roland Mortier, *Clartés et Ombres du Siècle des Lumières* (Genève: Droz, 1969).
- 45 Roland Mortier, 'Lumières, préromantisme, romantisme: un problème de délimitation,' in *Actes du VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès de l'Association Internationale de Littérature Comparée: Montréal-Ottawa 1973*, eds. Milan V. Dimić and Eva Kushner, *Bibliothèque de la Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée*, 2 (Stuttgart: Kunst und Wissen, 1979), I, 105-107.
- 46 For this interpretation of Gothicism see Devendra P. Varma, *The Gothic Flame: Being a History of the Gothic Novel in England: Its Origins, Efflorescence, Disintegration, and Residuary Influence* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966; 1st ed. 1957).
- 47 Walter Muschg, 'Goethes Glaube an das Dämonische,' *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 32 (1958), 321-43; Benno von Wiese, 'Das Dämonische in Goethes Weltbild und Dichtung,' in B. v. W., *Der Mensch in der Dichtung: Studien zur deutschen und europäischen Literatur* (Düsseldorf: Bagel, 1958), pp. 72-91.