Did the Classical World Know of Vampires?

Daniel Ogden

Abstract

Did the Classical world know of vampires? No. This piece asks instead what phenomenon of the Classical world most closely anticipates the modern conceptualisation of the vampire — a conceptualisation extracted from the two classics of Victorian vampire fiction, Sheridan le Fanu's *Carmilla* and Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. Consideration is given first to a series of ancient entities in later Greek literature that approach a simplistic definition of 'returning from the dead and eating people: Phlegon's Philinnion and Polycritus, Pausanias' Hero of Temesa, and Philostratus' Lamia and Achilles. But it is then contended that if one considers the full sweep of motifs associated with the modern vampire in the round, a better overall alignment is to be found for it with the Roman figure of the *strix*-witch, as described by Ovid and Petronius and later on by John Damascene and Burchard of Worms, for all that she is not actually dead.

Keywords

Vampire, *strix*, witch, Carmilla, Dracula, motifs.

Biography

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As a long-term promoter of the weird and the wonderful in the story-telling of the Classical world, I have often been asked whether it knew of vampires, so I consider it useful to address the question in print. The straight and simple answer — let us be plain about this — is “no.” But if it is then asked, “Well then, what was the *nearest thing* to a vampire in the Classical world?”, there is something to discuss.

The answer to this second question depends, of course, on what exactly it is the inquirer means by “vampire.” A basic definition that many will find acceptable, I imagine, is “a dead person that returns to devour people.” In the first part of this essay we will look, with due diligence, at a series of Greek tales that might be thought to feature entities that approach this definition. The least problematic fit, it will be seen, is to be found in Phlegon’s tale of Polycritus. But even though Polycritus certainly meets the criteria of returning from the dead and of devouring people, most readers will probably find him a strangely unsatisfactory vampire.

The reason for this is that when we, in the twenty-first-century West, think of a “vampire”, we conjure up for ourselves an image that is rather more sophisticated, and rather more specific, than that entailed by the simplistic definition just offered, an image that carries with it a broad set of distinctive motifs. Prominent amongst these motifs are likely to be the following: the vampire is a person that returns from the dead; even if youthful in appearance, he (or she) is old (at any rate, this is true of the more powerful ones); he operates by night; he flies to attack his victims; he changes his form to support his attacks, typically into that of an animal; he can travel invisibly or at any rate in the form of a wisp of vapour; he must overcome the special challenge of entering the home in which his victim lies; this home and the victim himself or herself can be protected from his attacks by garlic; the victims he favours are usually young; he devours them, most typically drinking their blood; sometimes

he kills his victims outright, but at other times they are left to fail more slowly; he can be destroyed with a stake through the heart or by exposure to sunlight.

Most vampires of contemporary western literature and cinema will correspond reasonably well with this adumbration; at any rate, they will exhibit a Wittgensteinian "family resemblance" to it — that is to say, *the bulk of their own motifs will overlap* with those of the list above, even if they don't all correspond. In fact, the motifs of the list I have just given are all derived from Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, and true of Dracula himself within it. And this rather makes the point, if making it needs, that our modern western conception of the vampire is dominated by the vampire of Victorian fiction, and by the vampires of the *Dracula* novel above all.

If we now rearticulate our enquiry to ask, "What entity from the Classical world, *in the broad sweep of its motifs*, cleaves most closely to our modern conception of the vampire?", we are drawn to a rather a different answer, namely the Roman phenomenon of the *strix*-witch. The *strix*-witch fails our initial, simplistic "vampire" definition by virtue of the stark fact that she is not dead, even if she does devour people and in particular drink their blood. But if we do indeed align the broad sweep of her motifs with those of the modern, (post-)Victorian vampire, we see that there is a striking degree of overlap between the two sets (again: think Wittgenstein). This will be the task of the second and major part of the essay. We will proceed in that by cataloguing the principal motifs of the *strix*-witch, as extracted from the most substantial Classical (and Medieval) narratives and discussions of her, and then demonstrate their strong alignment with the motifs of the modern conception of the vampire. The "modern conception of the vampire" itself will be approached through case studies of the two most important and influential Victorian vampire novels, *Dracula* again, of course, and also its close predecessor, Sheridan le Fanu's *Carmilla.*

1. Returning from the dead and devouring people

In addressing our basic definition of a vampire, “a dead person that returns to devour people”, we may give brief consideration to five delightful creatures from the later Greek tradition.

Calling for mention first is Philinnion, the girl revenant of Phlegon of Tralles’ *Mirabilia* (Περὶ θαυμασίων, *On Marvels*), composed *c.* AD 140. Phlegon, from a home town in Caria in Asia Minor, was a freedman of the emperor Hadrian and one of the senior administrators of empire. The *Mirabilia* is a work in the (retrospectively identified) genre of “paradoxography”, a rather random collection of tales and reports of marvellous but nonetheless supposedly true phenomena. The story of Philinnion, the first in the sequence, with a dramatic date of 356–336 BC, draws ultimately on folkloric traditions, seemingly via an antecedent literary source, probably of late Hellenistic date. It proceeds as follows. In Amphipolis, during the reign of Philip II of Macedon, the young bride Philinnion died in circumstances that remain unclear to us. Six months later her bereaved parents took in a lodger, one Machates, whom they installed, we presume, in her former childhood bedroom. Over three nights he was visited there by a beautiful young woman, who slept with him and exchanged love-tokens with him. On the second night the girl was espied by the house’s maid, who recognised the young mistress. On the third night, accordingly, her bereaved parents burst into the room and embraced their daughter. But she was far from pleased to see them and protested that, because of their interference, she must now die for good, and promptly did so, leaving a corpse before them. Upon investigation, the love gifts Machates had given her were found within her sealed tomb. Machates committed suicide in despair. Philinnion does not make a very satisfactory vampire: whilst she certainly returns from the dead, and also possesses the sinister simultaneous qualities of being both tangible (she can

have sex) and intangible (she can escape from her sealed tomb), we are given no reason to think that she plans to devour Machates. At best, Machates could be understood, at one level, to be contracting the contagion of death from her. This need not be with her intention. However, the rational explanation supplied for his death – that he commits suicide either in despair at losing her or in horror at what he has just experienced – is perfectly satisfactory. Philinnion only looks like a vampire in the retrospect of the 1798 ballad her story inspired (von) Goethe to write, *The Bride of Corinth* (*Die Braut von Korinth*):[1]

> From the grave will I be driven out,
> Still to seek the boon I miss,
> Still to love the husband already lost,
> And to drink the blood of his heart…
> Beautiful young man, no longer can you live… (ll. 176–83)[2]

The second tale of Phlegon's *Mirabilia*, that of Polycritus, actually provides a better candidate for a vampire. This tale has a dramatic date of 314–13 BC, and, like that of Philinnion, is seemingly based on a Hellenistic literary antecedent but draws ultimately on folkloric traditions. According to this tale, Polycritus, one of the governors of Aetolia, died on the fourth night after taking a wife. But his widow had conceived, and in due course she was delivered of a hermaphroditic baby. The Aetolians considered this to be an ill portent, and held an assembly to decide what to do with the child. As they debated, the ghost of Polycritus appeared amongst them, dressed in black, and asked them to give him the baby. As the Aetolians havered over this in turn, the ghost seized the baby for itself, tore the child limb from limb and devoured it, whilst the people began to throw stones at it, without effect. The ghost then disappeared, leaving behind only the baby's disembodied head lying on the

ground. This now opened its mouth to deliver elaborate prophecies of doom for the Aetolian people, which were in due course fulfilled. Here, then, we have a ghost or revenant of seemingly super-human strength that proceeds to devour a living human. Once again, the ghost would appear to be simultaneously tangible and intangible: on the one hand it can destroy the baby; on the other it can appear out of and disappear into thin air, and Phlegon may imply that the rocks with which it is pelted pass straight through it.[3]

Another candidate is the "Hero of Temesa", the most important account of whom is supplied by Pausanias of Magnesia, the later-second-century AD author of the well-known *Guide to Greece* on which we depend for so much of our understanding of the Classical-archaeological sites of the Greek mainland, and indeed of ancient Greek religious practices. When Odysseus and his crew put in at Temesa in southern Italy, one of his sailors, Polites, became drunk and raped a local virgin. The angry locals stoned him to death. Thereafter they were harried by the *daimōn* ("demon") of the man, the so-called "Hero of Temesa", who proceeded to kill them indiscriminately. The Delphic oracle helped the Temesans bring the situation under partial control: they were able to put an end to the indiscriminate marauding by giving their fairest virgin to the Hero as a bride on an annual basis. This grim ritual was eventually consigned to the past when the athlete Euthymus of Locri fell in love with the latest victim and saved her by chasing the Hero into the sea. There are other ways of reading what Pausanias tells us, but the most obvious (and usual) assumption is that the annual bride dies at the hands of the Hero, just as the randomly preyed-upon locals for whom she is substituted had died previously. A further obvious inference is that she is to be eaten by him. This is ever the fate of the young man or young woman offered up to control the behaviour of a ravaging monster in Greek myth: we think of Hesione, sacrificed to the Sea Monster of Troy; Andromeda, sacrificed to the Sea Monster of Ethiopia/Joppa; Cleostratus sacrificed to Dragon of Thespiae; and Alcyoneus sacrificed to the Lamia-Sybaris of Cirrha. On this basis,

we may think that we have in the Hero of Temesa a dead individual that returns in presumably revenant form to devour people. Pausanias also describes the Hero as wearing a wolfskin, in such a way as to suggest that he may carry off his victim in the guise of a wolf. This, in itself, is a further indication that the victim's fate is to be eaten, but it may also intimate that we should be comparing the Hero with a werewolf rather than a vampire. However, the choice need not be as stark as may at first appear: the famed *vrikolakas* of the Balkans is variously conceptualised both as a vampire and as a werewolf, and this merging or identification even finds its way into the best of Victorian vampire fiction: the wolf is a transformation of choice for no less than Dracula himself.[4]

Finally in this section we give consideration to two entities featured in the works of Philostratus of Athens, one of the most distinguished Greek "sophists" (in effect declaimers of rhetoric) of the Roman empire's so-called "Second Sophistic" movement. He was a member of the literary circle gathered by Julia Domna, the mother of the emperor Caracalla, and it is she that is thought to have commissioned his greatest work, an ironic biography of the great itinerant sage Apollonius of Tyana, whose life seems to have been roughly commensurate with the first century AD and who is often described, not inappropriately, as "the pagan Jesus." Both Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* and his *Heroicus*, or *Dialogue on Heroes*, seem to have been completed in the AD 220s or 230s. The *Life* tells how an "apparition" (*phasma*) appeared one day before one of Apollonius' pupils, Menippus, in the form of a beautiful Phoenician woman. He was smitten with her, and began to pay her court. Apollonius warned him that he was "warming a snake [*ophis*] on his bosom." At the hastily arranged wedding ceremony Apollonius continued with the unmasking: the woman was a *lamia* or an *empousa*: "These female creatures," he explained, "fall in love, and they crave sex, but most of all human flesh, and they use sex to ensnare the men upon whom they wish to feed." Philostratus finishes the tale: "She admitted that she was an *empousa* and that she

was feeding Menippus fat with pleasures as a prelude to eating his body. For it was her practice to feed upon beautiful young bodies, since their blood was pure."[5]

There is no doubting the project of eating a living human in this instance (and note the attention to the blood in particular), but what is less clear is what is entailed by the term *phasma*. It would often, and perhaps normally did, denote a ghost, and in some cases *lamias* do seem to have been considered to be the sinister relic of a woman rendered monstrous through grief at the loss of her children (although in these cases the *lamia*'s victims are normally children in turn, and the *lamia* should accordingly be classified as a "child-killing demon"). On this reading at any rate, we may consider that we have in Philostratus' narrative a dead person returning to devour people — and indeed Stannish and Doran have published an elaborate and engaging comparison between Philostratus' *lamia* and Bram Stoker's Dracula in this very journal. But it must be conceded that the tradition of the *lamias* was highly complex, and entities of rather different sorts were brought together under the umbrella of this term. Another recurring element in the conceptualisation of *lamias* was that they were creatures that in some way combined a woman (in form at any rate) and a voracious serpent. When Apollonius declares that the Phoenician woman is a "snake" on Menippus' breast, we should not be misled by the modern English metaphor of clasping a serpent to one's bosom: he surely does mean that she is *in fact* a snake. On this reading, the term *phasma* is perhaps better construed differently: the snake-woman is using her hallucinogenic powers (powers she uses, otherwise, to deck out her wedding hall) to project a false image of herself before Menippus, that of a woman *tout court*.[6]

In Philostratus' *Heroicus* we encounter the dead Achilles, hero of the Trojan war, dwelling on Leuce, the "White Island", supposedly in the Black Sea. One day Achilles appeared before a merchant who was visiting the island, and asked him to bring him a particular slave maiden from Troy. The merchant, thinking that Achilles was in love with the

girl, duly bought her and brought her to him. Achilles repaid him well for her, not only with money but also with the benefit of future prosperity that he was able to confer. The merchant left the girl on the shore for Achilles and put out to sea, but before the ship was even a stade's distance from the land, he heard the girl's cry and turned to see that Achilles was tearing her apart limb from limb. We are to understand that, far from being in love, Achilles' ghost was rather still possessed with the urge to take vengeance against his Trojan enemies, by whatever means he could. As has been noticed by others, this tale exhibits a superficial correspondence with that of Polycritus, in that both ghosts are seen to tear a victim apart. But this Achilles matches our vampire definition poorly. First, although dead and manifesting himself before the merchant, Achilles cannot really be said to be *returning* from the dead in the normal way; in the context of the tale (and the broader myth), the White Island is a sort of paradisical never-never land assigned to Achilles, as specially privileged, to dwell on for eternity after his death, alongside Helen of Troy. It is more a case of the merchant visiting a land of the dead than a dead man visiting the land of the living. Secondly, despite the tearing apart, it is not specified that Achilles actually proceeds to devour his girl victim.[7]

As indicated at the start, it is Polycritus that probably meets the definition of "returning from the dead and devouring people" best and least problematically amongst our five case studies, but few readers, I suspect, will instinctively respond to him as a vampire. For a fuller panoply of the motifs we commonly associate with the vampire today, we must look elsewhere.

2. The broader sweep of motifs: the *strix*-witch

Intriguing and suggestive as these Greek tales are, it is rather a creature fundamentally of the Latin tradition that, whilst not projected as dead, offers the closest degree of integration with the Victorian vampire on a motif-by-motif basis. The world of the *strix*-witch (plu. *striges*; the forms *striga* and *strynga* also occur) is best conveyed directly by a series of four meaty and engaging source texts, which are laid out below. It will be helpful first, however, to present the paradigm of a *strix*-attack narrative in abstract and in the form of a sequence of motifs. These motifs will then be highlighted as they occur in the source passages that follow.[8]

Motif **A**:	the *strix* is an (old) witch;
Motif **B**:	she operates by night;
Motif **C**:	she transforms into an owl or an owl-like creature to fly (the term *strix* also denotes a variety of owl in itself, usually held to be a screech owl);
Motif **D**:	*or* she projects her soul to fly, invisibly (and in this form she can pass through the tiniest of gaps);
Motif **E**:	she screeches as she goes;
Motif **F**:	she endeavours to penetrate a house, imperceptibly (it is her particular challenge to negotiate the various protections of the house's outer shell, including people maintaining watch, locked doors and talismanic plants);
Motif **G**:	once within, she snatches children's bodies in their whole state;
Motif **H**:	*or* she extracts innards from the children's bodies;
Motif **I**:	*or* she extracts moisture of one sort or another from children's bodies;

Motif **J**: *or* she penetrates children's bodies, imperceptibly, to damage them surreptitiously from within;

Motif **K**: *or* she imposes of a time-limit on her victim's life;

Motif **L**: a meta-motif: the tales of the *strix* are often told in a self-consciously folkloric context.

And so to the texts. The poet Ovid, well known for his *Metamorphoses* and his love poetry, left his *Fasti* ("Calendar") unfinished when exiled by Augustus in AD 8. This didactic poem, composed in elegiac couplets, explains the origins of the Roman festivals and their associated customs. Here he speaks of the goddess Carna, who defended doorways from supernatural attacks with her sacred plant, the whitethorn or buckthorn, as she was first called upon to do in order to protect the little boy Proca, the future Alban king:

> **[C]** There are some rapacious birds. These are not the ones that cheated Phineus' mouth of his table [i.e. the Harpies], but they derive their descent from them. They have a large head, their eyes stand proud, their beaks are suited to snatching. There is greyness in their wings and there are hooks on their talons. **[B]** They fly by night **[J]** and seek out children without a nurse. **[G]** They snatch their bodies from their cradles and mar them. **[H]** They are said to tear apart the innards of suckling babies with their beaks, **[I]** and their throats are engorged with the blood they have drunk. **[E]** They are called *striges*; the reason for the name is that they are accustomed to screech [*stridere*] in dreadful fashion **[B]** during the night. Whether, then, these creatures are born in avian form, **[A]** or they are created by means of a spell, and a Marsian dirge transmutes old women into birds, **[F]** they came into Proca's bedchamber. The boy had been born just five days before, and now he was a fresh prey for them. **[I]** They

> sucked out his infant breast with eager tongues. The unfortunate child wailed and called for help. Alarmed at the cry of her charge, his nurse ran to him. She found that his cheeks had been gored by hard talons. What could she do? The colour of his face was that one sometimes finds in late leaves that have been damaged by the new frost. **[L]** She went to Carna and told her all. She said, "There is no need to be frightened: your charge will be safe." She came to the cradle. His mother and his father were weeping. "Hold back your tears: I myself will heal him," she said. **[F]** At once she touched the doorposts, thrice over, with an arbutus branch, and three times she marked the threshold with her arbutus branch. She sprinkled the doorway with water (the water contained an infusion) **[H]** and she held the uncooked entrails of a two-month old sow [*porca*]. This is what she said: "Birds of the night, spare the child's innards; for a small boy a small victim is sacrificed. I pray, take this heart for his heart, these liver-lobes for his liver-lobes. We give you this life to preserve a better one." When she had made her offering, she laid out the parts she had cut in the open air and forbade those attending the rite to look back at them. **[F]** A rod of Janus, taken from a whitethorn bush, was put where the small window allowed light into the bedchamber. It is said that after that the birds no longer invaded the cradle, and the boy's former colour returned to him.
>
> Ovid *Fasti* 6.131–68

Petronius Arbiter, the courtier executed by Nero, *c*. AD 66, left behind a massive comic novel, the *Satyricon*, only a small proportion of which survives to us. The main feature of the remnants is an account of a grotesque dinner party hosted by the nouveau-riche freedman Trimalchio. In the course of this, he exchanges a pair of lurid stories with his fellow freedman Niceros. He responds to Niceros' entertaining werewolf story with the following tale:

> **[L]** I myself will tell you a tale to make you shudder: an ass upon the roof-tiles. When I still had my hair long (for from being a boy I led a life of “Chian” luxury), our master’s favourite boy died. He was a pearl, and delightful in every respect. While his pitiful mother was mourning over him, and many of us were feeling miserable about it, **[E]** the *strigae* suddenly started to screech [*stridere*]. You would have thought it was a dog chasing a hare. We had at that time a Cappadocian slave, tall, quite daring, and strong. **[F]** He boldly drew his sword and ran out of the door, carefully binding up his left hand to use as a shield. He ran one of the women through, in the middle, round about here—gods preserve the part of my body I indicate. **[D]** We heard a groan, but—honestly, I won’t lie—we did not actually see them. Our great hulk of a man returned within and threw himself down on the bed. **[H]** His whole body was black and blue, as if he’d been beaten with whips (this was obviously because an evil hand [*mala manus*] had touched him). **[F]** We shut the door and returned to what we were doing, but, when the mother embraced the body of her son, as she touched it she realized that it was just a tiny thing made of straw. **[H]** It had no heart or guts, nothing. **[D, G]** You see, the *strigae* had stolen the boy and left a straw doll in his place. I beg you to believe it. **[A]** Women that know something more do exist, **[B]** night-women do exist, and what is up, they can make down. But that hulking man never properly recovered his colour after this adventure, and indeed he went mad and died a few days later.
>
> Petronius *Satyricon* 63

Now to a later Greek text, evidently here recycling material from the Roman tradition. This is a homiletic fragment ascribed, probably falsely, to John Damascene (*c*. AD 650 – *c*. AD 750),

a prolific author of Christian philosophical and polemical works. The romance *Barlaam and Ioasaph* is also (and famously) attributed to him, but that is certainly not his. The fragment, which also speaks of dragons, has the following advice on *striges*:[9]

> I don't want you to be ignorant about this. **[L]** Some less well-educated people say that there are women called *stryngai* and also *geloudes*. **[B, D]** They say that they appear through the air by night. **[F]** Arriving at a house, they find no hindrance in doors and bolts, but get in even when doors have been securely locked, and smother the children. **[H]** Others say that they devour their liver **[I]** and all their moisture **[K]** and impose a time-limit on their lives. Some insist that they have seen them, **[D, E]** others that they have heard them. **[F]** Somehow, they enter houses, even though the doors have been locked, together with their body, **[D]** or just by means of their bare soul. And I will declare that only Christ, Jesus Christ our God, was able to do this. After he rose again from the dead, he entered through locked doors to meet his holy apostles. **[A]** But if a woman mage did this, and does it, then the Lord no longer did anything amazing with the locked doors. **[D]** If they were to say that she enters the house just as a bare soul, with her body resting on a bed, then hear what I have to say, which is what our Lord Jesus Christ said: "I have the power to lay down my soul, and I have the power in myself to take it up again." And he did this once on the occasion of his holy passion. **[A]** But if a disgusting woman mage can do this whenever she wishes, then the Lord did nothing more than what she does. **[H]** And if she has devoured the child's liver, how is he able to live? **[L]** All this is nonsense talked by some heretics opposed to the one and holy Church, with a view to diverting some people of the simpler sort from orthodoxy.
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> [John Damascene] *On Dragons and Witches*, *PG* xciv, 1604

Finally, to another Latin text, and one later still, but again evidently well steeped in ancient tradition. The nineteenth book of the *Decrees*, the compilation of canon law made by Burchard, bishop of Worms, *c*. AD 1012–20, is also known as the *Corrector* or the *Medicus*. Whilst the following passage does not specify the term *strix*, it is evident from its general congruence with the sources laid out above that that is precisely its subject at this point:

> **[L]** Have you come to believe **[A]** what many women that have turned to Satan believe and declare to be true? **[B]** Do you believe that, in the silence of a disturbed night, when you have put yourself to bed and your husband lies in your embrace, **[F]** you are able to depart through closed doors, for all that you have a bodily form? **[D]** That you have the power to travel considerable distances over the world, together with other women in the grip of a similar delusion? **[J]** That, without any visible weapons, you have the power to kill people that have been baptized and redeemed by the blood of Christ? **[H, I]** That you have the power to cook their flesh and devour them and to substitute their heart with straw or wood, or something else of this sort? **[J, K]** That you have the power to restore them to life after you have eaten them, and allow them to live for a limited reprieve? **[L]** If that is what you have come to believe, you should do penance for forty days, that is a diet of bread and water only, for forty days, for a series of seven years.
>
> Burchard of Worms *Decretorum libri xx* 19.5, *PL* cxl, col. 973

Such are the four most important texts, ancient and medieval, to bear on the *strix*. Motifs of sorts included in them are also to be found across a range of briefer references to the phenomenon.[10]

We may now compare the constituent motifs of the *strix*-attack paradigm with those associated with vampires in the two great classics of Victorian vampire fiction, Sheridan le Fanu's *Carmilla* and, of course, Bram Stoker's *Dracula*.[11]

Sheridan le Fanu was a distinguished Dublin-born specialist in Gothic fiction; his works include the outstanding short story "Strange Event in the Life of Schalken the Painter" (1839) and the early locked-room-mystery novel *Uncle Silas* (1864). In his 1871–2 novella *Carmilla*, his narrator Laura tells how she fell victim to the Styrian (Austrian) vampire Carmilla.[12] She had evolved from Mircalla (note the anagram), Countess Karnstein, whose floruit, as we learn from a painting of her dated to 1698, had been two centuries prior to the action (**A**). Carmilla seemingly requires an invitation in order to penetrate her victims' homes, and this she inveigles by means of tricks, deploying a mysterious older-woman accomplice, who poses as her mother; she is taken into Laura's father's schloss by pretending to be concussed from a carriage accident outside it (ch. 2; cf. ch. 12; **F**). She is able to penetrate locked doors in her human form, either simply by disappearing through them, as she does after attacking Bertha (ch. 14) or by mysteriously appearing to open the door and close it behind her, whilst leaving it locked from the other side, as she does after attacking Laura (ch. 6; cf. also chs. 7, 8, 13; **F**, again). The parallel mystery, as to how Carmilla is able to emerge from and re-enter her tomb without physical disturbance is also acknowledged, though unresolved (ch. 15 and Conclusion): "How they escape from their graves and return to them for certain hours every day, without displacing the clay or leaving any trace of disturbance in the state of the coffin or the cerements, has always been admitted to be utterly inexplicable." Carmilla attacks her victims by night (**B**), by transforming herself into an animal, a black, cat-like creature of four of five feet in length (chs. 6, 14; **C**). She is a blood-drinker, so much so that, when her tomb is finally located and her coffin broken open, her body is found to be submerged in seven inches of the liquid (ch. 15). We learn that she

punctures Laura's breast with a pair of needle-like teeth to do her work (**I**). These teeth initially leave no indication on her skin at all (ch. 1), though in time a faint blue mark is detected (ch. 9; **J**). Her attacks do not kill her victims instantly, but induce in them a slow and mysterious decline from which death ultimately ensues: a swineherd's wife survives her attack by a week, a peasant girl by two weeks (ch. 4); the attacks against Laura leave her with an increasing lassitude and feelings of strangulation (ch. 7; cf. ch. 13; **K**).[13]

A Dublin-born author like le Fanu, Bram Stoker was the owner of London's Lyceum Theatre and personal assistant to the distinguished actor Sir Henry Irving. He was the author of a dozen novels and numerous short stories. Among the more Gothic of his novels are the 1903 mummy-themed *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, the 1909 (pseudo-)vampire themed *The Lady of the Shroud* and the 1911 primeval-serpent themed *The Lair of the White Worm*.[14] Given our Classical context, I cannot forbear to mention "The Judge's House", the short story in which he reworks the ancient world's favourite haunted-house story — with a bad ending.[15] In *Dracula* (1897) Stoker pays tribute to his fellow Irishman's *Carmilla*. Its iconic vampire-hunter Abraham Van Helsing resembles, in name at least, a synthesis of le Fanu's occult-battling figures of Dr Hesselius and Baron Vordenburg (and of course *Abraham* Stoker himself).[16] It is of particular interest that, together with much other esoteric learning, Van Helsing vouchsafes that *stregoica* (a derivative of the terms *strix* and *striga*, of course) is a Transylvanian term for "vampire."[17]

Dracula is immensely old: if Van Helsing is right to identify him with the Voivode that distinguished himself against the Turks (i.e. Vlad the Impaler), he has endured for more than four centuries at the time of the action (**A**).[18] He acts and flies by night (**B**),[19] usually as a bat,[20] but also in the form of "a good-sized bird."[21] He has talon-like nails with which he opens his own breast so that Mina Harker can drink his own blood from it as he attempts to vampirise her (**C**).[22]

Like the *striges*, Dracula has to overcome the challenge of house entry: "He may not enter anywhere at the first, unless there be some one of the household who bid him to come; though afterwards he can come as he please" (**F**).[23] Beyond that, he can enter a room through a narrow crack (**D**). He forces himself into Mina Harker's bedroom by turning himself into mist or fog and then pouring himself through the joinings of the door.[24] The lunatic Renfield explains how he had entered his room at the asylum:

> … before I knew what I was doing, I found myself opening the sash and saying to Him: "Come in, Lord and Master!" … he slid into the room through the sash, though it was only open an inch wide—just as the Moon herself has often come in through the tiniest crack and has stood before me in all her size and splendour.
>
> *Dracula* ch. 21. Dr Seward's Diary, 3 Oct.

Similarly, Lucy Westenra, in vampire form, is observed, remarkably, to pass in full body through the chink between the doors of her closed vault:

> We all looked on in horrified amazement as we saw, when he stood back, the woman, with a corporeal body as real at that moment as our own, pass in through the interstice where scarce a knife-blade could have gone.
>
> *Dracula* ch. 16, Dr Seward's Diary, 29 Sept.

She can even quit and return to her lead-sealed coffin in this way.[25] Van Helsing compares her to Dracula himself in exercising this ability: "He become [*sic*] so small—we ourselves saw Miss Lucy, ere she was at peace, slip through a hairbreadth space at the tomb door."[26]

Even beyond this, Dracula can travel as elemental dust on moonlight rays.[27] Similarly, his three brides can enter a room by seemingly coagulating out of dust particles dancing in the moonlight before a window[28] and leave a room by "fad[ing] into the rays of the moonlight and pass[ing] out through the window";[29] at the climax of the novel they materialise out of a mist and a snow-flurry.[30]

It goes without saying that Dracula's purpose is to drink his victims' blood, as is best exemplified in the (then new-fangled) blood transfusions his victim Lucy Westenra repeatedly depends upon for recovery after his attacks (**I**).[31] Like those of the *striges*, his depredations initially go unnoticed. When he attacks Lucy Westenra the teeth-marks he leaves behind are initially mistaken for the pin-pricks of a brooch.[32] As the attacks continue, Lucy gradually fades and takes on an ever-greater pallor.[33] Similarly, the first signs of Dracula's campaign against Mina Harker are to be found in a developing pallor and a lethargy that initially go unrecognised for what they are (**J**; cf. **K**).[34]

The female vampires of the novel specialise in draining the blood from or actually devouring babies (**I**, **G**): Dracula's three brides (cf., broadly, **A**) gratefully receive from him a half-smothered one he has brought home for them in a bag;[35] Lucy Westenra, once vampirised, attacks the small children of Hampstead,[36] and is twice interrupted in the act of bringing a live baby back to her tomb.[37] In, as it were, an inversion of the body-part removal motif (**H**), Van Helsing plans, in laying the vampire Lucy to rest, to cut out her heart.[38] However, this plan is later modified, and a stake is rather driven through it.[39]

As with the *striges* too, the right sort of plant can offer protection (**F**). Van Helsing attempts to protect Lucy's bedroom from Dracula's attacks in the following fashion:

> First he fastened up the windows and latched them securely; next, taking a handful of the flowers, he rubbed them all over the sashes, as though to ensure that every whiff

> of air that might get in would be laden with the garlic smell. Then with the wisp he rubbed all over the jamb of the door, above, below, and at each side, and round the fireplace [like Santa, Dracula could come down the chimney!] in the same way…. when she was in bed he came and himself fixed the wreath of garlic round her neck.
>
> *Dracula* ch. 10, Dr Seward's Diary, 11 Sept.[40]

Garlic can protect the person more directly too (**J**). Doors and windows aside, Van Helsing protects Lucy's person from Dracula by hanging a wreath of the same garlic flowers around her neck. In just the same way, in a fragment preserved in a medical poem of the third century AD, Titinius, the second-century BC author of "toga comedies", instructs his fellow Romans to protect their boy children from *striges* by hanging garlic around their necks:

> Furthermore, if ever a black *strix* attacks boys, "milking" her fetid "dugs into their lips", as they push them forth to suck, the advice of Titinius, the composer of the celebrated toga-comedies of yesteryear, is that they should have garlic tied to them.
>
> Quintus Serenus Sammonicus *Liber medicinalis* 58 ll. 1029–38,93, incorporating Titinius *fragmenta ex incertis fabulis* xxii Ribbeck[41]

When Mina Harker is then subject to Dracula's attentions, she is fed extra garlic, which she cannot abide.[42] Before all this, when the peasant women of Bistriz had learned that Jonathan Harker was to visit Dracula's castle, they had plied him with garlic.[43] And Van Helsing gives each of his team a wreath of garlic to wear as they investigate Dracula's resting place in the Carfax chapel.[44]

Garlic can also be used to keep the vampire within as well as without (cf. **F**). When Van Helsing has decapitated Lucy Westenra in her vampire form, in her tomb, he stuffs her

mouth with it.[45] Other plants can also be useful to this end. Van Helsing notes that a branch of wild rose placed on Dracula's coffin will confine him within it and plans to deploy this method against him, should they be able to gain access to it on the ship Czarina Catherine.[46]

The folkloric nature of the vampire is acknowledged throughout, as it is constantly to folk wisdom that Van Helsing turns for measures to take against Dracula (**L**).[47]

It is only proper to acknowledge that there is one important aspect of the vampires of both novels that does not find a significant analogue in the ancient tradition of the *strix*, and this is a feature avidly taken up in the modern tradition that derives from the novels and is particularly treasured by its current consumers: namely, the eroticism that pervades the vanpire's attacks. The erotic frissons between Dracula on the one hand and both Lucy and Mina on the other are clear, as is that between Dracula's brides and Jonathan Harker. And whilst Carmilla takes many of her victims casually, her repeated professions of love for Laura, even as she grooms her for consumption, appear to be genuine.[48]

***

As we conclude, it is important to remind ourselves what this essay has set out to do, and also what is has *not* set out to do. It has set out to ask what phenomenon of the Classical world most closely answers to the modern conception of the vampire, and it has contended that phenomenon that best fits the bill is that of the *strix*-witch — provided, that is, that one looks to a broad sweep of shared motifs, as opposed to a simplistic vampire definition. The suite of motifs compared with those of the *strix*-witch on the part of the modern conception of the vampire has been extrapolated from the two most important and influential works of Victorian vampire fiction, Sheridan le Fanu's *Carmilla* and Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. In his characteristically erudite but undisciplined 1928 survey, *The Vampire, His Kith and Kin*, the

distinguished occultist Montague Summers was able to declare, in lapidary fashion, "the *strix* was a vampire." The statement is too reductive, of course, but not without merit.[49]

What this essay has *not* set out to do is to account for this extraordinary congruence between the motif sets. If pressed to address this, I would guess that it lies in an unfathomable blend of two things: first, the fact that the vast field of eastern-European vampire lore upon with which our Victorian authors indirectly drew itself stood upon deep folkloric traditions that reached back to antiquity, to the *strix* herself and doubtless to countless other entities that once resembled her (again: *stregoica*!);[50] and secondly — why not? — the authors' recollection of their own Classical educations, or at any rate their osmotic absorption of those of their immediate vampire-author predecessors and their peers, Classical educations in which we might presume that the *strix* tales of Ovid and Petronius at any rate had some currency. It may also be, indeed, that our female Victorian vampires, Carmilla and Dracula's brides, owe some part of their makeup to the broader Classical tradition of (non-*strix*) witches, the Canidias, the Ericthos and the Meroes — but that is a question for another time.[51]

Abbreviations

AT	Aarne and Thompson 1961.
ATU	Uther 2004.
BNJ	Worthington 2007.
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* 1863–.
CLE	Bücheler 1895–7.
FGrH	Jacoby 1923–.
ILS	Dessau 1892–1916.
LIMC	Kahil et al. 1981–99.

MGH *Monumenta Germaniae historica* 1826–.

MWG Ogden 2009.

PG Migne 1857–1904.

PL Migne 1884–1904.

PMG Page 1962.

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Endnotes

[1] Phlegon of Tralles *Memorabilia* 1. For translations: Hansen 1996: 25–8, *MWG* no. 119. The lost opening is supplied at Proclus *Commentaries on Plato's* Republic ii pp. 115–16 Kroll, translated at Hansen 1996: 199–200. For general discussion: Hansen 1996: 68–85, Stramaglia 1999: 230–57, McInerney 2012 on his f26i, Doroszewska 2016: 24–56; cf. also Rohde 1877, Mesk 1925: 299–305, Hansen 1980, 1989. For the tale's origins deep in folklore: Hansen 1996: 78–85 and Doroszewska 2016: 35–41 (cf. ATU 425B, formerly AT 425J). For a probable late Hellenistic literary antecedent: Hansen 1996: 67 (the tale is told in an epistolary form popular in the late Hellenistic period). For the dramatic setting of the tale, the period during which Philip II of Macedon controlled Amphipolis: Hansen 1996: 72; Doroszewska 2016: 33–4. For the way in which Goethe's *Bride of Corinth* has influenced even the scholarly reception of Phlegon's original story: Hansen 1996: 70–1, 201–7.

[2] Aus dem Grabe werd ich ausgetrieben,/ Noch zu suchen das vermißte Gut,/ Noch den schon verlohrnen Mann zu lieben,/ Und zu saugen seines Herzens Blut/… Schöner Jüngling, kannst nicht länger leben… . All translations are my own.

[3] Phlegon of Tralles *Memorabilia* 2, translated at Hansen 1996: 28–32. For general discussion: Hansen 1996: 85–101, Stramaglia 1999: 360–87, McInerney, 2012 on his f26ii, Doroszewska 2016: 57–67; cf. also Mesk 1925: 305–11, Brisson 1978. The tale's dramatic date: Hansen 1996: 85, 97–8, Doroszewska 2016: 61 (however, the figure of Polycritus himself may rather refract the historical Aetolian general Polycritus of Callion, whose floruit fell between the 270s and the 240s BC: see McInerney's notes). The tale's literary antecedent: Hansen 1996: 85, Doroszewska 2016: 57 (again, the epistolary form of this antecedent suggests a date of composition in the Hellenistic period). Its folkloric roots: Hansen 1996: 98–101. The rocks passing straight through the ghost: debate at Brisson, 1978: 107, Hansen 1996: 91–2, Doroszewska 2016: 63.

[4] Pausanias 6.6.7–11. For translation: Frazer 1918–35: iii.39–43, *MWG* no. 140. Other texts of importance for the tradition of the Hero: Callimachus *Aitia* 4 fr. 98 Pf. (= *Diegeseis* at *P.Milano Vogliano* i.18, col. iv, ll. 5–15), Strabo C255. Further texts and discussion of this deeply complex tradition at Ogden 2021b: 137–65; see also Fontenrose 1968, Visintin 1992, Currie 2002. Hesione: Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.5.9 (etc.). Andromeda: Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.4.3 (etc.). Cleostratus: Pausanias 9.26.7–8. Alcyoneus: Antoninus Liberalis *Metamorphoses* 8. Dracula's werewolfism: *inter alia*, he escapes from the wreck of the *Demeter* in the form of a wolf: *Dracula* ch. 18, Mina Harker's Journal, 30 Sept.; ch. 26, MH's Memorandum, 30; cf. ch. 8, Cutting from *The Dailygraph*, 8 August. In the offcut from the great novel posthumously published as "Dracula's Guest" (in Stoker 1914), Harker is saved – though he realises it not – from a graveyard full of vampires on Walpurgis night by the Count himself manifest in the form of a great wolf "—and yet not a wolf." Discussion at Eighteen-Bisang and Miller 2008: 278–80, Ogden 2021b: 78–80.

[5] Philostratus *Life of Apollonius* 4.25. For translations: Jones 2005–6: i.370–7, *MWG* no. 60. For general discussion see Stramaglia 1999: 266–79. For Greek *lamias*, their forms and their complex traditions, see Ogden 2013a: 86–92, 2013b: 97–108 (nos. 68–74), 2021c: 73–81, Patera 2015: 1–105 (the last a detailed study).

[6] For the semantic field of *phasma*, see Beneventano della Corte 2017. For *lamias* as child-killing demons, see (e.g.) Duris of Samos *FGrH* / *BNJ* 76 fr. 17. Philostratus' *lamia* and Bram Stoker's Dracula compared: Stannish and Doran 2013: 113–38.

For the insistent (but still neglected) serpentine aspect of *lamias*, see: (1) Statius *Thebaid* 1.597–626 and First Vatican Mythographer 2.66 (Statius offers a glorious description of a baby-devouring monster, part serpent, part woman, corresponding to that illustrated on a white-ground lekythos, Musée du Louvre, CA1915 = *LIMC* Python 1 = Apollon 998); (2) Dio Chrysostom *Orations* 5.12–15 (another glorious description of a race

of men-devouring creatures, again part serpent and part woman); (3) Antoninus Liberalis *Metamorphoses* 8 (the tale of a man-devouring monster known as both Sybaris and Lamia; her physical form is undescribed, but may be inferred to be predominantly serpentine from the tight congruence of her tale with that of the Dragon (*drakōn*) of Thespiae at Pausanias 9.26.7–8). Furthermore, the Mesopotamian demoness from which *lamias* were originally derived, Lamashtu, brandishes a pair of snakes in her iconography (e.g., an engraved stone amulet from Carchemish, *c*. 800–500 BC, British Museum no. 117759). For an insightful suggestion building on the *lamia*-snake association, see Felton 2013. The term *empousa*, also applied to the entity in question by Philostratus, could, compatibly, be taken to denote a "snake-footed woman", i.e. a female anguiped: see *Suda* s.vv. ἔμπουσα and ὀφιόπους γυνή; cf. Ogden 2021c: 80.

It has been put to me that, if Philostratus' entity is part snake, then why not also part wolf, since she is additionally described as a *mormolykeion*, a term the elements of which ostensibly signify "bogey-wolf"? Because: (1) the *lamia* is explicitly, pointedly and focally declared to be a snake by Apollonius (again, we must not allow modern English usage to mislead us into thinking that this reference is merely a casual metaphor); (2) other *lamias*, as we have seen, exhibit clear serpentine features; (3) by contrast, *lamias* are never otherwise associated with lupine features; (4) the application of the term *mormolykeion* appears to be applied in a broadly generic way; (5) we can't be completely sure that *mormolykeia* ever incorporated wolves in their form anyway, despite the apparent etymology of the term (cf. Ogden 2021b: 61, with further references).

It has also been put to me that the snake element in this tale may symbolise death, and it is certainly true that snakes could be associated with the underworld: see Ogden 2015: 193–210. But I see no particular reason to hold that such a meaning is actively conveyed

here. Snakes were the most multivalent of all creatures in their symbolism, unencompassably so: see, to begin with, Sancassano 1997 and Charlesworth 2010.

[7] Philostratus *Heroicus* 56 (215). For translations: Maclean and Aitken 2001: 172, Hansen 1996: 208–9. Discussions: Hansen 1996: 98–101, Doroszewska 2016: 63–4.

[8] For the *strix*-witch see Cherubini 2010, Ogden 2021a. The latter includes a slightly more elaborate version of motif list supplied here. I had originally hoped to include a discussion of some of the material in this paper in that volume, but pressure of space forbade it.

[9] For a translation of the fragment in its entirety, with a commentary, see Ogden 2018.

[10] *In primis*: Plautus *Pseudolus* 819–23 (**H**, **J**; *c.* 200 BC); Pliny *Natural History* 11.232 (**J**; AD 79); Festus p.414 Lindsay = *PMG* 858 (**A**, **C**; ii AD); Quintus Serenus Sammonicus *Liber medicinalis* 58 ll. 1029–38 (iii AD), incorporating Titinius fr. *ex incertis fabulis* xxii Ribbeck (**J**; ii BC) — quoted below; *Pactus legis Salicae* 63–4, *MGH* Leges nat. Germ. iv.1 p.231 (**H**; *c.* AD 507–11); Isidore of Seville *Etymologies* 12.7.42 (**J**; *c.* AD 600) — quoted below; *Edict of Rothari* no. 376, *MGH* Leges iv, p.87 (**J**; AD 643); *Capitularia regum Francorum, Capitulatio de partibus Saxonicae* §6, *MGH* Leges ii.1, pp.68–9 (**H**; AD 789); Gervase of Tilbury *Otia imperiala* 3.85–6 (pp. 39–40 Liebrecht) (**A**, **F**, **H**, **J**; AD 1209–14). Attention could also be drawn to a range of ancillary texts in which the term *strix* is not explicitly deployed. One might be the early-AD 20s epitaph from Rome, *CIL* vi.19747 (= *ILS* 8522 = *CLE* 987, translated at *MWG* no. 93), in which princess Livilla laments the fact that her three-year-old slave-boy Iucundus had been snatched by a *saga manus* (a “wise hand”, i.e., a “witch’s hand”). Another might be Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 3.23 (later ii AD), where we are told that if a *bubo* (an eagle owl, a variety closely identified with the *strix*-owl in Latin literature) penetrates a house, people strive to capture it and then nail it to the door, so that its tortured death may purge the bad luck it has brought within: cf. Ogden 2021a: esp. 41–2

(where rather more attention should have been directed to Apuleius' allusion to this folk custom!).

[11] There is no need to dilate here upon John Polidori's (and perhaps too Lord Byron's) foundational Gothic vampire tale of 1819, "The Vampyre", initiated on the brilliant 1816 night at the Villa Diodati that also witnessed the inception of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*: its vampire mythos is jejune, but the vestigial descriptions of the killings of Ianthe and Miss Aubrey do at least make it clear that Lord Ruthven drinks their blood from their necks (Motif **I**). In common with most, I have not been able to stomach *Varney the Vampire*, the incoherent 667,000-word novel initially published in serial form in 1845–1847. It is attributed to both James Malcolm Rymer and to Thomas Peckett Prest, and still other hands may have been involved. For all aspects of the modern vampire tradition the work of first resort is now Groom 2018.

[12] Le Fanu 1871–72; for a critical edition, see Costello-Sullivan 2013. The novella is the basis for, *inter alia*, Hammer's classic *The Vampire Lovers* (dir. Roy W. Baker, 1970), together with its sequel *Lust for a Vampire* (dir. Jimmy Sangster, 1971) and prequel *The Twins of Evil* (dir. John Hough, 1971), unsympathetically evaluated at West 2013: 144.

[13] Intriguingly, one of the learned texts from which Carmilla's slayer Baron Vordenburg is said to have acquired his understanding of vampirism is a Classical one, our own Phlegon of Tralles' *Mirabilia*. For reasons supplied above, this would make best sense if le Fanu had the Polycritus episode in mind here, but given that Carmilla's profile rather more strongly resembles that of Philinnion, it is more likely that it is to her story that le Fanu looks: again, we note the power of the distorting lens of Goethe's *Bride of Corinth.* This supposition is supported by the fact that Phlegon's Philinnion, but not his Polycritus, features in the principal source le Fanu exploited for his vampire lore, Calmet's 1751 *Traité sur les apparitions des esprits et sur les vampires* (ii ch. 52). However, the Philinnion tale does at

least, germanely for le Fanu, pose the problem of how, as a tangible revenant, Philinnion is able to leave and return to her sealed vault.

[14] Primeval serpents held a particular appeal for Stoker, with his 1890 novel *The Snake's Pass* building on the legend of St Patrick's battle against the snakes of Ireland and featuring The King of the Snakes and his golden crown (cf. the folktale types ATU 672, 672B*).

[15] "The Judge's House", published in his 1914 collection *Dracula's Guest.* A third distinguished Dubliner, Oscar Wilde, had supplied a happier take on the same theme in his 1887 short story, "The Canterville Ghost." The ancient (and medieval) analogues: Plautus *Mostellaria* 446–531, Pliny the Younger *Letters* 7.27, Lucian *Philopseudes* 30–1, Constantius of Lyon *Life of St Germanus* 2.10 (AD 480), Gregory the Great *Dialogues* 3.4.1–3 (*c*. AD 600), Jacobus de Voragine *Golden Legend* no. 85 Ambrose (AD 1263–7); cf. ATU 326A*. Discussion: Felton 1999, Stramaglia 1999: 133–69, *MWG* nos. 115–16, 320–2.

[16] Stoker 1897. For a reading of *Dracula* as a response to *Carmilla* see Signorotti 1996. Particularly reminiscent of Carmilla herself is the vampire-figure of the Countess Dolingen of Gratz, the star of the "Dracula's Guest" offcut (cf. n. 4 above). See Eighteen-Bisang and Miller 2008: 285 on "Van Helsing."

[17] Ch. 18, Mina Harker's Journal, 30 Sept. (I adopt this slightly cumbersome technique for identifying passages from the novel because it seems more helpful than citing page numbers for a text that has been reprinted in so many different formats.)

[18] Ch. 18, MH's Journal, 30 Sept.

[19] Ch. 18, MH's Journal, 30 Sept.: "His power ceases, as does that of all evil things, at the coming of the day."

[20] Ch. 8, Mina Murray's Journal, 13 Aug.; ch. 9, Dr Seward's Diary, 23 Aug.; Lucy Westenra's Diary, 25 Aug.; ch. 11, LW's Diary, 12 Sept., 17 Sept.; ch. 11, Memorandum left by LW, 17 Sept.; ch. 12. DS's Diary, 18, 20 Sept.; ch. 18, MH's Journal, 30 Sept.; ch. 21.

DS's Diary, 3 Oct.; ch. 26, MH's Memorandum, 30 Oct. For the (very) remote possibility that *striges* could manifest themselves as bats, see Ogden 2021a: 58 (cf. 12).

[21] Ch. 8, MM's Journal, 14 Aug.

[22] Ch. 21, DS's Diary, 3 Oct.

[23] Ch. 18, MH's Journal, 30 Sept. The motif is curiously inverted when Dracula repeatedly insists that, as Jonathan Harker stands before the front door of his castle, he must enter it "freely": ch. 2, Jonathan Harker's Journal, 5 May. It is inverted in another way when innocent dogs find themselves unable of their own accord to cross the threshold of the Carfax chapel to attend to Dracula's horde of rats, and have to be lifted over it: ch. 19, JH's Journal, 1 Oct.

[24] Ch. 19, MH's Journal, 1 Oct.; cf. ch. 21. DS's Diary, 3 Oct.; ch. 22, JH's Journal, 3 Oct.

[25] Ch. 15, DS's Diary, 26, 27 Sept.

[26] Ch. 18, MH's Journal, 30 Sept.

[27] Ch. 11, Memorandum left by LW, 17 Sept.; ch. 18, MH's Journal, 30 Sept.; ch. 19, JH's Journal, 1 Oct.; cf. ch. 27, MH's Journal, 30 Oct.

[28] Ch. 4, JH's Journal, 24 Jun.

[29] Ch. 3, JH's Journal, 16 May.

[30] Ch. 27, Memorandum by Van Helsing, 4, 5 Nov.

[31] Ch. 10. DS's Diary, 7 Sept., 10 Sept.; ch. 11, DS's 13 Sept.; ch. 12, DS's Diary, 18 Sept.

[32] Ch. 8, MM's Journal, 11 Aug. These disappear completely when Lucy is finally transmuted into a vampire: Ch. 12, DS's Diary, 20 Sept.

[33] Ch. 8, MM's Journal, 17, 18 Aug.; ch. 9, Letter, Arthur Holmwood to DS, 31 Aug.; Letter, DS to AH, 2, 3 Sept.; ch. 10, Letter, DS to AH, 6 Sept., DS's Diary, 7 Sept.; LW's Diary, 9 Sept.; DS's Diary, 10 Sept.; ch. 11, Memorandum left by LW, 17 Sept.; cf. 12, DS's Diary, 18, 19, 20 Sept.

[34] Ch. 19, JH's Journal, 1, 2 Oct.; ch. 20, DS's Diary, 1, 2 Oct.; ch. 21. DS's Diary, 3 Oct.; ch. 22, JH's Journal, 3 Oct.

[35] Ch. 4, JH's Journal, 24 Jun.; ch. 26, MH's Journal, 30 Oct.

[36] Ch. 13, Westminster Gazette, 25 Sept.

[37] Ch. 15, DS's Diary, 26 Sept.; ch. 16, DS's Diary, 29 Sept.

[38] Ch. 13, DS's Diary, 20 Sept.

[39] Ch. 16, DS's Diary, 29 Sept.

[40] So too ch. 11, LW's Diary, 12, 17 Sept.; Memorandum left by LW, 17 Sept., DS's Diary, 13 Sept.; ch. 12, DS's Diary, 20 Sept.; cf. also ch. 13, DS's Diary, 20 Sept.

[41] See further Ogden 2021a: 23–4 on this fascinating text. A vague parallel obtains here too between the *striges* forcing their baby victims to drink their own milk, and Dracula forcing his victims to drink his own blood: Ch. 21, DS's Diary, 3 Oct.

[42] Ch. 27, MH's Journal, 1 Nov.

[43] Ch. 3, JH's Journal, 8 May.

[44] Ch. 19, JH's Journal, 1 Oct.

[45] Ch. 15, DS's Diary, 27 Sept., Note left by VH, 27 Sept.; ch. 18 MH's Journal, 30 Sept.; cf. ch. 16, DS's Diary, 29 Sept.

[46] Ch. 3, JH's Journal, 8 May; ch. 18 MH's Journal, 30 Sept.; ch. 24, JH's Journal, 6 Oct.; cf. Eighteen-Bisang and Miller 2008: 25.

[47] E.g., ch. 18, MH's Journal, 30 Sept.: "the teachings and the records of the past."

[48] *Carmilla* esp. chs. 4–6, 16. The only text worth citing on the *strix* side here is Isidore of Seville *Etymologies* 12.7.42 (*c.* AD 600), which treats a similar theme to Titinius': "This bird [sc. the *strix*] is commonly called *amma* from the fact that it loves [*amando*] little children, whence it is even said to offer them milk when they are born." This (non-sexual) love is only

foisted on the *strix* by Isidore in his desperate attempt to etymologise *amma*. For a fuller discussion of this text see Ogden 2021a: 24–5.

[49] Summers 1928; cf. 230; note the critical edition of Summers' work, Browning 2011.

[50] Le Fanu's principal source for eastern-European vampire lore was Calmet's 1751 *Traité sur les apparitions*, as we have noted; it had been translated into English in 1850. Le Fanu's debt to Calmet is evidenced not least in his reworking (ch. 13) of the latter's distinctive tale (ii ch. 51) in which a vampire is cast down from a church tower and beheaded. However, in a brief discussion (ii ch. 16) of the Roman *strix*, Calmet (rightly!) denies that she was a vampire. Stoker's principal source in turn for eastern-European vampire lore was Emily Gerard's 1885 article "Transylvanian superstitions." She similarly makes brief mention of "strigoi", only, like Calmet, to disjoin them from vampires: for her they are merely restless spirits, ill-omened but unmalicious in themselves (140, 142). For a superb exposition of Gerard and Stoker's other folkloric sources, and the nature of his engagement with them, see Eighteen-Bisang and Miller 2008.

[51] Canidia: Horace *Satires* 1.8, *Epodes* 5, 17. Erictho: Lucan *Pharsalia* 6.413–830. Meroe: Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 1.5–19. But then these non-*strix* witches already owe part of their own make-up, in turn, to the *strix*: see Ogden 2021a: 35–47.