

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE

ANTHROPOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF

THE VAMPIRE AND WEREWOLF IN EUROPE AND

THE AFFILIATIONS OF SUCH BELIEFS WITH RELATED

PHENOMENA WORLDWIDE

by

SALLY DAVIDSON

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ABSTRACT:

This thesis was designed to show that the concepts of the vampire and were-creature have existed in many diverse areas of the world during different periods of history. By studying these phenomena anthropologically, one can compare them functionally and in terms of their structure to see if they serve purposes basic to mankind. The beliefs will be examined in depth for Europe and on a more general level worldwide, by looking at the environmental, psychological, social and physical factors involved in their perpetuation. These two beliefs have been linked together because of their fundamental similarities in both structure and function. As shall be demonstrated, both creatures are conceptually alike in most respects, and are even called by the same name in some areas of Europe. Perhaps most importantly, both beliefs represent contradictions and ways in which man has sought to resolve those contradictions.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

Abstract	page i
Acknowledgements	page ii
Table of Contents	page iii
List of Illustrations and Tables	page iv
CHAPTER I: Introduction.	page 1
A. Nature of the Problem	
B. Scope of this Study	
C. Terms of Reference	
CHAPTER II: Theoretical Considerations.	page 8
CHAPTER III: Superstitious Behaviour.	page 11
A. Superstition and the Superstitious	
B. Vampire Beliefs in Europe	
C. Werewolf Beliefs in Europe	
CHAPTER IV: The Facts.	page 41
A. Individual Events and Social Conditions in Europe During Periods of Widespread Belief in Vampires and Werewolves	
B. The Church	
C. Witch-hunts in Europe and their Relationship to Vampire and Werewolf Hunts	
D. The Relationships of the Vampire and Were- wolf Phenomena to Disease	
E. The Psychology of Fear	
CHAPTER V: Functions of Such Beliefs in Europe.	page 70
CHAPTER VI: The Vampire and Werewolf Worldwide.	page 91
A. Vampires and Related Phenomena Worldwide	
B. The Were-creature Worldwide	
C. Functions	
CHAPTER VII: Conclusions.	page 118
Bibliography	page 122

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND TABLES:

- Figure 1: Map of Central and Eastern Europe. page 24
- Figure 2: Map Showing Distribution of Historic
and/or Prehistoric Cannibalism and/or
Human Sacrifice. page 109
- Table 1: Better Known Species of Vampires
Believed to have Infested Europe
in the Eighteenth Century. page 18
- Table 2: Time Line of Events in Europe. page 42

I. INTRODUCTION:

(A) THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM.

This thesis is a study in human credulity. From an anthropological standpoint, the implications are far more germane than one might immediately suspect. The related concepts of the vampire and werewolf are not merely products of the overactive minds of movie producers, but rather represent very real beliefs which have existed to terrify man for thousands of years in many parts of the world. Actual werewolf hunts took place all over Europe during the Renaissance period, and an actual vampire epidemic occurred in Eastern Europe during the eighteenth century when the beliefs spread to all segments of the population and caused hysteria on a mass level. The central theme and problematic direction of this paper will center on an examination of these two phenomena in terms of their structures and functions in Europe, and then to discern whether such beliefs exist similarly on a worldwide basis. The purpose of the thesis is twofold: first, to examine the phenomena in Europe and propose possible explanations for the exaggeration of the beliefs at certain points in time (i.e. the vampire 'epidemic' of the 1700's); second, to try to identify comparable belief phenomena in other parts of the world to show that belief in malevolent creatures in transition states that prey on human beings exists outside of Europe, where they have been most closely studied.

The ultimate question to be resolved is why the beliefs exist in almost every corner of the world - do they

serve some fundamental functions to mankind in general? It will be demonstrated that belief in vampires and were-creatures is not at all irrational within certain knowledge frameworks; it has very real social concomitants and manifestations.

My interest in this topic stems from a conviction that even a superstition cannot grow out of nothing. Mary Shelley (1818: 12) sums up this notion well in the introduction to her novel Frankenstein:

Everything must have a beginning...and that beginning must be linked to something that went before...Invention does not consist in creating out of a void, but out of chaos. The materials must, in the first place, be afforded.

According to Klinger (1971: 6):

Creating tales in inner experience shades into laying plans, reminiscing, analysing past events, anticipating future ones...entertaining disorganized imagery and experiencing night dreams.

This work falls into an area which is of major concern to anthropologists, being a study of conditions which produce behaviour.

Behavioural analysis of the frequent and probable responses in a culture may start with or may be based on the production and maintenance of behaviour by organism-environment interaction (Bachrach 1962: 1).

In short, the vampire/werewolf problem will be discussed largely in terms of the motivations, responses and consequences which occur in relation to the beliefs. Customs, beliefs and the techniques used in association with them will be discussed and evaluated in terms of the social and

environmental situations in which they occur.

The purpose of this thesis is to enter into the very real realms of supernatural horror in order to find the roots of such beliefs, why they could rise to epidemic proportions and cause deaths simply by their presence, and, indeed, why they were able to exist at all on such a wide-spread level.

I.(B) SCOPE OF THIS STUDY.

In this diverse study of the anthropological implications of the vampire and werewolf worldwide it was necessary to place certain restrictions on all data categories. This thesis is designed as a preliminary overview - one which will discuss topics as wide-ranging as witchcraft, disease, history, religion and psychology - the purpose of which is partially to open up channels for future research. Numerous subsequent problems emerge, each of which are potential thesis topics in themselves. The question of diffusion of the beliefs for example is outside the scope of this paper, but a vital prerequisite to such a study would necessarily be a work such as this one.

Each continent, excepting Antarctica, will be examined briefly as to what sorts of vampire and were-creature beliefs are present there. Europe will be looked at in detail, as it is here that most of the available literature is centered. The structures and functions of such beliefs in general will be examined and compared to see if any correlations exist on a worldwide basis.

I. (C) TERMS OF REFERENCE.

The nature of this study demands that certain very strict definitions be established, as many of the key terms may be ambiguous. These shall be listed below and defined in point form.

- a. Vampire - from the Hungarian word 'vampir': A conception of a demonic spirit or reanimated corpse, existing between life and death and supposed to exist by sucking the blood of living persons. The ways in which one is said to become a vampire vary from culture to culture. The term vampire has also been used to refer to those psychotic individuals who commit heinous crimes involving the drinking of human blood. The expression was also applied, by Cortez, to a species of bat found only in central and South America, which preys on animals for their blood (McNally and Florescu 1974: 147).
- b. Werewolf (or were-creature) - from the Old English words 'wer' (man) and 'wulf' (wolf): 1) A conception of a person who was believed to be able to change into a wolf (or other creature) due to birth circumstances, soul transfer, demonic possession or magic, taking on the characteristics of that animal but retaining human intelligence. The transformation is usually accompanied by an insatiable lust for human flesh. The change may be voluntary or involuntary, temporary or permanent; 2) A conception of a person who dons an animal's skin and takes on all of the powers and natural cravings of that animal, yet does not actually transform into the beast's shape. There are three essential constituents for the psychological meaning of belief in werewolves: a) ravenous

- cannibalism; b) ideas of human-to-animal transformation;
 c) nocturnal wandering (Jones 1931:148-151).

All human/animal transformations fall into the 'were-creature' category in general. Shamans, for example, sometimes were believed to turn into some creature for benevolent reasons or for travelling purposes. It is not these transformations which are to be stressed here. This thesis is an anthropological study of 'monsters' - those creatures which instill fear, terror and horror in man.

- c. Lycanthropy - 1) a form of a mental disorder in which one believes himself to be a wolf, or occasionally some other animal; 2) the idea of transformation itself.
- d. Metempsychosis - The belief in the transfer of a beast's soul into a man or a man's soul into a beast. This also involves the idea of transferring one human soul into another human.
- e. Ghoul - An evil spirit or reanimated corpse which robs graves to feed upon the flesh of the dead.
- f. Monster - Any plant, animal or creature of abnormal shape, structure or size; a person so depraved or cruel as to horrify others; any imaginary creature part human and part animal in form (Webster's New World Dictionary 1970). Stern (1968: 13) proposes that there are six basic kinds of monsters, not all of which are beasts: 1) invisible things; 2) shapeless masses of protoplasm or jelly; 3) small creatures which usually attack in masses; 4) large mythical monsters more powerful than anything living; 5) ordinarily friendly animals

that revolt against man; 6) man himself when he assumes the form of a beast. "Most horrible of all are the protean creatures in the sixth category, for they were once men. The others are more primitive, so less is expected of them" (ibid : 13).

g. Fear - "one form of emotional reaction to a punishment where a 'punishment' may be operationally defined as a stimulus which members of the species concerned will work to terminate, escape from or avoid" (Gray 1971: 9); a feeling of anxiety likely to result in aggression.

II. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS:

Based upon the assumption that 'superstitious' beliefs and practices (see Chapter III) can be studied within the same frame-work as other aspects of culture, this thesis will look at vampire and were-creature beliefs cross-culturally in order to determine how they correspond in terms of structure and function worldwide.

Certain theoretical assumptions on which this paper is based must be stated at this point. Any systems of supernatural belief are creations of human fantasy.

To the extent that they are part of the cultural heritage of a group, they may be viewed as culturally constituted fantasy ... Though analytically conceived as culturally constituted fantasy, belief systems are not created de novo by the fantasy of each individual or of each generation; rather they are transmitted as cognitive structures from one generation to the next as part of the group's cultural heritage (Spiro and D'Andrade 1958:456).

Private fantasies of individuals serve to reinforce these cognitive structures, as they functionally correspond to the culturally constituted fantasies.

Vampires and werewolves, as supernatural creatures, are conceptions which exist as a result of people's fantasies, and draw upon some real-life conditions. In order for belief in vampires to arise and endure in a given culture, it is here suggested that the group must already possess certain basic beliefs. Some of these preliminary conceptions may include: a concept of some form of soul and its survival after death; the belief that the dead can come alive again; the belief that a soul can sometimes become trapped inside a body after death, and thus be forced to

exist in an 'undead' condition; the belief that a person's activities on earth can influence his afterlife, and various other ideas. It would seem reasonable to assume that each culture in which belief in vampires has flourished must first have possessed firm beliefs in some or all of the above notions, or one of countless variations.

Similarly, the related were-creature belief also can likely not exist as a culturally constituted fantasy unless a group possesses certain beliefs. Obviously, there must exist the belief that man can change into beast or vice-versa (Jones 1931). This particular belief appears to have been, until relatively modern times, very widespread if not universal. Related to this belief is the notion of metempsychosis or soul transfer. A second idea which is usually an integral part of beliefs in were-creatures is cannibalism. The third concept which is related to were-creature belief worldwide is that of nocturnal wandering. The belief that evil is best able to assert itself at night is very much a part of both vampire and werewolf concepts.

As shall be shown here, the resultant belief in vampires and were-creatures founded on these paradigms is not at all irrational in view of the people's belief systems of the times, and they served to explain what was to them unexplainable. "Judgements concerning the rationality of holding the belief must be relative to the scientific development of the society in which it is found" (Spiro 1964: 107).

Vampires and werewolves both fall into a theoretical category recognized by cultures the world over as being dangerous - that precarious position between two states, where an entity is neither one thing nor another and is therefore undefinable. (Douglas 1966: 96). States of transition almost always produce anxiety, and a look into this area may help to explain fear of vampires and werewolves.

Another body of theory which will be noted here is that proposed by Mary Douglas (1966; 1970). She proposes that societies having weak 'grid' structure (weak set of rules relating people to one another ; ill-defined roles) are more likely to be those where such things as witchcraft accusations are prevalent (1970: 107). Such accusations have the effect of temporarily "sharpening the definition of rights and obligations" (ibid :107). Like witchcraft beliefs vampire and werewolf concepts may also be shown to exist most conspicuously where there is ambiguity in role patterning and confusion regarding social ties. Under situations of plague, war or religious conflict roles must, at least to some extent, become confused as social disruption sets in.

That witchcraft and vampire/werewolf belief systems serve basically the same functions in a society is another hypothesis which will be examined here. I have yet to note a single area in Europe where witch-hunts and vampire-hunts took place simultaneously. Although beliefs in witchcraft and vampires may co-exist in a society, they are functional alternatives for action. Only one is usually stressed.

III. SUPERSTITIOUS BEHAVIOUR:

(A) SUPERSTITION AND THE SUPERSTITIOUS.

Although anthropologists ostensibly shy away from usage of the term 'superstition', the author feels that it could be applied here and can be defined in such a way that it can aptly be used to describe belief in creatures of culturally constituted fantasy, such as the mythical vampire and werewolf. The word 'superstition' is derived from the Latin 'super' (above), and 'stare' (to stand). In ancient times survivors of battle were referred to as 'superstites' because it was believed that they had procured some aids by which they could control their own destinies (Maple 1971: 183). A preliminary explanation might describe the basic features of 'superstitious' belief: a folk belief growing out of awe or fear of the unknown, mysterious or imaginary, which tries to predict, avoid or control certain occurrences by supernatural means and which actively influences the emotions and behaviour of the group of believers. Another good definition for use here is given by Hunter and Whitten (1976):

The term refers to beliefs in supernatural influences and signs. Superstitions are sometimes distinguished from religious beliefs on the grounds that superstitions are more specific and less systematic.

This latter distinction is very important in defining the term superstition. Vampires and werewolves represent, like for example, fear of the number thirteen, very specific beliefs not occurring as an integral part of any other particular system. Such a belief will often be regarded as

irrational by persons outside the group. However, the truth or falsity of any such proposition is irrelevant, and its validity is relative only within a given state of knowledge at a given place and time. Superstitious beliefs "indicate an acceptance of the existence of powers that are superior to humanity and which can be made to submit to the human will" (Maple 1971: 7). Such beliefs are based on hypothesized connections between two events, which cannot be proven by reasonable means to exist. In terms of what is 'reasonable', I turn to Jahoda (1969) who suggests that all beliefs existing at a particular point of time, in a particular place, can be put on a continuum ranging from 'superstition' to 'reasonable expectation'.

If there is evidence for a belief, if its probabilities are calculable and of reasonable amount, then there is nothing irrational in taking a chance in believing it. But if the odds cannot be estimated, or if they are grossly weighted against what is believed, then the belief is a superstition (Jahoda quoting Professor A.E. Heath 1969: 4).

Now a problem can be seen to exist. For people in Europe during the vampire epidemics of 1727-35 there was evidence, and plenty of it which to them proved the existence of vampires. After all, both the Church and government said such creatures existed; people were dying for no obvious reason; coffins were opened which did contain fresh-looking corpses. All such factors acted as reinforcement for belief in vampires, yet none were actually what they seemed. Churches and governments may have propounded such beliefs towards their

own ends; people were sometimes so terrified during a vampire scare that they died of fear; people were sometimes buried alive in cataleptic comas. During such epidemics of mass horror, there were still people who did not believe and saw the belief for what it was - superstition swelled to massive proportions by the conditions of the times.

Almost anything may be believed by a group of people if certain conditions are present in their surroundings. Reinforcement of a belief is necessary if it is to endure. "Interestingly enough intermittent reinforcement tends to produce and maintain behaviour at a more persistent rate than continuous reinforcement" (Bachrach 1962: 3). Any reinforcing consequences of a superstitious response will lead to greater frequency of the response, even though it had nothing to do with the actual event. Bachrach also suggests that superstitious behaviour is more likely to occur when people are under conditions of deprivation, whether social, emotional or material, and are "strongly in need of some type of reinforcement" (1962: 6). As shall be demonstrated, conditions in areas where vampire epidemics occurred fit this model exactly. Once a particular form of superstitious behaviour has become thoroughly accepted within a group, the responses will maintain themselves even in the face of possible loss of positive reinforcement (ibid: 8).

Superstitious beliefs involve a 'cause-and-effect' formula, as do many other types of beliefs. In other words, if A, then B, unless C - where 'A' is a sign or action, 'B' is its result and 'C' is a counteractant which is used to

try and change the result (Miranda 1971: 81). This can be demonstrated with respect to the werewolf tradition (model after Miranda 1971):

QS (quasi-solution):parents unfaithful during marriage
 QR (quasi-result):child is doomed to become a werewolf
 FS (final solution):avoid unfaithfulness
 FR (final result):child will not suffer that fate.

This particular superstition is based upon the notion of an action which is to be avoided.

In summary, it is suggested that vampire and werewolf beliefs can legitimately be referred to as 'superstitious' for the following reasons: 1) both contain a definite emotional element, unlike many other beliefs; 2) both have an appreciable effect on behaviour, and involve people attempting to influence the supernatural; 3) both beliefs erupted most violently during periods of deprivation in each area, such as after periods of widespread disease or social upheaval; 4) both beliefs were strongly reinforced at intermittent intervals by events which seemed to be related but which were really mutually exclusive of one another; 5) both beliefs grew out of fear, especially fear of death, and attempted to explain away otherwise 'unexplainable' occurrences; 6) both beliefs are specific, as opposed to systematic, and need not occur as part of any broader system such as religion.

III. (B) VAMPIRE BELIEFS IN EUROPE.

The folklore about him is not based on science, yet it is essentially true. Ten out of ten vampire legends and customs attest to what no one doubts; man fears death, and man fears some things even more than death (McNally and Florescu 1974: 148).

Where and when belief in vampires first arose in Europe is an obscure question - perhaps such beliefs go back as far as man himself. McNally and Florescu (1974: 138) propose that such beliefs extend back to the 'man the hunter' stage, when drinking or smearing oneself with blood to renew vitality was practiced. The idea, they suggest, may have "become transferred from the living to the dead, and thereupon the vampire entered history. To the vampire indeed 'The blood is the life' - as Dracula, quoting from Deuteronomy 12:33 tells us in Stoker's novel" (ibid: 138).

The concept of the vampire as we know it, and as defined in Chapter I, appears in some of the earliest recorded histories, where the ancient Babylonians, Greeks and Romans referred to them as a type of evil demon. Persons who died and returned at night to drink the blood of the living are recorded in the mythology of the Chaldeans, Assyrians and Semites as well. In Greek myth, the goddess Lamia is said to have had children by Zeus, whose wife Hera became jealous. Hera eventually drove Lamia mad and killed her children. Lamia, to avenge herself, became a night-roving monster, drinking the blood of children and eating their flesh. "In the post-Classical period, Lamia is mixed

up with vampires, especially in the Balkans" (McNally 1974: 12). In fact, vampires in both Greece and Rome were often referred to as 'lamiae' (Ronay 1972: 12). Also related to this myth are the Greek 'striges' - demonic night-birds who supposedly ate and sucked the blood of children. In many parts of the country, the terms 'lamiae' and 'striges' were used interchangeably, both denoting vampires. A similar tale exists in the form of a Semitic myth, where Lilith, first wife of Adam according to the Talmud, became angered at Adam for declaring his superiority over her and left him. For her disobedience her children were killed, and Adam married Eve. Since all successive generations were considered to be Eve's children, humans would for all time have to defend themselves against further onslaughts by the jealous night-roaming Lilith (ibid: 12).

Besides being viewed as evil demons, the ancient Greeks and Romans also acknowledged that vampires could be the spirit of a once-living evil person. With the advent and rise of Christianity, belief in vampires began to reach new proportions. Now the spirits of excommunicants and others who angered the Church were candidates for the world of the 'undead'. During the Renaissance, vampirism reached its peak in Europe, and even reached 'epidemic' proportions at certain points in time. Vampire belief, by this time, had grown to even greater proportions, Paracelsus (1491-1541) hypothesizing that such creatures were perhaps ethereal spirits of the astral planes (Rogo 1971: 8).

Later, with the rise of spiritualism, the vampire took on a more psychical connotation, with men such as Pierart suggesting that vampires were "the actual result of astral projection coerced...by premature burial (ibid: 9). The early Roman Catholic belief was that vampires were in fact zombies animated by evil spirits from Satan (Summers 1928, 1929). According to the Eastern Orthodox Church, the body of anyone bound by a curse would not be received by the earth and would not decay, the soul being trapped inside it.

The term vampire is fairly recent, only coming into common usage during the eighteenth century - the 'Age of Reason'. From country to country in Europe, and indeed all over the world where such phenomena are accredited, certain core elements are present, despite wide-ranging regional disparity regarding the 'hows, whats and whys' of vampirism. The basic vampire concept always contains one or more of these elements (McNally 1974: 11): 1) association with night, 2) a capacity for change into another physical shape, and 3) a desire for human blood. The basic 'werewolf' concept also fits perfectly into this model.

By the eighteenth century in Europe literally hundreds of species of vampires were recognized (see Table 1 for partial list). While western Europe never experienced the phenomenon to the same degree as the Eastern countries, the belief was still firmly entrenched in many areas. While vampires were recognized in England, the concept was never as widespread here as it was on the continent, having no real

BETTER KNOWN TYPES OF VAMPIRES BELIEVED TO HAVE INFESTED
EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: (RONAY 1972:30-31)

Name of species	Country	How it becomes a vampire	Approved method of disposal
Sampiro	Albania	Natural causes	Stake through heart
Nachtzehrer	Bavaria	Being born with a second skin	Coin in mouth, cutting off the head with axe
Ogoljen } Mura }	Bohemia		Burial at crossroads
Krvojac } Vepir }	Bulgaria		Chain it to the grave with wild roses
Pjavića	Croatia	Incest with mother	Cutting off head and putting it between legs
Vilkodlak	Czech Lands		
Kuziak	Dalmatia	Weaning before time	Transfixing with a hawthorn bough
Katlakanas	Crete		Boiling head in vinegar
Brukulaco } Vrykolako }	Greece		Cutting off and burning head
Lidérc nádály } Vámpír }	Hungary		Stake through heart; nail through temples
Vampiro	Italy		
Dearg-dul	Ireland		Piling stones on its grave
Vryolakas	Macedonia	Natural causes	Pouring boiling oil on it; driving nail in its navel
Upier and Upierzycza	Poland	When born with teeth	Bury face downwards
Gierach (Stryz)	Prussia		Putting poppy seeds in grave
Myertovets } Vurdalak }	Russia	Son of were-wolf or witch	Transfixing it with a stake through chest
Upierzhy }		Witchcraft	Driving stake through heart; to be hit only once, otherwise revives
(a) Strigoitul } (b) Mironul }	Rumania	Born out of wedlock to parents begotten out of wedlock	(a) Taking out its heart and cutting it in two; garlic in mouth, nail in head (b) Nail through forehead or stake through heart
Vukodlak	Slovenia		
Vikoslak } Mulo }	Serbia	Incest, or killed by were-wolf; being stillborn	Cutting off its toes; driving nail in its neck
Dhampir }			
Neuntoter	Saxony		Lemon in its mouth
Vampiro	Spain		No known remedy
Vampyr	Sweden		
Bruksa	Portugal	Witchcraft	No known remedy

table 1

roots. The major fears of the British, with regard to vampires, began when the horrendous stories were spread amongst them by the invading Normans. Excommunication was also feared here, as it was believed such a person would be doomed to vampirism after death. In Ireland, centuries ago, people were often so in dread of the 'bloodsuckers' that they piled stones on the graves so vampires (called 'dearg-dul') would be unable to rise, "just as other men have used gravestones to keep ghosts of corpses from rising up" (McNally 1974: 13). In fact, in areas of Ireland it is still said that on New Year's Eve the newly buried dead are able to rise out of their graves and cause "victim's blood to boil and flow" (ibid: 13).

The direct data for the vampire in Scandinavia is scant. The creature is, however, sometimes mentioned in material dealing with werewolves; at its death a werewolf was often believed to become a vampire.

It was on the continent that belief in vampires of all kinds eventually became so widespread as to be called 'epidemic'. Beliefs here dated from at least as far back in time as the Middle Ages, and more probably long prior to this, culminating in the horrendous vampire epidemics of the eighteenth century in Eastern Europe. Of vampire belief in Spain and Portugal relatively little data is available. In Spain there were apparently no widely known remedies for disposing of 'vampiro'. The vampire concept, however, was well developed here. This is attested to by the fact that

when Hernando Cortes (1485-1547) discovered the blood-sucking bats of Mexico, he christened them 'vampire bats' (McNally and Florescu 1974: 147) no doubt noting their resemblance to the legendary creatures of his homeland. The fictional vampire image has drawn from this analogy, clothing him in a black cape resembling wings and so on. Vampire bats exist nowhere in Europe, and are found only in Mexico and Central and South America. In Portugal, vampires were called 'bruxsa' and were believed to be products of witchcraft. Such relationships, occurring between vampires, werewolves and witchcraft, were common in many areas of Europe.

In France, belief in monsters of all types was widespread, and all were interrelated with one another. The vampire tradition, for example, was closely linked with that of the 'loup-garou' or werewolf, and the latter was thought to inevitably become a vampire upon death. In the early 1600's many accused 'loup-garoux' were burned alive to keep them from becoming vampires. Epidemics of sorcery began, where everyone suspected those around them to be sorcerers, or even believed themselves to be lycanthropes. As late as the nineteenth century, graves in Normandy were watched during werewolf scares (Masters 1972: 30).

In Germany, vampire beliefs were firmly entrenched, and as geographical proximity to the far Eastern European countries increases, more and more diverse beliefs emerge regarding vampires. In the area once known as Bavaria,

'nachtzehrer' was the species of vampire most often referred to, and a person became such a creature by having the misfortune to be born with a second skin. The approved method of disposing of a nachtzehrer was to put a coin in its mouth and chop off its head (Ronay 1972: 30). In Saxony, the creature was called a 'neuntoter', and the best way to stop its activities was to put a lemon in its mouth (ibid: 31). As late as 1855, a cholera epidemic in Germany was attributed to vampire attacks. Fear of vampires was, at this time, still so intense that "many people died not from actual disease but from fright" (Glut 1971: 72).

Italian vampire beliefs extend back through time to the earliest days of Rome. Here the vampire was first seen as a demon or spirit of a once living person. Later, as happened everywhere else in Europe, the vampire took on new meaning and new horror with the rise of Christianity, as discussed in a later chapter. Vampires could now, according to the Churches, be the result of excommunication, suicide, leading evil lives on earth, not being baptized, practicing the black arts, dying a violent death or any number of other things.

Greece, like Italy, has been a vampire 'hot bed' from time immemorial to the present. From many early records dating long before the time of Christ, it appears that the Greeks of this time believed vampires to be of two types: those which were the result of demons, and those corpses inhabited by the spirits of the dead persons. The latter

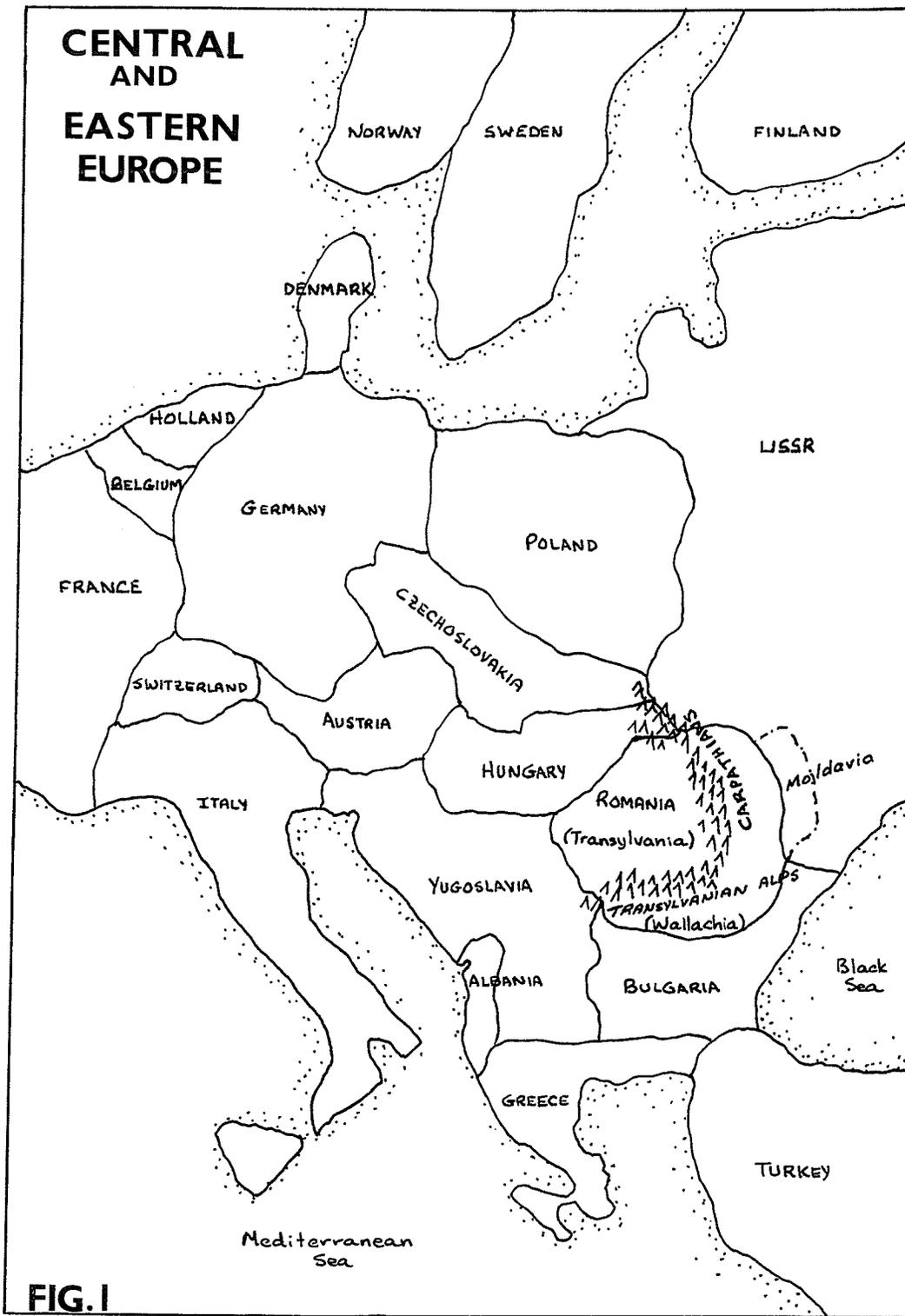
type of vampire was not generally considered dangerous until the Slavs from the north introduced the idea that werewolves inevitably became vampires after death. This apparently led to the vampire ('vrykolako') becoming a very prevalent and much feared adversary, as the werewolf was very much an object of dread and horror in Greece. The best way to dispose of a vrykolako was to cut off its head and burn it, while on nearby Crete, getting rid of the 'kathakanas' form of vampire was best accomplished by boiling its head in vinegar (Ronay 1972: 30). Christianity added even more fuel to the growing fear of vampires here, adding many new categories of candidates for vampiredom after death. By the end of the seventeenth century, reports of vampirism in Greece had risen alarmingly.

Russian vampire beliefs were extensions of the same traditions and shall be mentioned here before discussion of Eastern Europe. During the Middle Ages, "the Slavonic tribes occupying the territory of present-day Russia used bread baked with the blood of these alleged vampires as protections against bloodsuckers" (Ronay 1972: 18). In northern and eastern Russia, great care was taken with the dead, and as in parts of Europe the guests at a funeral often wore masks to disguise themselves and took winding roads home, never looking back. This was done so the spirit would be unable to recognize them, or follow them home. Vampires in most parts of Russia only appeared from noon to midnight, and candidates were witches, wizards, extreme sinners and sons of witches or

werewolves. The approved method of disposal was a stake through the heart, which had to be struck only once or the vampire would revive (Ronay 1972: 31). Once again, in Russia we find crossroads being viewed as areas to be avoided at night, as it was here that the undead lurked. Cattle diseases were often blamed on vampires, and as fire was often related to the disposal of evil, 'need-fires' were built around the cattle to keep vampires away (Copper 1973). This practice was also widely carried out in Eastern Europe. The 'need-fire' had to be kindled where no other man-made lights were in sight, and started by natural means such as rubbing two pieces of wood together, or it would have no power to keep evil at bay. This particular practice was denounced by the Church as heathen superstition (Frazer 1960: 739-740).

Eastern Europe is where vampire belief had its main power structure. Throughout history, these countries have often been noted as being centers of poverty, pestilence, famine and war. Indeed it has been said that "every known superstition in the world is gathered into the horseshoe of the Carpathians, as if it were the center of some sort of imaginative whirlpool" (Dickie quoting Stoker 1971: 19). The area in question is shown on the map following (Figure 1). This idea of Romania being a 'whirlpool' is not too far wrong, as the country has seen much political and religious turmoil.

In Poland, vampires were known as 'upier' and 'upierzycy', and the usual way to become one, prior to Christianity, was to be born with teeth (Ronay 1972: 31). As



in Russia, vampires were said to appear only from noon to midnight, and the best way to assure they would not rise from their graves was to bury them face downwards in their coffins. Polish vampires were believed to be plague spreaders and need-fires were often kindled to keep them away. The Poles also relied heavily upon their Saint Roch, who was believed to be the protector from plague. Because of the relationship between plague and vampires, St. Roch also became widely regarded as a protection against vampires.

The Czechs of Bohemia, unlike most other Europeans, did not differentiate between vampires and werewolves, calling both 'vilkodlak', while other groups in this area (now part of Czechoslovakia) called vampires 'ogoljen' or 'mura'. Burial at crossroads was seen as the best remedy.

Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria comprise the area in which the most extensive vampire epidemics occurred. Here vampires were not seen as mere beliefs or superstitions, but hard facts supported by numerous counts of indisputable evidence. In what is now Yugoslavia, many vampire traditions have existed. In Croatia, the 'pijavica' became a vampire by practicing incest with his mother, and was disposed of by cutting off his head and putting it between his legs (Ronay 1972: 30). In Serbia and Slovenia, the term 'vlkoslak' referred to both werewolves and vampires, and a person became one by committing incest, being killed by a wolf or being stillborn. A vlkoslak could be disposed of by cutting off its toes to prevent it from walking, and

driving a nail into its neck (ibid: 31). In Dalmatia, people became vampires called 'kuzlak' due to being weaned before their time, and such creatures were eliminated by transfixing them with a hawthorn bough (ibid: 30). A unique feature associated with the vampire tradition in Yugoslavia was the presence of the 'dhampir'. A dhampir was supposedly the son of a vampire, and was able to locate and see his father - a valuable asset as the true Serbian vampire was believed to be invisible to the mortal eye. A dhampir was a beneficial member of the community, and he was happy to exterminate his father by performing a very elaborate exorcism - for a fee. Such ceremonies were reported in Yugoslavia as late as 1959 (Masters 1972).

In Bulgaria, vampires were essentially more realistic than in some other areas, not being seen as a dead body possessed by a demon but as a soul who revolted against death. Here the 'vepir' had a definite appearance, having a boneless frame covered with fungoid flesh, but not always casting a shadow (Masters 1972: 68). The days between Christmas and Epiphany were viewed as 'unclean', and any persons being born or dying during this period were likely to become vampires. The power of the Church was relatively limited here, and witches were generally relied upon to banish vampires, often being able to trap them in bottles (ibid). Vampirism was extremely intense here, and vampire panics common.

It is from the Hungarian word 'vampir' that we get our term vampire, and here there are thousands of recorded

and documented cases of vampirism and stakings. Many ways existed of disposing of vampires: bury the head and body separately; drive a stake through the heart; put nails through the temples and so on. If one is bitten by a Hungarian vampire, death can sometimes be avoided by smearing oneself with his blood and eating some of the earth from his grave (Hurwood 1972: 16). Hungary was one of the main centers of the widespread vampire epidemics beginning in the late 1720's.

Romanian vampire belief differs markedly from that of other countries of Europe. Confusion exists in the literature, but one feature emerges clearly. Here there were two forms of 'walking dead' - true vampires or bloodsuckers, and 'moroi' simply meaning undead. Masters (1972) divides the actual vampires into three further categories: 1) live vampires - those who will become true vampires after death can in life send out their souls to meet with the dead vampire type; 2) dead vampires - those corpses in which a soul remains; 3) mythical vampires - those which cause eclipses by eating the sun and moon. There were many ways by which one could become a vampire, such as being born out of wedlock (Ronay 1972: 31). Also closely related to the vampire in Romania were the demonic night-birds called 'strigoi', which would attack people and devour them. All such vampiristic creatures were supposedly eliminated in various ways. Often a white stallion was led through a graveyard and would always fail to pass over the grave of a vampire. Once thus

located, one could stake it through the heart, put stones in its extremities for it to nibble on, thus diverting its attention from human fare, spread millet over the body so the vampire would have to count or eat every single grain downwards or put thorny bushes in the coffin to impede his escape (Masters 1972). Thousands of regional variations of such rituals existed all over Eastern Europe.

Transylvania, now a part of Romania, is likely the area most Westerners readily identify with vampire lore, and deservedly so. Enclosed within a horseshoe-shaped plateau by the Carpathian Mountains on the east and the Transylvanian Alps on the South (see Figure 1 map), this tiny area has been the site of numerous political and religious conflicts and now houses a diverse mixture of ethnic populations. Situated in a locale where the ideas of so many different groups came together, supernatural beliefs of all kinds were injected into the already existing body of superstition, creating the aforementioned 'whirlpool' of beliefs. Bram Stoker could not have chosen a more fitting setting for his famous work Dracula, written in 1897. The title character of this novel was named for the real Prince Dracula of Wallachia, Vlad Tepes V, who ruled during the fifteenth century. Known as Vlad the Impaler because of his widely known habit of impaling victims on wooden stakes, it is not surprising that Stoker linked Tepes' cruel acts to the wealth of vampire legends permeating the Carpathians to this very day. Although it has been reported by fiction writers that the real Prince

Dracula did indeed drink the blood of his victims, this is untrue, and no folklore of the area has ever linked him with vampire tales.

Vampire epidemics in Europe were especially prevalent during the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, the worst occurring between 1727 and 1735. In Eastern Europe, such outbreaks were usually attributed to werewolves, lycanthropy being considered commonplace especially in the Carpathians and the Balkans. February was believed to be an especially bad month for such outbreaks (Ronay 1972: 23). In areas where different churches were in direct competition, vampire epidemics were thought to be sent by the Lord to repay people for their sins (ibid: 29). What really occurred in Eastern Europe to create such massive contagion, and to encourage belief in vampires, will be dealt with in depth in a following chapter.

III. (C) WEREWOLF BELIEFS IN EUROPE.

Like vampirism, the 'were-creatures' theme has persisted through history, having been widespread if not universal in scope. In most areas of Europe the wolf was the most feared animal, and it was this creature which was most often associated with cases of lycanthropy. The origins of werewolf beliefs in Europe are much less obscure than those of vampires, particularly with reference to Scandinavian legends. The legends in this area have remained more clear than those of continental Europe, due to less mixing, and are thus valuable for the insights they give into the origins of many such beliefs. Long before written history, it became the custom of a certain group of Norse warriors to dress in the skins of slain beasts in order to create an air of ferocity which would terrorize their foes. These men became known as 'berserkirs' (from the Norse 'ber' (bear) and 'serk' (skin)), and later the term came to be used in reference to men with supernatural powers who were subject to fits of diabolical anger. So successful and feared were these warriors that people began to believe that they were endued with the powers of the beast whose skin they wore. Once such a belief was established, anyone who wanted to terrorize could do so simply by disguising himself in a bear or wolf skin, thus concealing everything about him - everything except his eyes. It is important to stress that the eyes were not able to be disguised, as this feature is present in most of the werewolf lore of Europe - even when a person was believed to have

actually changed into a wolf, he would usually be said to retain his own eyes. This points towards the idea that werewolf legends began due to people drawing skins over the body as a disguise (Baring-Gould 1973: 39). Berserkir rages were seen as being a form of demoniacal frenzy ("going berserk") during which a person would almost be invincible. After the arrival of Christianity, baptism was believed to cure berserkir rages, and the number of berserkirs dropped greatly hereafter (ibid: 40). Outside of the bear, the Norse also feared the wolf. The term 'vargr' was used to refer to both 'wolf' and 'godless man' and the law stated that..."if anyone shall have dug up or despoiled an already buried corpse, let him be a varg" (ibid: 49). Such 'vargrs' or outlaws were cast out of the society, being driven away like wolves and forced to scavenge for food clothed in nothing but animal skins. Perhaps such people also contributed to belief in were-creatures, as they were feared and hated by all, and roamed the woods at night.

Daniel Cohen (1970), while not directing his discussion at werewolves, takes issue with monsters such as the abominable snowman, yeti and sasquatch. It seems possible that such legends may tie in very closely indeed with the origins of were-creature belief, as such aforementioned monsters are described as "wild, hairy, very strong, inhabits mountainous or at least deserted places and is nearly but not quite human" (Cohen 1970: 128). Cohen traces the origin of

belief in such creatures to so-called 'wild men'. Such persons may have been outcasts from a group, or groups of primitive people on the fringes of civilization who were pushed back into remote areas by more advanced societies and viewed as potentially dangerous by the larger group. Hairiness was often seen as a symptom of wildness or madness, and in fact the Malay word 'orangutan' means literally 'wild-man'. Perhaps wildman stories represent a "mythological embodiment of man's fears and desires concerning life beyond the bounds of civilization", or perhaps are "garbled recollections concerning individuals who had gone mad and run away or been driven from the civilized community to live in the woods or mountains" (Cohen 1970: 135). To this day, many persons report sightings of the 'abominable snowman' type creatures and often refer to them as living 'wild men'.

Stern (1968) agrees with this idea in relation to were-creatures, saying that such creatures originated in a time when an offender could be driven out of his community and left to fend for himself as best he could. Becoming feared and hated, others in the group may have over time come to convince themselves that he was almost a wild beast. In Europe, where the wolf was a most feared creature, the culprit came to be seen as a werewolf; in...

Japan, werefoxes; in Malaysia, weretigers; in Africa, wereleopards; in South America, werejaguars; in North America, bear walkers - and so on throughout the world. The fact that the captured or slain body of one of these suspected man-monsters was always human

simply proved that a were-creature could change his shape quickly (Stern 1968: 14).

Bringsvaerd suggests that werewolf legends probably have their origins in "hunting magic", where hunters would don an animal skin to assume some of its characteristics while on the hunt (1971).

Throughout Europe, werewolf beliefs took on regional variations. As was seen with regard to vampire belief, fear of werewolves was almost non-existent in England and Scotland. English folklore is singularly barren of werewolf stories, possibly because wolves had been exterminated from England under the Anglo-Saxon kings and therefore ceased to be objects of dread to the people (Baring-Gould 1973: 100). Once wiped out, wolves no longer stimulated people's imaginations, and their feelings of dread became fixed on other things. The British and Scots did, however, believe in human-animal transformation, and witches were believed to be able to turn into cats, hares and other animals.

Certain people in Norway and Iceland were supposedly 'not of one skin', and could take on animal forms and powers while retaining human abilities and human eyes. This change could occur by various methods: 1) donning an animal skin; 2) sending soul into an animal; 3) using an incantation, one could retain human form but charm others into perceiving him as an animal (ibid: 16). Werewolves in Norway were sometimes seen as being related to another local monster, the troll, and such relationships were common throughout Europe. In

Denmark, one could become a werewolf voluntarily by putting on a girdle of human skin three fingers wide. A werewolf was easily recognizable because his eyebrows met in the middle. In order to release a person who became a werewolf due to a spell, one need only tell him to his face that he was a werewolf (ibid: 113). In Denmark, only males became werewolves, girls being cast as 'maras'. The term 'mara' or 'mare' surfaces often in both vampire and werewolf lore, and usually describes a vampiristic female demon which sits on a victim's chest during the night and suffocates him. "It is quite possible that the pathological phenomenon of nightmare, with the accompanying horrible dreams and physical distress, would account for the medieval theory of a demon who sits on one's chest and hinders respiration" (Fielding 1945: 161).

In Portugal, werewolves are known as 'lobis-homen', and are recognized by a 'Devil's mark' on the back and eyes like a wolf (Hurwood 1972: 81-86). This report is unusual, as usually the eyes are the one feature which are believed to remain in their human form. Lobis-homen are cursed from birth, and the only way in which they can be cured is if they can kill a young infant and drink its blood before they reach the age of sixteen (ibid).

In France, werewolf belief was extremely widespread, and as mentioned previously, during the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century many accused 'loup-garoux' were burned at the stake to prevent them from becoming vampires after death (Masters 1972: 29-30). In 1573 the French

parliament authorized people to beat the woods for werewolves, as it was believed they were responsible for carrying off young children (Fielding 1945: 156). Gilles Garnier of Lyons was one of many arrested and accused of being a loup-garou who prowled the woods at night devouring children. Fifty 'witnesses' testified against him, and after being put to the rack he confessed, later being burned at the stake for practicing lycanthropy and witchcraft (Mackay 1974: 484). Witchcraft accusations were fairly constant around this time, peaking in the early and mid-1600's. In some areas of France people still believe that certain men are chosen by fate to be lycanthropists, and become wolves at the full moon. Bastards are seen as being especially susceptible. One commonly believed method of transforming oneself is to plunge into a pond or spring. If such a creature is wounded while in his wolf shape, he is supposed to immediately change back into human form. The signs of a werewolf in this country were numerous, including broad hands, short fingers and hair in the palm of the hand. To obtain liberation from such a curse, a loup-garou would have to be stabbed three times in the forehead, or, in some areas, have three drops of blood drawn by a needle (Baring-Gould 1973: 107). In some areas of France becoming a loup-garou was seen as "a metamorphosis forced upon the body of a damaged person, who, after having been tormented in his grave, has torn his way out of it" (ibid:107). Devouring the cloth over his face and howling loudly, the creature would heave off the earth over the grave and emerge

as a wolf. This shows a marked relationship to the vampire, and once again indicates the conceptual closeness of the two phenomena.

In Germany, the characteristic way in which one became a werewolf was to don a girdle made from the skin of a human being, especially that of a hanged man, but wolfskin girdles were also used here. As late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 'witch-hunts' were organized to capture werewolves, and those suspects captured were sentenced to the pyre. That the suspects were always in human form was easily explainable, as it was known that the werewolf would always drop the magic girdle upon capture. Apparently an intimate relationship was recognized between the skin and its owner. If the skin was left in a cold place, the owner became cold; if it was destroyed, the owner would die (Bringsvaerd 1971: 83).

The werewolf tradition in Europe, as can be seen by the variations from one area to another, is far from homogenous. Austria, for example, is the only area in which the werewolf was believed to be attracted to precious jewels just as it was to victims (Hurwood 1972: 109). In ancient Rome, werewolves were referred to as 'skin-changers' or 'turn-coats', as they were believed to have reversible skins - human on the outside and wolf on the inside - which they could simply turn inside-out at will (Fielding 1945: 154). Suspects were sometimes partially skinned to see if they had hair on the inside of their skins. The Grecian werewolf

tradition, as in other areas, was closely related to that of the vampire, and from the early days of recorded history Arcadia was a chief seat of lycanthropy. The early natives were pastoral, and often suffered from the attacks of wolves. Child sacrifices were often made to Lycaon, in order that the herders might obtain deliverance from wolves and werewolves and security for themselves and their flocks (Baring-Gould 1973: 13). To become a werewolf, a lycanthrope would supposedly fall into a trance at the full moon and his soul would enter a wolf ravening for blood. Such people were recognized by their generally savage look, distorted limbs and dark complexions. Upon death, a werewolf would become a vampire.

Russian werewolf lore is somewhat diverse. Among the White Russians, werewolves were believed to be amiable and friendly, unlike the European variety where the beast was always malevolent. Men supposedly became werewolves by incurring the wrath of the Devil. Although not obvious initially "this is an ugly superstition, for it sets a premium on standing well with the evil one" (Baring-Gould 1973: 115), a person being doomed to lycanthropy unless he did the Devil's bidding. Among other groups in Russia, in order to become a werewolf one had to walk around a cut-down tree, stab it with a copper knife, chant an incantation and jump over it three times (ibid: 117). Around the Ural mountains, instead of being destroyed werewolves were first exorcised if possible. A circle of lights was formed around

him, and at the easternmost point a fire was kindled, over which was hung a pot of herbs and holy water. People standing around the circle would lash at the victim, while throwing the liquid on him from a silver cup, and pray for his recovery (Hurwood 1972: 47).

In Eastern Europe, lycanthropy was, from medieval times, considered a commonplace occurrence, especially in the Carpathians, Hungary and the Balkan Peninsula. Vampirism was most often linked with werewolves. Most commonly during the month of February, reports have it that lycanthropes would often run howling in the graveyards at night and would not be convinced that they were not wolves (Ronay 1972: 23). The Serbs of the Balkan Peninsula, the Greeks, and the Czechs of Bohemia all used one term to describe both vampires and werewolves. In Hungary, men apparently became werewolves by choice, while women were forced into the condition because of their sins (Wickwar 1973: 132). Men put on a human skin to become a werewolf and could change at will, while women could be cured by a priest with holy water.

During the medieval period in Europe, the powers of transformation were often sought after, and were seen as a privilege. By the Middle Ages, trials for such transformations were not uncommon, and accusations often included charges of greed, cruelty and cannibalism. In many areas of Europe, particularly in the west where witchcraft was widely feared right up into the seventeenth century, werewolves were believed to be transformed witches, the evidence being

that they supposedly had no tails (Baring-Gould 1973: 67). All animals without tails were to be avoided, as they were believed to be witches in disguise. Lycanthropy then, during the Middle Ages, was generally considered to be a form of sorcery. Lycanthropes, like witches, were believed to be helpers of Satan. Cures for the condition were diverse, and included being struck three times on the forehead with a knife, being called by their baptized name three times, having three drops of blood drawn from the body or kneeling in one spot for a hundred years (Fielding 1945: 154).

Specific numbers often emerge in werewolf lore, the most common by far being 3, 7 and 9. A seventh child in a family where the children were all of one sex was commonly believed to be a very eligible candidate for lycanthropy. A person under a curse supposedly had to remain a werewolf for seven years unless blood was drawn from him. A skin put over the body to effect transformation was sometimes said to be effective only for nine days.

Getting rid of a werewolf was seen as being very difficult. Among the best ways were to stab the creature between the eyes, or shoot it with a silver bullet. Protection methods were limited. A pregnant woman could wear grey stones on her person, as she was in more danger than others due to the werewolves' desire for the flesh of very young children. She was also safe if the child in the womb was a boy and already had two teeth (Bringsvaerd: 87).

During the Renaissance, werewolf trials were even

more common than during the Middle Ages, and "between 1520 and the middle of the seventeenth century some 30,000 cases of lycanthropy are known to have been investigated by the Roman Church" (Ronay 1972: 24). Finally, in the early 1600's, lycanthropy was recognized as a "mental malady with cannibalistic tendencies, which had developed under diseased conditions" (Fielding 1945: 161), and the trials ceased. Persecution of witches in Europe lasted further into the seventeenth century, and the vampire epidemics occurred still later in the mid-eighteenth century.

IV. THE FACTS:
(A) SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN EUROPE.

As has been demonstrated, vampire and werewolf beliefs existed all over Europe from the earliest days of civilization, and such notions prevail to this very day in some areas. Perhaps the best way to clearly outline some of the datable events relating to the problems at hand is to set them up along a time line. Such a diagram has been put together in Table 2 on the page following, and suggests some piquant relationships between various occurrences. Massive hunts were carried out to track down witches; such events reached their peak in the late sixteenth century and were almost extinguished by the 1680's. Witch hunts were exclusively a western phenomena - "Eastern Europe, the world of Orthodox Christianity, was untouched by it" (Cohn 1975: 253). A less known fact is that huge hunts also took place, at different times, to search out vampires and werewolves. Werewolf hunts and trials occurred all over continental Europe, beginning as early as 1520 and accelerating from this point until the early 1600's when lycanthropy was recognized as being a form of mental illness. This would indicate then that the persecution and torture of witches lasted much longer, the hunts continuing in earnest until 1650, when they began to phase out. Out of the western European countries, France was especially notorious for werewolf hunting, and hundreds of innocent victims were testified against, tortured into confession and burned at the stake. By the late

TABLE 2: TIME LINE

476-1450	Middle Ages.
1486	Publication of witch-hunting manual (Malleus Maleficarum).
1520	Beginning of Roman Church's werewolf trials
1573	French parliament authorized people to beat woods for werewolves (Fielding 1945). Gilles Garnier accused of being a loup-garou and devouring children (Mackay 1974).
1597	James I begins witch hunts in England.
early 1600's	Lycanthropy recognized as a mental malady with cannibalistic tendencies which developed under diseased conditions (Fielding 1945).
1600-1650	Main witch-hunts in Europe.
1692-1694	30,000 Hungarian soldiers died of plague.
1719	Plague and smallpox claimed half population of Transylvania.
1727-1735	Vampire epidemic on European continent, especially in Eastern Europe.
1732	Imperial commission formed to investigate vampire attacks (Ronay 1975).
1787	Legal abolition of witch trials in Poland, the last holdout in Europe (Trevor-Roper 1970).
1823	England outlaws the staking of suicides (McNally and Florescu 1974).
1855	German cholera epidemic attributed to vampires.
1882	English suicides no longer buried at crossroads between 9 and midnight.
1894-1895	Human Leopard Society in Sierra Leone outlawed (Beatty 1915).
1896	Vampire epidemic in Rhode Island (McNally 1974).
1897	Publication of <u>Dracula</u> .
1969	West Pakistan town of Okara attributed deaths among sheep to vampire attacks (Copper 1973).

1600's, werewolf and witch hunts were, for the most part, over; the Salem witch trials of 1692 were a belated epilogue to the earlier hysteria in Europe. It was at this point in time that Eastern Europe's vampire hysteria seems to have begun in earnest. Plague and smallpox ravaged Hungary, Romania and the surrounding areas from 1692 to 1720, and in 1727 we see the emergence of the widespread vampire epidemic that was to horrify Eastern Europe for at least nine years. Such beliefs were prevalent until quite late in time. In 1855 a cholera epidemic in Germany was attributed to vampire attacks. In 1896, a vampire epidemic occurred in Rhode Island. Such beliefs still exist, particularly in areas of Europe as is evidenced by the staking of a supposed vampire at a cemetery known as Highgate in the late 1960's.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the social conditions in Europe during the major periods of vampire and werewolf hunts, thereby attempting to establish a series of events which possibly may have led to the incipience of such pursuits. Obviously a study such as this cannot include an exhaustive essay on Eastern European history, and, instead, the chapter will include sections on witch hunts, the Church, disease and the psychology of fear, all of which were greatly influential in leading to the proliferation of vampire and werewolf beliefs.

It was during the Middle Ages that suicides in Europe began to be commonly staked in their graves, and werewolves

were seen as being transformed witches. Accusations for the latter offense were often for reasons of greed and cruelty.

The desire to dominate others by inspiring fear or to gain personal power was very common during that period, so it was inevitable, considering the universal belief in sorcery, witchcraft and evil spirits, that this trait should be stressed. The desire to taste human flesh, however horrible, was not overlooked as a motive for transformation (Fielding 1945: 152).

It wasn't until the Renaissance period of European history, lasting roughly from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, that the vampire and werewolf, along with the witch, began to take on proportions which would ultimately lead to the massive hunts of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was during the so-called 'Age of Reason', occurring around the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, that vampires really caught on in Europe, "when prosecution and punishment for alleged witchcraft in western Europe was drawing to an end" (Wickwar 1973: 144). This period was...

...the age of Cagliostro and Hell-fire Clubs. It was pre-eminently the era of charlatanry, mesmerism, satanism, black magic and sexual deviancy (Dickie 1971: 20).

During this period many people were staked in their coffins, sometimes alive. Many such cases were recorded and signed by officials and were published in the daily newspapers of the time.

A true vampire epidemic arose on the continent in the late 1720's, mostly due to the influence of organized religion,

as shall be discussed later.

A vampire 'epidemic' is a period during which belief in such creatures reaches massive proportions, spreading among all groups in an area and cutting across social and religious boundaries. During such a time, mass hysteria prevails and graves are exhumed with alarming frequency. People seeking to protect themselves turned to rituals and their Church for security. Such epidemics were caused by combinations of multiple factors, such as disease, church doctrines, social chaos and so on. By 1727, vampirism had spread like the pestilence across Hungary and the rest of the Hapsburg empire, and all over the eastern part of the continent the horror was "heightened by the speed with which the contagion was spreading" (Ronay 1972: 27). Thousands of people died, supposedly as a result of having their blood sucked out, and the vampire became more and more dreaded. A staggering number of publications concerning the epidemic came out between 1728 and 1734, especially in Germany, and were "indicative of the wide European interest in the Hungarian Vampire epidemic" (ibid: 27).

It appears likely then that three main factors were at the root of both the vampire and werewolf phenomena in Europe: the Church, disease and mass fear, the latter being largely generated by the former two.

IV. (B) THE CHURCH.

The rise of Christianity and organized religion possibly contributed more than any other single factor to the rise of vampirism in Eastern Europe. Why the Church latched onto such beliefs is unclear. The fact remains that they did encourage the beliefs, and by doing so helped to create epidemic fervor and fear of the monster. The werewolf was seen by the Roman and Orthodox churches as being in league with demons - they were considered heretics like the witches and similarly burned at the stake when convicted. Not only werewolves were considered heretics. During the 1500's, theologians in Hungary "decreed unanimously that anyone who denied that a human being could transform himself into a werewolf was guilty of heresy" (Ronay 1972: 24). Such non-believers were also burned at the stake for not following the dictated doctrine of the Church. As noted previously, the Roman Catholic Church conducted at least 30,000 trials on charges of lycanthropy from 1520 to the early 1600's, these trials being almost identical to those conducted for witches. Once accused, a person who did not confess was tortured until he did so, usually having the option of dying on the rack. 'Witnesses' were often very numerous, such as in the aforementioned trial of Gilles Garnier of Lyons where fifty people swore to his guilt (Mackay 1974: 484). With both their governments and their Church telling them that werewolves did exist, and that anyone who did not acknowledge their factuality would be burned at the stake, it is little

wonder that werewolf fear was so widespread and so deeply entrenched in Europe. In a way, the situation is like a double-bind: one could either listen to the Church, believe in werewolves and live in dread of them, or one could deny their existence and live in fear of being burned as a heretic. By the end of the seventeenth century in Eastern Europe and Greece, the alarming increase in vampire reports was blamed on werewolves, who became 'undead' after death. This again indicates the close relationship between vampire and werewolf concepts.

With regard to the vampire, the Church in Europe was very active indeed. Although the basic concept of the vampire probably took shape in Europe long before the spread of Christianity, it was the Church that turned small-scale peasant superstition into massive, widely-believed fears. In short, it was organized religion in Europe which gave form to the vampire epidemics which were to occur in the early eighteenth century, by lending credence to belief in the vampire. This could have been done with certain motives in mind, as for many years the Church condemned such beliefs as pagan superstition, then later began stressing that not to believe in such creatures was heresy. Belief in the vampire was possibly given form by the Church in order that the organization could wield its power over the masses more easily. The different churches played against one another, creating very high tensions especially in areas where their domains overlapped. Both the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches said that members

of the other were heretics, thus condemning huge numbers of people to assured vampire status after death. Each Church encouraged its members to seek out these vampires and destroy them before they could wreak havoc. The Eastern Orthodox Church stated that the absence of decomposition in a corpse was indicative of an excommunicated or cursed person. The Roman Catholics and Moslems saw failure to decompose as a sign, although not positive proof, of sanctity (Dickie 1971: 23). The Orthodox Church propounded the notion that certain individuals were doomed to an afterlife as a vampire: excommunicants, suicides, unbaptized persons, apostates and those having mutilated burial rites. Such beliefs go a long way towards explaining the credibility of the vampire in areas where this doctrine was prevalent.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Eastern Europe was experiencing a festering schism between the Roman and Greek (Eastern) Orthodox Churches, which unknowingly added new dogmatic support to the growing terror of vampires.

The two churches, brought into a head-on collision on the territories liberated from the Turks in 1686 by the allied Christian armies led by Prince Eugen von Savoya, were soon locked in battle for the souls of Christians who, during the Islamic occupation, had left the fold of the Roman Church. With both churches claiming that those buried in the unhallowed grounds of the other would not rest in peace, popular fear and interest in these undead vampires grew out of all proportion to their alleged occurrence (Ronay 1972: 25).

The first persistent reports of vampire infestation began in the late 1600's in Hungary and the surrounding territory,

when the confrontations between the churches began to peak. Wars and crusades wracked Europe in the east, and wherever the two churches came into physical contact ('frontiers') rumours of vampire attacks soon followed. Such an epidemic was not possible earlier, as...

the decisive victory of King Batori over the Orthodox Tsar Ivan in the previous century had limited the contacts between the two churches and precluded the development of a full-blown vampire epidemic (ibid: 26).

By the eighteenth century, graves were checked with increasing frequency, and the number of suspected 'undead' was swelled by all manner of heathens, from Jews to suicides. By 1727, the hysteria was widespread over all of Hungary, Romania and the rest of Eastern Europe. In the general fear and confusion, the authorities seem to have...

overlooked the fact that the vampire attacks were invariably reported from border areas where Catholic Hungarians and Orthodox Serbs and Wallachs intermingled (ibid: 32).

This notion of the Church conflicts in Eastern Europe being the main catalyst to the vampire epidemic there is well attested to by a look at England - one place where vampirism never became widely feared. Here vampirism remained merely an imported literary tradition, due to the fact that there was no indigenous tradition to speak of, and the rival dogmas of the Eastern and Catholic Churches did not exist to confuse the people about the fate of the dead buried in unhallowed ground.

Thus it seems that the Church in Eastern Europe, by

giving form to what had been a shapeless, diverse belief, created much of the vampire terror that was to grow to epidemic proportions between 1727 and 1735. Both the main churches built up their own dogmas around the belief and used them to gain control over their own members and also to threaten non-members. One piece of evidence which seems to indicate the clergy used the beliefs towards their own ends is the fact that the churches denounced certain 'anti-vampire' practices, calling them heathen superstitions, thus now allowing the people the comfort of protecting themselves from the creature. An example is the 'need-fire' or 'living-fire', a special fire kindled to keep vampires and disease away. By denouncing such things, the Church was forcing people to exist in constant fear, a condition which played a major role in the vampire epidemics. While such religious paraphernalia as crosses and holy water were sometimes used to keep vampires at bay, no Church-sanctioned method of 'killing' them existed.

IV. (C) WITCH-HUNTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS
TO VAMPIRE AND WEREWOLF HUNTS.

No great detail is possible in the context of this study, but some mention should be made on the subject of witch-hunts in Europe, as this phenomenon was in many ways related to the topic at hand. Witches, vampires and werewolves in Europe were all believed to be in league with the evil powers of the universe, all being seen as being basically malevolent, harmful and associated with night. In many areas, witches were viewed as potential werewolves, being able to change their shape at will.

Witches were, in western Europe, a main focus of attention during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while vampirism was epidemic much later. Like the vampire and werewolf, the witch was given its form by the Christian Church. Norman Cohn (1975), in his enlightening work entitled Europe's Inner Demons, examines the two principal explanations which have been widely expounded over the years, dealing with why the stereotype of the witch arose so strongly in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These two most widely accepted notions are as follows: 1) that a sect of witches, supposedly bound to the Devil by a pact, really existed, and tried to perform 'maleficium' (harming others by occult means); 2) that a witch sect first developed as a by-product of the campaign of the Inquisition, the stereotype being first used in the massive inquisitorial witch-hunt in fourteenth century France (ibid: 102). A well-

known proponent of the former view was Margaret Murray, who hypothesized that organized witch cults really existed long before Christianity and lasted into the seventeenth century, beginning as fertility cults. Both Cohn and Macfarlane (1970b) argue with this, saying that there is no solid evidence that any such group existed. Cohn's condemnation of such ideas is convincing, and he exposes more than one supposedly early document on witchcraft as total forgery written years after the fact (1975: 130). Apparently, the complex witch stereotype arose due to certain circumstances and in response to certain needs.

The first step towards the great witch-hunt was taken when the traditional teaching of the Church was applied - not necessarily by inquisitors - to the relatively unfamiliar phenomenon of ritual magic; for in the process maleficium acquired meaning it had not possessed in earlier centuries (ibid: 173).

As has been shown, a similar catalyst was shown to have likely sparked the vampire epidemic in Eastern Europe, and few have ever argued that vampires really existed. If the vampire phenomenon could grow to epidemic proportions without the presence of an actual 'vampire cult', could not the same situation have existed with regard to witches in western Europe? The earliest trials for the practice of ritual magic occurred in the early 1300's, and at this time it was mainly clergymen who were accused because they were among the few who could read about ways to conduct it. By the 1320's, trials for sorcerers began, and were usually aimed at the wealthy who were believed to have come by their wealth by

diabolical means. In most of these early cases the prosecutors were fanatics, producing "a true prelude to the great witch-hunt" (Cohn 1975: 205). The notion of the witch being able to fly may have originated, says Cohn, from the concept of the Greek, Romanian and Germanic legends of 'striges' or 'strix', the demonic, cannibalistic night-birds. As has been mentioned, these creatures are also likely tied closely to the origins of vampire lore in Europe. Like those who denied that werewolves existed, people denying that witches could fly were burned at the stake.

In the late sixteenth century, Carlo Ginzberg uncovered a curious group of 'anti-witches' in northern Italy, who saw themselves as witch-killers with a mission to save people and crops from these creatures. The group, however, realized that their experiences were not happening in reality, but on a different level, where their spirits would go out to do battle for them.

The experiences of the Benandanti - the rides, the battles with witches, the rescuing of the crops and children - were all trance experiences. The Benandanti - as they themselves repeatedly stated - underwent these experiences in a state of catalepsy: through the relevant period they lay motionless in bed in a stupor (ibid: 223).

'Trance experiences' such as these undoubtedly play a large part in both the vampire and witch phenomena.

By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, things which had been previously recognized as purely imaginary came to be believed. The *Malleus Maleficarum* was not as

important in stimulating the witch-hunts as some have surmised, as the massive hunts did not begin until a century after it appeared and the stereotype had arisen 50 years before its publication (ibid: 225). Once a single trial was carried out in an area, it is not difficult to imagine how easy it would be for others to quickly follow, people naming others and confessing under torture. One of the key matters recognized by most authors speaking of witch and werewolf trials, is the crucial importance of confessions - especially those given voluntarily without torture. It is vital to recognize that some people may have truly believed that they were such beings, perhaps suffering from some sort of monomania. Just because people confessed voluntarily is no reason to assume that witch sects, or werewolves for that matter, really existed.

Trevor-Roper (1970; 1965) examines the causes of the European witch-craze, and makes two important observations about the situation which have already been noted here as applying almost word-for-word to the vampire situation in the east. He says (1970: 132):

Every major outbreak is in the frontier area where religious strife is not intellectual, a dissent of opinion, but social, the dissidence of a society.

He also notes that the recrudescence of witchcraft after 1560 marks the period of Protestant evangelism, recognizing that "thereafter almost every local outbreak can be related to the aggression of one religion upon another" (ibid: 133). The decline of witchcraft occurred in the late 1600's. Protestant

countries were the first to abolish the trials, many being long-emanipated by 1700, but Catholic countries such as Germany kept burning witches long after this. Catholic Poland, in the east, was one of the last holdouts, not legally abolishing witch-trials until 1787 (ibid: 138).

It thus seems that the witch-craze, like those of the vampire and werewolf, grew out of social situations. Some of the functions of the beliefs which have been proposed by several authors (Cohn 1975; Harris 1974; Norbeck 1961; Macfarlane 1970 and others) can be summarized here: 1) witches served as 'scapegoats' for other problems; 2) the belief allowed for aggression to be displaced from the social conditions themselves onto individuals, and allowed for repressed desires to be expressed; 3) the belief served as a social control mechanism; 4) the belief allowed for rebellion against conventional behaviour. Numerous other variations on these basic themes, and others, have been presented, but all cannot be presented here. Witch beliefs were also dysfunctional in some ways. Accusations were usually leveled at persons whom the accuser knew intimately. This meant that aggression was focused within the social group, causing a great deal of anxiety and mutual distrust.

In order for witch-hunts to become common in a society certain conditions had to exist. Firstly, some misfortune had to occur, and, secondly, there had to be someone who could plausibly be regarded as a witch. The Church and governments designed a 'witch' stereotype which "shifted

responsibility for the crisis of...society from both Church and state to imaginary demons in human form" (Harris 1974: 237). In order for witch fantasies to grow to a national level, another major factor had to be present (Douglas 1970: xv):

Witch-hunting developed in a specifiabile social niche: important factions, externally distinct, internally competitive.

Witchcraft accusations generally occur where social roles are ill-defined, where there is ambiguity in role patterning, and in small enclosed groups "where movement in and out is restricted, where interaction is unavoidably close, and where roles are undefined or so defined that they are impossible to perform" (ibid: 108). Thus it is not poverty in itself, nor war in itself, nor religion in itself which leads to large-scale belief in such things as witches. Rather such beliefs appear to be the result of all these problems having occurred together, creating confusion in the social order and resulting in a loss of role definition.

IV. (D) THE RELATIONSHIP OF VAMPIRE AND WEREWOLF PHENOMENA TO DISEASE.

Disease is a topic which must not be overlooked in reference to vampire and werewolf beliefs, although other authors on the subject only rarely discuss it. Two major factors present in both vampire and werewolf tales are of importance to note here. First, illness and death are the two most common misfortunes blamed on such creatures. Second, the vampire and sometimes the werewolf are believed to be of greatest danger to their immediate families, preying on them first. This latter point is very relevant to this chapter on disease, as many of the degenerative diseases blamed on the vampire were often hereditary, and did indeed strike members of a family.

There are a number of diseases whose characteristics would lend credence to belief in vampires and werewolves either in terms of symptoms which would suggest a victim was being preyed upon by such a creature, or by symptoms that manifest themselves in an individual in such a way as to parallel folk descriptions of the creatures' appearances. This last group of phenomena would provide visual 'proof' to a believing populace of the bona fide existence of persons fitting the stereotype. The few diseases which will be discussed here will be divided up accordingly: the first category will be those diseases related to the supposed 'victim', and the second will consist of those referring to the person accused of being a vampire or werewolf.

CATEGORY I: The Victim

Anemia - Anemia is a disease resulting from a lack of red blood corpuscles and/or blood hemoglobin, causing paleness, weakness and general lifelessness. In its pernicious form, it is accompanied by gastrointestinal and nervous disorders. Given the nature of the condition, it seems not irrational that people would believe it could be caused by a vampire sucking the blood from a victim. Even physicians, having no remedies, believed that people bitten by vampires allegedly fall into "a death trance and die of galloping anemia" (Ronay 1972: 33).

Animal Diseases - Cattle and sheep diseases were often blamed on vampires and werewolves, and 'need-fires' were sometimes kindled to keep them away.

Anorexia - This condition is simply a chronic lack of appetite. Such a state has been referred to as a symptom of windigo psychosis in northern North America (Teicher 1960), and it seems likely that it enters very strongly into all situations where people are under severe stress, fear or supposed 'curses'. If carried to extremes, it can lead to death.

Cholera - Cholera is an intestinal disease, which struck Germany in epidemic form in 1855. The deaths were attributed to vampire attacks, although "reports have it that many people did not die from the actual disease but from fright" (Glut 1971: 72).

Consumption - This refers to a group of diseases causing

wasting away of the body, especially tuberculosis of the lungs. Like anemia, this condition was often blamed on vampires because of the way a victim degenerated. It seems very likely that the vampire scare of Rhode Island in 1896 was closely related to this condition. Scores of bodies were dug up and burned to prevent them from rising from their graves to prey upon their families as vampires (McNally 1974: 164). Here we again see the idea of the family being the vampire's main target. If the epidemic really was lung tuberculosis, this notion is not surprising as it is a drop-let infection which could easily spread from one family member to another, particularly if the entire house was put under quarantine.

Plague - Plague refers to a highly contagious, deadly epidemic disease which may occur in three forms: bubonic, passed from rat-flea to man; pneumonic, passed by droplets from man to man; septicemic, where bacilli enter the bloodstream and usually produce death within twenty-four hours. Plague hovered over Europe from the fourteenth through the eighteenth centuries, causing collapse of social institutions and chaos wherever it appeared. This disease, like others which occurred epidemically, was often blamed on vampires. Families were boarded up in houses, a practice which may have "caused a fatal concentration of the poison, making of the house a pestilential reservoir" (Chamberlin 1965: 131). Once again, it is small wonder that the first in the family to die was sometimes believed to be preying on the rest of the family as

a vampire.

From 1692-1694 over 30,000 Hungarian soldiers died of plague and, in 1719, a plague and smallpox epidemic killed half the population of Transylvania (Ronay 1972: 32). The social chaos in Eastern Europe during and after such a trauma must have had a decided effect towards furthering the vampire epidemic beginning in 1727. Plague conditions were everywhere very conducive to belief in vampires. People were hurriedly buried in mass graves, sometimes probably still alive. Conditions were sometimes apparently so bad that "rats and starving domestic animals gnawed at children and the resultant carnage was blamed on the vampire" (Masters 1972: 14). In Romania, fir trees were sometimes plunged into plague victims to keep the body in its grave. All over continental Europe, vampires were seen as carriers of pestilence. It does not seem totally coincidental that plague took an exceptionally heavy toll in Eastern Europe almost continually in the thirty years prior to the vampire epidemic.

Tarantism - This is a nervous disorder characterized by hysteria, sometimes referred to as a 'dancing mania' because of the victim's irresistible urge to dance wildly until he collapsed. This is not directly related to the vampire or werewolf lore, but has been included here as an example of a condition which can be swelled to massive proportions after a social upheaval such as a plague epidemic. This disease occurred widely in Europe after the Black Death, and struck mainly those people who felt themselves to be the

most abused members of society. In the Low countries it was believed to be caused not by the bite of the tarantula, as was believed elsewhere, but by demonic possession.

The victim who interprets his problems in terms of possession by malevolent spirits utilizes, as we have amply seen, a devious maneuver in which immediate responsibility is pointed not at his fellow men, but upon mysterious and malignant forces outside society (Lewis 1971: 118).

This is true of vampires, as they are outside the society, but not true of witches.

Thanatomania - This is a mental condition where a person believes so strongly that he is going to die that he does, often for no medically apparent reason. 'Voodoo death' falls into this category, and as early as 1942 Cannon discovered that "the fatal power of the imagination working through unmitigated terror" (1942: 170) could indeed produce death by producing shocking emotional stress leading to a breakdown of vital bodily functions.

CATEGORY II: The Vampire and Werewolf.

Argot Poisoning - It has recently been hypothesized that the Salem witch trials may have been sparked off due to hallucinations brought on by argot poisoning in bread. Such an idea may figure in many other such related phenomena - hallucinogens causing people to believe they, or someone they know, is a witch, werewolf or vampire.

Catalepsy - Catalepsy figures importantly in vampire beliefs, being a condition sometimes referred to as 'death trance' where all bodily functions temporarily slow down to

an almost undetectable level and a person appears to be dead. Cataleptic comas may be induced by a variety of physical or mental conditions, and a victim is left literally in a state of suspended animation - a key concept in vampire lore. Before modern embalming techniques, such people were undoubtedly buried alive in many cases and were sometimes capable of remaining alive in their tombs for days or even weeks. Awakening in their coffins or crypts and trying to claw their way out, it is no wonder that when their graves were opened they appeared life-like, had shifted position or were covered in blood. It also appears that upon awakening from a cataleptic coma blood often oozes from the mouth; such a scene would be enough to convince anyone who even vaguely believed in vampires that such creatures really existed. In 1851, Dr. Herbert Mayo wrote that there is reason to suspect that 'death trance' could be epidemic in certain seasons and places, particularly nervous people being especially susceptible.

These are exactly the persons who are likely to be infected with imaginary terrors, and to dream, or even to fancy, they have seen the last victim of the epidemic (Ronay 1972: 45).

The social atmosphere in the 1720's in Eastern Europe may indeed have been stressful enough to lapse many such individuals into catalepsy. As late as the early 1900's American statistics showed that at least one case per week of premature burial was actually discovered in one way or another. It was around this time that the Society for the Prevention of Premature Burial was formed. Seventy-five years prior to

this, coffins in New York City were left open for eight days, each coffin being equipped with a bell so the slightest movement would set off the alarm (Wickwar 1973: 153). According to Wickwar (1973: 153), one in every 200 of these 'corpses' returned to life. In the 1700's, a French publication examined 181 victims of catalepsy, coming up with the following results: 55 were actually buried alive, 53 awoke in their coffins, 4 were dissected alive and 73 others were pronounced dead while still alive (Masters 1972: 18).

Catalepsy in many non-Western groups is not viewed as 'abnormal', but rather is seen as being a valuable asset. Benedict (1956: 245-247), for example, discusses its occurrence among the Shasta Indians of California where it is culturally approved and a good way by which to gain authority and leadership. Here women were most often chosen for shamans because of their greater liability to lapse into trances. Benedict observed that one woman apparently lapsed into a seizure, appearing like dead but awakening hours later with blood oozing from her mouth (ibid: 246-247). In Eastern Europe, during the vampire epidemic, such an individual would very likely have been beheaded, as happened in many documented cases. In one account a man even sat up in his coffin, after it was dug up, with fresh blood on his lips. He was immediately beheaded (McNally 1974: 165).

Hypertrichosis - Trichosis refers to any disease of the hair. Hypertrichosis is a rare medical condition in which a person becomes covered with long, shaggy hair, including on

the face. This condition may have played some role, if even a minor one, in the perpetuation of werewolf and 'wildman' stories. Although the condition is extremely rare, it is hereditary, and even one such family could quite possibly have had a profound effect on a society. As was pointed out earlier, periodic reinforcement is more effective in perpetuating superstitious beliefs than is continual reinforcement. One such documented family did exist, the father being one Petrus Gonsalvus who went from the Canary Islands to Paris where he married, both his son and daughter inheriting his condition (McNally and Florescu 1974: 47). Later referred to as the 'Wolfman from Munich', his family was captured in portraits. They do indeed appear exactly like our modern movies would depict a werewolf. Abnormalities of the hair seem to be paramount in many werewolf beliefs. In some areas the sure signs of lycanthropy were hair between the shoulder blades, hair in the palms or meeting eyebrows.

Lycanthropy - In its medical sense, this refers to a mental malady where the victim believes he is a wolf, or some other animal, and acts accordingly. This condition was recognized as a mental aberration in the early 1600's, whereas in earlier periods it was blamed on magic or other things. Such a condition would easily explain at least some of the confessions given voluntarily which added a great deal of fuel to the werewolf hunts of the 1500's.

Malnutrition - In some areas, malnutrition may have played a role in confessions. Evidence for this has been presented

by J. R. Crawford (1967), who worked in Rhodesia and discovered that the extremely prevalent 'confusional states' present here were related to malnutrition. "Such states were usually accompanied by the idea of bewitchment or punishment by the ancestors" (ibid: 65).

Monomania - This is another mental condition which may have led to confessions. In this condition, a person focuses all his energies on one thing, real or imaginary, and refuses to be swayed from it.

Porphyria - Porphyria is a disorder of pigment metabolism, causing facial, tooth and nail deformity and dangerous sensitivity to sunlight. Such a condition may have at one time lent credence to vampire and werewolf tales.

Porphyria victims in older times may have foraged for food at night, not because they were 'nocturnal creatures' but because they could not physically endure the rays of the sun. Moreover, since porphyria, being hereditary, is a 'family' disease, its similarity to vampirism is all the more striking, for the vampire traditionally begins by attacking, thus infecting, members of its own family (McNally 1974: 15).

This condition was not uncommon and appeared extensively in the British Royal family. It is "transmitted as a Mendelian dominant character" (British Medical Association 1968: 68). It would not be surprising that victims of the disease, particularly in a peasant society, would sometimes be cast out of their group because of their appearance and apparent love of the night, and be forced to live on the outskirts of civilization. Witch trials occurred on the basis of evidence much shakier than this.

As can be seen, there are several diseases, both physical and mental, which may have been closely linked with vampire and werewolf occurrences throughout the ages. Many of these conditions, while in themselves not enough to cause epidemic belief in the creatures, probably served to reinforce the stereotype images presented by the churches and governing bodies of the times, and thus contributed greatly to their perpetuation.

IV. (E) THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FEAR.

It has already been demonstrated that several of the illnesses associated with vampire and werewolf beliefs may be associated with fear, and it is certain that extreme terror (fear of something tangible) or horror (fear of the unknown) can indeed cause death on occasion. People complaining of being visited by a vampire would sometimes fall into death-trances (catalepsy?) and suffer from anorexia.

It is difficult to imagine the very real mass psychosis of fear which existed during vampire or werewolf scares. Such fear was instrumental in "turning a popular superstitious belief into a real-life epidemic with diagnosable symptoms" (Ronay 1972: 36). The fear was highly contagious, especially during periods of war, famine, plague or any social chaos, and eventually affected areas where the social composition and religious situations were different. Eastern Europe in particular was being wracked by constant wars and people were exposed to considerable and conflicting religious pressures.

Mary Douglas discusses fear in terms of pollution concepts.

A polluting person is always in the wrong. He has developed some wrong condition or simply crossed some line which should not have been crossed and this displacement unleashes danger for someone (1966: 113).

This is decidedly true in reference to the vampire and werewolf, as both creatures often came into their conditions because of violation of some forbidden line. Both of these

monsters fall into a group known almost universally as being dangerous - that state of transition between one thing and another. "Danger lies in transitional states, simply because transition is neither one state nor the next - it is undefinable" (ibid: 96). Many societies have developed complex rites of passage to help individuals get through one stage of life to the next, and to help them avoid the dangerous zone in between. Here, perhaps, is one reason why the vampire and werewolf are viewed as being dangerous and polluting.

In short, mass fear has played an important role in vampire and werewolf epidemics and redundant detailed explanations are not necessary here. Suffice to say that people during such times were afraid of almost everything in their environment - the Church, the government, illness, death, starvation, poverty and so on. "These pressures created a psychosis in which mysterious events became more acceptable than they would have been in a calm and rational atmosphere" (Ronay 1972: 33). All misfortunes could be most easily blamed on malevolent creatures, especially when the higher powers of the land said that they existed. It is not to be doubted that "the mythical vampire killed thousands out of self-generating fear" (Masters 1972: xi).

This chapter has shown that there were many actual conditions which led to mass belief in vampires and werewolves in Europe. The beliefs were not at all irrational or unreasonable given the situations, and people at the time had

a great deal of 'evidence' which to them was irrefutable. Once the actual facts emerge, the real reasons for the vampire and werewolf epidemics become at least partially cleared up.

On the continent, vampire and werewolf beliefs probably never would have gotten out of hand had the Church ignored them rather than saying such creatures were the work of the Devil. This author suggests that the Church grasped onto such beliefs to gain control over the people. Once this had occurred, lack of strong social articulation, epidemic disease, mass fear and voluntary confessions created deprivation and stress and led to national level hysteria in Eastern Europe. Such epidemics generally occurred in frontier areas, such as Transylvania, where "everything happens under heat and pressure" (Haraszti 1971: 7).

V. FUNCTIONS OF SUCH BELIEFS:

Now that certain evidences of how such beliefs may have arisen, and in response to what conditions, it is necessary to delve into an area which is much more difficult - that of how they were used and how they actually functioned. "The mere existence of an institution as part of the cultural heritage is not a sufficient condition for its acceptance by members of a society" (Spiro 1953: 376), especially one which appears to be punishing in many respects. It is necessary here to differentiate between the terms 'use' and 'function', and it is proposed that the distinctions outlined by A. P. Merriam (1964) with reference to music are also relevant in this context. A belief may sometimes be 'used' in a certain way by members of a society who can employ it for some specific purpose or in conjunction with other activities. An example showing that the vampire and werewolf beliefs can be 'used' is evidenced by the idea that the Church may have exploited such notions to further its own ends, after denying such beliefs as relics of pagan superstition during the Dark Ages (476 A.D.-1000 A.D.). Certain individuals could also consciously 'use' belief in these creatures to 'get back' at enemies by accusing them. It is possible too that parents could have 'used' such beliefs as threats with which to discipline children. 'Use', then, refers to the situation in which the belief is employed in human action (ibid: 210). The 'functions' of such beliefs may be something quite different, and are generally much more difficult to determine, concerning the reasons for their employment and

particularly the broader purpose which they serve. Very often the consequences of a certain form of behaviour will be different from those intended by the person conducting it. In an attempt to clarify the concept of 'function', Robert Merton introduced a distinction between the manifest and latent functions of a cultural element. Manifest functions of a cultural element are those intended and recognized by the participants in a system, while latent functions are those objective consequences which may be neither recognized nor intended by the members of the group (Kaplan and Manners 1972: 58).

The most straightforward way to examine how vampire and werewolf beliefs may have functioned in Europe is to find answers to certain questions. It is initially important to scrutinize the characters directly involved. What kinds of individuals were most often believed to be targets for attacks? Who did the accusing? Who was blamed? Who confessed? Once the central characters have been identified, various other queries can help in determining how these beliefs functioned. Were the creatures seen as being potentially controllable? What sorts of misfortunes were blamed on them? What kinds of evidence existed to support the beliefs? What areas of the continent were most susceptible and why? Were the beliefs cultural phenomena or the result of natural conditions? Once such problems have been cleared up, the functions of vampire and werewolf beliefs become much clearer.

The characters involved in vampire/werewolf beliefs in Europe are extremely significant and must be carefully examined if one is to ultimately discuss the behaviour exhibited regarding such concepts. Before a vampire epidemic, for example, can occur in a society, certain individuals must feel they are victims of such creatures, having initially been supported in their belief by the culturally constituted fantasies of the group. During the witch-hunts in Western Europe, certain obvious trends emerged regarding those persons who accused others of being witches: they usually knew the person whom they were accusing; they often attacked those they envied, such as the rich or powerful; they were often children, or others seeking attention. Although the vampire and werewolf hunts are only sparsely documented, certain evidences are available which point towards certain trends. Werewolves were sometimes seen as being witches, so often the accuser and/or victim would be one of those persons mentioned in the chapter on witchcraft. In some areas, where lycanthropy was believed to be sometimes present in newborn children due to some transgression on the part of their parents, parents would believe their own child to be a werewolf. 'Victims' of a werewolf were often believed to be small children. Accusers then were usually the parents or relatives of a child who had gone missing or been mutilated. Thus it can be seen that the victim and/or accuser, who may or may not be the same person, is sometimes seen as guiltless of some transgression, as in the case of a child

victim, or guilty of something, such as the parents of a child believed to be born a lycanthrope.

The vampire presents a different kind of situation - here the victim is usually a member of the accused's family, as vampires were most commonly believed to prey on members of their own families. Accusations of vampirism are not at all like those for werewolves or witches - here one is making an accusation on someone who has left this earth. Sometimes people would try to blame a relative's vampire condition on something they did or didn't do after his death, such as letting a cat jump over the corpse. Perhaps such cases involve guilt feelings of the living relatives, who vent their anxiety about their neglect by believing that the dead person is seeking revenge on them. If the important funeral obligations are neglected, the conscience is unlikely to rest easy.

Overall, accusations of vampirism and lycanthropy do have certain features in common. Both occur, in mass proportions, only in certain social settings. Melford Spiro (1953: 379) expresses this notion in his discussion on malevolent ghosts in Ifaluk:

Individuals who have perceived their world as threatening will be disposed to believe in the existence of threatening objects or persons...for such a belief falls within their frames of reference. But individuals who have perceived their world as secure will not be so disposed, for there is nothing in their experience which corresponds to this belief.

Having already examined the social, health, religious and psychological problems which often existed during the Middle

Ages and Renaissance in Europe, it is not surprising that the people should have perceived their world as threatening. America saw a vaguely similar situation erupt during the 1950's when Joe McCarthy "drew into his following most of the zanies and zombies and compulsive haters who had followed earlier and lesser demagogues" (Douglas 1970: xv). Widespread 'monster' fantasies on a national level are not only the products of these kinds of people, but also the work of cynical manipulators, necessarily existing within a specifiable social niche (ibid: xv).

Persons accused of being vampires and werewolves have two basic features in common. They are inevitably viewed as having come into an 'impure' position, and they are in that precarious position of transition between two states. Both of these concepts are discussed in detail by Douglas (1970; 1966), and fit perfectly into her model of 'unclean' individuals - "those who inadvertantly cross some forbidden line or develop some impure condition" (1966: 1). Both vampires and werewolves can become such by their transgression of some accepted code, and both are vividly described in terms of their literal 'unclean' appearances and actions. The vampire is thought of as a creature hovering between life and death, and is very unique in comparison to the werewolf or witch.

One function of belief in all three creatures is that they act as 'scapegoats' for other problems in a society. They are easy 'marks' on which all the woes of a community can be hung. The vampire, it is proposed here, is possibly

the most functional of the three concepts in terms of maintaining social solidarity for the simple reason that it focuses aggression not on living individuals but on someone who is dead. During the witch-hunts, accusations were made within the closed group. Aggressions were thus re-directed, perhaps, but still created an atmosphere of social hostility where aggression was focused on members of the immediate community. Werewolf accusations were also leveled at individuals, both within and outside of a social group. Fear of vampires in Eastern Europe during the epidemic must have drawn people together against a common foe - one who was no longer a member of their group - and therefore must have been a slight cushion, albeit in a roundabout way, against a confusing world. Although mass fear would possibly be damaging to a society in some aspects, here no trials, tortures or ordeals were performed deliberately against living individuals. In hindsight, however, it is now apparent that a good number of people were buried alive and sometimes beheaded or staked while conscious.

Those unfortunate individuals who were accused of being werewolves were of two general types. Sometimes they were believed to be members of the accuser's family, or sometimes other people who were socially marginal in some way, due to their unusual appearance or antisocial behaviour. In reality, the latter type of person was possibly sometimes suffering from some condition such as actual lycanthropy, porphyria or hypertrichosis, and was ostracized from a group.

Any hermit-type or misfit, for example, appears to have been more suspect than others within a community. This relative exclusiveness in selecting werewolf candidates may help to explain why these trials never reached the same level as the witch trials, where almost anyone was a candidate. Physical appearance was very closely linked to werewolf lore, and is another reason to suspect that such tales were periodically fed by various diseases. Thus it seems that while witch accusations may have served to sever close relationships (i.e., Macfarlane 1970), and allowed people to vent their aggressions on people close to them, vampire beliefs and many werewolf beliefs did not usually function in this way.

Another important class of persons instrumental in propagating such beliefs were those who actually confessed voluntarily. The Church especially seems to have latched onto such occurrences as sure proof that these creatures really existed. The reasons for confessions are not difficult to understand, especially with regard to such mental aberrations as true lycanthropy where an individual actually believed he was a wolf. Hallucinogens of various types, as in the case of argot poisoning, may also have caused such confessions at times. It thus appears that such beliefs allowed certain marginal individuals to rebel against conventional behaviour and vent their feelings by confessing, thus finding some sort of self-identity for the moment. Speaking of the vampire, it is not likely that a living person would confess to being one, although the odd case may have arisen. It is

true that certain psychotic individuals have apparently modeled their behaviour on the idea of the vampire, although these are isolated instances only, and would not have had any appreciable effect on the mass epidemic of the eighteenth century.

The kinds of misfortunes most often attributed to vampires and werewolves were illness and death, particularly to their immediate families. Sudden, unusual or especially gruesome deaths were often blamed on such creatures for lack of a better explanation. Massive disease epidemics were also often blamed on vampires, as often whole families would succumb. In each case people were converting their anxieties about their uncertain surroundings into culturally-sanctioned fears, thus relieving tension and stress. This is particularly true in respect to the vampire epidemic, which not surprisingly occurred only shortly after the plague wiped out almost half the populations of many Eastern European countries.

The 'evidence' for the existence of vampires and werewolves is quite staggering, most of it having already been mentioned in previous chapters. This is indicative that the beliefs were not at all irrational within the cultural frameworks of the time periods involved. Vampire and werewolf beliefs were more the result of natural stimuli than being based on arbitrary pretexts. That is, rather than being totally cultural phenomena, they had a firm base in natural conditions.

Another question which must be explored is whether the vampire and werewolf were viewed as being potentially

controllable. The best way to protect oneself from such a creature, it seems, was to do away with it altogether. There were numerous 'protective mechanisms' by which people could supposedly protect themselves against vampires. Werewolves were more difficult to stave off. Apparently only a few methods existed to protect against them. The important feature to be noticed here is that in most cases the imputed source of anxiety was seen as being in some way controllable - either by methods to stave it off or destroy it. It is suspected that the value of such consolances was recognized by the Church, as is attested to by their refusal to recognize 'protective' practices such as 'need-fires', while building the creatures themselves up to incredibly fearsome stature. The fewer ways he had to protect himself, the more the peasant would be forced to turn to his Church for protection and guidance.

The areas where vampire and/or werewolf epidemics are most likely to flourish are those which are in confused states - where there are political and religious factions competing for power and where social articulation has crumbled. Frontier areas are particularly susceptible to such pressures, a classic example being Transylvania. This area, a main power seat of vampirism, has throughout its long history had constant pressures placed upon it by other countries competing for it.

The Transylvanian problem represents not a border dispute, but mainly the problem of co-existence among three ethno-linguistic

groups in the frame of a geopolitical unit, which is Transylvania itself (Haraszti 1971: 4).

These three nationalities, each having their own religion, even today do not constitute a theoretical minority problem, but a very extreme real problem. The Romanians, who constitute sixty percent of the total population, enjoy the protection of Bucharest against the 'rebellious' Hungarians and Saxons, who have lived in the area much longer. The horse-shoe of the Carpathians is a closed living unit which often has been a battle ground where extreme diversities continually clashed. Different climatic zones also meet here, and it is where "nomadic traditions and the western way of life first mixed" (ibid: 5). Most of the other areas where the vampire epidemic flourished in Eastern Europe existed in comparable states of confusion, thus being conducive to belief in 'scapegoats' such as the vampire. Whereas witchcraft, rooted in western Europe, may have functioned as the 'scapegoat' for problems in that area, vampirism, rooted in the Balkans, hypothetically served the same purpose here. The two were possibly 'functional alternatives' for one another.

Belief in vampires and werewolves can thus be seen to function in many different ways. As Levi-Strauss has stated (Kaplan and Manners 1972: 172), "myth...serves to depict certain contradictions in life and then to resolve these contradictions". The vampire represents a contradiction between life and death and the werewolf between man and beast - both beliefs represent ways in which man has tried to

resolve these contradictions. The manifest functions of the beliefs are much like those which have already been noted for witches and ghosts (Kluckhohn 1970; Spiro 1952, 1953, 1964): they help to define what is evil and they explain unstructured phenomena or questions which are otherwise unexplainable, providing a consistent theory of illness and death. As such, they minimize anxieties "rising from intellectual bewilderment in the face of crucial life crises, and the feelings of impotence to deal with them" (Spiro 1952: 498).

The hypothesized latent functions of the beliefs are much more complex, each being closely related to the others. Most obviously the creatures were seen to have functioned as 'scapegoats'. The vampire and werewolf...

may serve as a theory of misfortune by pinning blame on hidden enemies of society; ...serve as a guide to action, requiring the enemies to be unmasked and disabled (Douglas 1970: viii).

All supernatural creatures, as creations of culturally constituted fantasy, likely function to displace or direct aggression from one focal point to another, especially the vampire. While witch accusations were usually direct, often aimed at a disliked enemy, vampire and werewolf accusations more often served to 'displace' aggression and hostile impulses on to non-members of the immediate group. Such beliefs thus served as stress-relief mechanisms for the group as a whole, by converting general anxiety into culturally sanctioned fear. Repressed desires could be expressed by "attributing forbidden behaviour to supernatural beings"

(Norbeck 1961: 58). Some people may have felt

the need to give external expression and symbolically valid form to the impulses of reckless physical self-assertion which are hidden in all of us, but are normally kept under control (Cohn 1975: 169).

Vampire and werewolf epidemics were ideal times during which the culturally disavowed could vent their feelings within socially recognized channels. Anxieties could be expressed within frameworks that were comprehensible and which implied the possibility of positive action.

With regard to how the beliefs affected society as a whole, it would appear that they were more functional than dysfunctional. Society was in many ways guarded by such beliefs, as they acted as threats to those who would dare to transgress certain codes and standards. Discipline by fear can be extremely effective, although it does create other problems on the individual level. The elaborate measures devised to protect against vampires and werewolves likely served to preserve social structure by uniting the people against a common enemy. There was usually no need to suspect known members of the group, and the beliefs were therefore perhaps a more integrating force than was witchcraft in western Europe. In this respect, the vampire and werewolf may fall into the same category as ghosts. As Spiro (1952: 502) points out, groups in which sorcery and witchcraft accusations are common are also characterized by individualism and sorcery. Where creatures such as ghosts, being outside the group, are the main supernatural victims of aggression, mutual

trust and communalism are the mode. This situation applies well to some werewolf, and almost all vampire beliefs, and is important on both individual and societal levels.

Thus it is clear that vampire and werewolf beliefs functioned in a number of ways in Europe. These functions do not necessarily account for the origins of the beliefs. Vampire and werewolf beliefs were expressions of tense social situations, made socially acceptable by the Christian Church. Although they led to mass fear and even death in some instances, the beliefs were still basically functional in a number of ways. It shall be demonstrated that many of the same functions exist for other areas of the world.

VI. THE VAMPIRE AND WEREWOLF WORLDWIDE:

(A) VAMPIRES AND RELATED PHENOMENA WORLDWIDE.

As has been shown, belief in a supernatural conception we know as the vampire has existed for millenia in virtually every part of Europe and Russia. In order to determine whether this phenomenon exists in other parts of the world, a basic set of criteria must be established which will identify 'vampire-like' concepts regardless of what they may be called in each culture. The core ideas behind the notion of vampires are: 1) they are hyphens between life and death, fitting into neither category completely; 2) they have some kind of physical being and must obtain sustenance from the blood of the living in order to survive; 3) they are malevolent and capable of invoking fear in believers. Once these basic requirements have been met, the creature may be seen as falling into one of the following 'physical form' categories:

- 1) a corpse reanimated by a demonic spirit, appearing like the person did in life;
- 2) a corpse reanimated by a demonic spirit, appearing as a fungoid monster;
- 3) a corpse reanimated by the soul of the person being trapped inside the body, appearing as when alive;
- 4) an invisible malevolent spirit which assumes different forms at different times, but sucks the blood of the living in order to survive.

Some secondary characteristics which may be commonly associated with vampires are: they are best able to function

at night, often not emerging at all in daylight; they are often able to transform themselves into various other things, sometimes even a vapour or a piece of straw, and fall upon people to suck their blood. Using these characteristics as a guideline, it will be shown that the concept of the vampire has existed almost everywhere in the world.

In Asia, vampire legends have been present in all areas. India has many beliefs which reflect clearly the concept of vampirism. Here each type of creature has a different name and a specific activity is attributed to each as follows (Masters 1972: 64-65):

- Rakshasa - an omnipotent sub-being which devours raw human flesh.
- Jigar-Khor - the "liver-eater" which steals a person's liver by using incantations and piercing looks.
- Hanh Saburo - spirits which hunt men with dogs in order to drink their blood.
- Pisachas - a race of flesh-eaters.
- Hantu-Dor Dong - live in crevices and drink the blood of animals.
- Hant-Pare - clings like a leech to a wound of an injured person to suck their blood.
- Vetala - appears as an old hag and sucks the blood of sleeping women if they are mad or drunk.

Reanimated corpse-type vampires were also commonly acknowledged here. Crossroads, like in Europe, had a bad reputation in India - "she-devils were reputed to drink the blood of elephants that ventured upon a place where four ways came together" (Copper 1973: 24). In parts of the Himalayas, thorny bushes were placed at crossroads after funerals to impede the path of vampires and evil spirits following the mourners (Bendann 1930: 68). A common belief worldwide is that of the Hindus of Punjab, who hold that if a woman dies

in childbirth, her malignant spirit will return to torment her husband and family. In order to prevent such a thing, it was best to drive nails through the head and eyes, or put something made of iron on the clothing of the dead mother (Frazer 1968: 133). As recently as 1969 in West Pakistan a newspaper reported that...

Villagers in the West Pakistan town of Okara are reported to be sleeping indoors, because they believe vampires are about. They attribute recent deaths among sheep to the vampire (Copper 1973: 190).

China and Japan both had extensive legends of vampirana, and people here are often said to be more afraid of the vampire than of any other supernatural form (Masters 1972: 52). The vampire here was linked loosely to its European cousin, and its power was only present between sunset and sunrise. The Chinese concept of the vampire, as in Christian Europe, became closely related to the religion of the land. A vampire became so because of a demonic spirit entering the corpse, and if a "skeleton remains undecayed, or even just the skull, the P'ö (or lower soul) has become a vampire" (ibid: 51). Vampires here fed not only on the living, but also ate dead bodies, and appeared as monsters with white or green-white hair, having glowing eyes and long claws. To prevent the P'ö from becoming a vampire, the most important thing to do was to prevent a cat from jumping over the corpse (Masters 1972; Copper 1973). It was also seen as necessary to keep the body out of the rays of the sun or moon, as such rays could strengthen the lower soul enough to allow

it to go out and supply the corpse with blood, catalyzing the corpse with a "generous shot of Yang Cor positive force" (Masters 1972: 53). This may relate to the European custom of pulling down the blinds when a death has occurred in the house. The Chinese also have a belief in 'will-o-the-wisp' creatures which are vampiristic by nature and are reputed to have arisen from spilled blood. According to Masters (1972: 56), such beliefs may have begun due to: 1) the belief that the dead carry over to the other side their loves and hatreds; 2) the belief in the Buddhist purgatory where hunger abounds and one is forced to seek sustenance in the form of human flesh and blood; 3) cannibalism; 4) malarial fantasies and delusions.

Vampire beliefs are rampant in all areas of South-east Asia, Malaysia having been most thoroughly researched (Skeat 1965; Masters 1972; Glut 1971), and numerous types of 'vampires' are still present in the belief systems of the area. The 'bajang' is a common form which is most dangerous to children, being a male spirit that most often appears as a 'pole-cat' (a weasle-like carnivore). Bajang causes illnesses, and can sometimes be enslaved to a family and act as a familiar spirit. These are often handed down in families as bizarre heirlooms. The most common form of female vampire is the 'langsuir', appearing most often as a night-owl, and coming to be in such a condition as a result of having died in childbirth. Sometimes a 'langsuir' will appear as a sinister lady, with long dark hair to conceal the hole in

the back of her neck through which she sucks the blood of children. In order to prevent such a creature's existence, it is necessary to put needles in the palm of her hands, put glass beads in her mouth and put eggs in each armpit in order to prevent flight and shrieks (Masters 1972: 59). Stillborn children of 'langsuir' may also become vampires called 'pontianak', and are suppressed in the same ways. The 'penanggalan' vampire is female, and sucks the blood of children or of women in childbirth. To ward off such creatures, if a birth occurs in a house all doors and windows are hung with jenyu leaves, these having a more violent effect than garlic on the European counterparts (ibid: 62). Numerous other such creatures are in evidence in the belief systems of the Malaysians, and in the other areas of South-East Asia. Most appear to be birth-related.

The Near East is where Jewish beliefs in vampires likely arose, and such notions became especially prevalent around the thirteenth century (Trachtenberg 1970: 38). An often mentioned vampiristic spirit was the 'estrie' - a female spirit able to change her shape at will in order to satisfy her craving for blood. When a known estrie was re-buried after having been exhumed, if her mouth was open it was a sign that she would continue her activities for another year - thus the mouth was usually filled up with earth (ibid: 38). Jewish belief also included the 'mare' - a creature also known in Europe, which supposedly rested on the victim's chest, grasping the tongue and lips and choking him. Such a

creature was believed to be responsible for nightmares.

Africa is another continent where belief in vampires was extremely widespread, and to this day certain groups here "drive a spike into every corpse before burial to insure against resurrection" (Rogo 1971: 8). Among the natives of Sierra Leone, where the Human Leopard Society existed, "witches and vampires are still in fashion...and belong to the good old-fashioned variety which come to your bedroom in the dead of night, sit on your chest and suck your blood" (Beatty 1915: 116). African groups often had totem structures revolving around ancestor worship, and along with such belief systems they often greatly feared the vengeance of the dead. In groups where ancestor worship was based on fear of dead kindred, it was essential to do everything possible to speed the spirit on its way, as a delay might anger it and lead it to seek retribution. Local variations on the vampire theme in Africa are too numerous to recount in detail, but a few examples will be included here. In the Ashanti section of Ghana, men, women or children could become 'asanbosam' - vampiristic spirits which sucked blood from the thumbs of sleeping victims (Masters 1972: 47). In Guinea, vengeful ancestors could return to get a supply of human blood. Here there existed a strict blood taboo, and one had to be careful to obliterate all traces of blood that came from the body (ibid: 48).

South and Central America also shared in the widespread notion of vampirism. The Tupinambas of Brazil often restricted the limbs of a corpse to prevent it from 'walking'

(Bendann 1930: 67). On the island of Granada, the 'loogaroo' was an elderly species of vampire in the shape of an old lady. Such a creature had a pact with the devil and had to supply him with blood. Masters (1972: 50) feels that the belief may have been brought over from Africa with slaves. In Mexico there were vampire witches known as 'civateteo', being evil spirits of noblewomen who died in childbirth which were out to seek revenge on all children (ibid: 50).

In prehistoric North America, there are no written records and therefore no early references to vampirism. There are, however, certain practices which have been observed which lead to the idea that the vampire concept was known here. As in Brazil, some North American tribes, such as the Pima, did something to the corpse to prevent it from 'walking'. This was practiced in many areas on the continent, and could be accomplished in various ways: removing the kneecap, burying the body in a net, bending the body up and tying it together and so on (Bendann 1930: 67). Among the Omaha Indians, if a person was killed by lightning, he was supposed to be buried face downwards with the soles of his feet split to prevent the corpse from rising (Frazer 1968: 133). The Eskimo of the Bering Strait area used to cut the sinews of the arms and legs of a bad person's corpse from rising up as a ghoull (ibid: 132). Many Eskimo groups appear to have believed in ghoulls, but it is unclear whether any of them had notions of the vampire proper. Many groups, such as the Kwakiutl and the Algonkians had concepts closely tied in with

the vampire tradition, but these shall be discussed in the following chapter.

Certain authors have hypothesized that vampirism, properly speaking, seems to appear only in Christian countries (Volta 1965). Wolf (1972: 128) says that such hypotheses are not ignoring the worldwide manifestations of the phenomenon, but rather are "recognizing that the vampire of our consciousness takes his shape and meaning from his relationship to Christian belief". Such arguments appear to be based on Christ's promise that 'Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, has eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day' (ibid). The author very strongly disagrees that vampirism 'proper' exists only in Christian countries. Such hypotheses do ignore the fact that in societies removed both in time and space from Christianity traces of true vampire belief have been found. Regardless of the form the creature takes, the basic concepts appear to be very similar around the world. Also, it has been shown that vampire belief in Europe had its origins long before the rise of Christianity, with Christianity adding fuel to the fire and leading to the horrendous epidemics of the eighteenth century.

VI. (B) THE WERE-CREATURE WORLDWIDE.

Basically, were-creature belief in any culture refers to the notion that a man can turn into a beast, or take on the character of a beast, while retaining his own character as well. Such a transformation may be seen as being temporary or permanent, voluntary or involuntary, and may be effected by birth circumstances, soul transfer or magic. A man transformed thus is regarded as being almost invincible, malevolent in nature and greatly feared.

In India, belief in many were-creatures exists, particularly in reference to 'tiger-men'. The belief is widely diffused here even today, probably due largely to the prevalence of the doctrine of metempsychosis, and Buddhist areas in particular exhibit many traces of genuine lycanthropy (Baring-Gould 1973: 118). Animals are revered among Buddhists who believe that any human soul may return to life in the form of an animal.

Chinese and Japanese folklore often refers to were-foxes. Such creatures were not considered ferocious, but were dangerous nonetheless, as she-foxes in human form were thought to be the most seductive of all living creatures and easily able to lead men through passion to their doom (Fielding 1945: 161). Some Chinese were-foxes supposedly dwelt in the borderland between earth and the underworld, and appeared as young girls, sometimes giving their disguises away by having tails. Their animal form became visible when they slept, or when they drank alcohol, of which

they were very fond (Eisler 1969: 154). Japanese were-fox belief can be traced back at least to the eleventh century A.D.. Called 'nogitsone', the creature could supposedly assume any shape, but its reflection in water was always that of a fox (ibid: 155). Men were sometimes believed to be possessed by a fox-demon, and ran around yelping like a fox, refusing to eat anything but foxes' food. This condition was seen as sometimes being cureable by exorcism. Such cases can probably be explained as true cases of lycanthropy, the mental malady leading one to believe he really is an animal. Were-foxes supposedly changed into their human form if dogs were set upon them. Incantations could also cause this, as could cutting off the beast's tail, if it had one. The Japanese believed that the cunning of a fox became learning in man, and intellectuality is seen as a fox-like characteristic.

In all areas of South-east Asia belief in were-creatures was, and is, common. Some Malaysian groups believe that the souls of dead wizards entered the bodies of tigers. Were-tigers could also be men or demons in the form of beasts, and these so-called 'tiger-folk' are said to inhabit their own villages, living in human form in houses roofed with human hair and raftered with human bones. Hundreds of such 'tiger-folk' enclosures supposedly existed right up to the present time, and natives were very leary of going around these so-designated areas (Skeat 1965: 157).

Were-tiger belief is deeply entrenched in the minds of the Malaysian people, as they generally seem to feel that all tigers are actuated with the spirits of dead humans. For this reason they will rarely kill one unless in self-defense or after one has destroyed a friend or relative. Tigers are spoken of with extreme respect and are rarely called by their common name. They are usually referred to as 'the wild animals' or even 'the ancestors' to soothe them. When Europeans began setting traps for tigers, locals were known to have gone to the place to try and persuade the animal that it was set by none of them (ibid: 158). The actual power to transform oneself into a tiger is supposedly confined to one large tribe of Sumatrans called the Korinchi Malays. Other tribes will vouch for this adamantly, as apparently some of these were-tigers have been killed in their animal form, and the gold plating in their teeth was like that used by the Korinchi (ibid: 160). To the Malay groups, were-tigers are not mere beliefs but hard facts, the evidence being both prevalent and convincing. The Korinchi actually deny the stories, but do admit that other groups in the area do have well-developed occult arts and can become tigers. Many Korinchi are afraid to enter the districts of these other groups.

Skeat (1965), in his book on Malay Magic, also discusses were-tiger belief in Java. Here there are supposedly not only men who can turn themselves into tigers, but who can also cause others to become one. To become a tiger, a

man must don a special yellow and black striped sarong, representing the hide of a Bengal tiger, and this, in conjunction with the necessary charms, will precipitate the change. People here, as in many areas of South-east Asia, think that the disbelief of the Europeans is stupid, and have derision and contempt for their assertions that there are no were-tigers (ibid: 161).

In the Central Celebes of Indonesia, were-creatures of many kinds were believed to eat human flesh, and were most feared creatures, especially among the Toradja tribe (Frazer 1963: 311). Here one could be born a were-creature or become one by infection after touching something that had been in contact with such a creature. The penalty was death after a trial of ordeals, whereby a suspect was instructed to put his middle finger in boiling resin and if it emerged burned he was seen as a definite were-creature. Such a victim was hacked to death; the severed head was placed behind the back to prevent the soul from coming alive again. The fear of such creatures was so great that parents would not even spare their own child if it were known that he was a were-creature (ibid: 311).

In New Zealand "lizards were feared because it was thought that the souls of those whose last rites had been neglected became malignant and entered the lizard" (Masters 1972: 30). In Australia, there were definitely beliefs in half-human/ half-animal witch-like creatures who were blamed for killing natives (Massola 1971: 41). Data is

scanty for these areas.

In Africa, true were-creature beliefs abound everywhere. Perhaps the most widely known phenomenon related to were-creature belief was the Human Leopard Society of Sierra Leone (Beatty 1915). This society was a cult of cannibals who would carry out their fiendish activities concealed in full leopard skins. The rationale here was that since real leopards abound, it would be easy to blame deaths on them. In many areas of Sierra Leone it seems likely that such cults grew out of a very real belief in were-leopards. In 1894 a missionary wrote that "the Temnes believe that by witchcraft a man may turn himself into an animal, and, in that form, may injure an enemy" (ibid: 3). In the same year the government of the colony of Sierra Leone passed a bill outlawing the group, after a particularly heavy burst of murder and cannibalism had broken out. This bill made it unlawful to: 1) own a leopard skin large enough to fit over a man, 2) own a three-pronged knife (these were used in murders to simulate the claw marks of a leopard) and 3) own a native medicine bag called a 'borfima' (Beatty 1915). The borfima was a fetish which was seen as being able to make its owner rich and powerful, and contained among other things "the blood, fat and other parts of a human being, the blood of a cock and a few grains of rice; but to make it efficacious it must be occasionally annointed with human fat and blood" (ibid: 23). The enterprise of the missionaries of the early 1900's was futile in stopping the activities of this group, probably because to do so would have meant firstly breaking down their beliefs

in good and evil spirits - matters which were of the gravest importance in their lives (ibid: 23). The same is true of all such beliefs in all groups.

In Abyssinia (Ethiopia), supposed were-hyenas were shot wearing earrings like those of the local servants. Fielding (1945: 163) notes a likely idea when he suggests that these earrings were probably put there deliberately by sorcerers to give reality to a superstitious belief which they found profitable. This may also be a possible way of explaining the gold dental work supposedly found in the mouths of slain were-tigers in some of the Malaysian areas.

Among the Fipa of Tanzania, dead chiefs are believed to return as pythons. Here only "evil men called 'aloosi' (sorcerers) are credited with the power of metamorphosing themselves into lions and other dangerous animals" (Willis 1974: 51). The 'Lion-men' of Tanganyika are related to the 'leopard-men' of Sierra Leone, capitalizing upon the fear-producing beliefs of the people and carrying out ritual murders to obtain such blessings as good weather (Eisler 1969: 153).

Little direct data has been reported from South America but belief in were-jaguars has been noted (Stern 1968). In Haiti, in the West Indies, the French term for werewolf - 'loup-garou' - has been adopted to refer to sorcerers who have the power to change themselves into dogs, horses, trees and other animals and objects (Simpson 1942).

Accusations stress real or imagined grievances against enemies, and "it is interesting that the persons who are accused are often the most prosperous individuals in the region" (ibid: 219).

In North America, the two animals most often associated with transformations were the bear and the wolf. The Navaho beliefs in werewolves are among the best documented (Eisler 1969; Morgan 1936; Kluckhohn 1970). Here werewolves are generally believed to be the result of witchcraft. The fear of such creatures was almost as extreme as that of death to certain individuals, the real terror being that they killed and ate humans, also causing illness, raiding flocks and digging up corpses (Eisler 1969: 161). Not all Navaho people were afraid of werewolves by the mid-1930's when Morgan did his research, and women were usually the most nervous of attacks. Serious anxiety was overcome by "protective songs, prayers, objects, rituals and ceremonies of the culture" (Morgan 1936: 18). Accusing someone of being a werewolf was risky business, as he would likely retaliate in some way. Even if one wanted to kill a suspected werewolf, a Navaho's "excessive fear of the dead" (ibid: 25) would greatly deter him from doing so. Morgan hypothesized on why such beliefs have existed among the Navaho for so long (1936: 4):

...there are abnormal mental situations among the Navaho where the behaviour of an individual reminds them of the behaviour of an animal, frequently of a bear. It is plausible to

suppose that the nocturnal prowlings of a wolf or mountain lion may have been imitated by such a person and the wearing of a skin is familiar enough wherever there are skins to wear. Nor need an unbalanced mental condition be presupposed.

A group of 'human-wolves' may have banded together to frighten others or work revenge.

Bear doctors were a common phenomenon among the Indians of California, and were a special well-defined class of shamans. The Yuki believed that "they receive their power from bears, transform themselves into bears, are almost invulnerable or if killed likely to come to life again, and are much dreaded as ferocious avengers or even aggressors" (Kroeber 1953: 200). This group recognized the transformation of a shaman into a bear as being possible both in pretense and reality. Bear doctors among the Yuki did little in the way of medicine, curing only bear bites and performing magical tricks. "Their most important and spectacular function, however, was to go out, alone or in two's or three's, to kill persons against whom they had a grudge" (ibid: 201) or who were enemies of their tribe. Such shamans also existed among other tribes such as the Pomo, Maidu, Yokuts and others. Only in isolated areas of the present-day state of California were these shamans not present. Most generally, people believed such 'doctors' were capable of actual transformations, although some tribes said bear doctors, although they had supernatural powers, used bear skins and other such paraphernalia to create the illusion of having changed into the beast. The basis for

these beliefs is "shamanistic, and the bear doctor falls into a class with the malignant shaman or evil witch" (ibid: 259). Kroeber realizes that "the general basis of this belief is clearly the worldwide werewolf idea" (ibid: 427). The idea that man can transform into animals is so widespread in North America that a large volume could be dedicated to the topic. Even the Eskimo have tales of transformations, sometimes in reference to the fox and other animals.

One culture-bound phenomenon which is very closely related to the werewolf tradition is the windigo belief of the Algonkians living in north-eastern Canada. The concept of the windigo varies from one group to another, as does pronunciation of the term, but basically centers around belief in a cannibalistic spirit which lives on human flesh and is capable of transforming humans into cannibals. In many areas the windigo is pictured as a man-eating giant - a blood-curdling monster with a heart of ice and having no lips, jagged teeth, claw-like hands and protuberant eyes which roll in blood (Teicher 1960: 2). A Native at Southern Indian Lake told the author in 1973 that he had seen human tracks which suddenly turned into wolf tracks, and he immediately knew that he was following a windigo. Thus it seems that the creature can be viewed in various forms. Teicher notes (1960: 3) that in some areas people believed only a silver bullet could kill a windigo, and this is a traditional

way of getting rid of a werewolf in many areas of Europe. A person who develops a craving for human blood is also referred to as a windigo. One may become such a monster in one of four ways: transformation, possession, acquisition of a spirit helper or sorcery (ibid: 2 - 5). The actual metamorphosis is accompanied by the development of a heart of ice, and a desire to eat human flesh, the latter of which "is often satisfied through actual cannibal acts directed against members of the individual's family" (ibid: 5). This is a feature common to many vampire and were-creature beliefs worldwide, as such creatures are often believed to prey first on their own families. Windigo has long been recognized as a culture-bound psychiatric disorder in which certain individuals truly believe they have lost control over their actions and cannot help but lust for human flesh. Such a person was usually executed on the grounds of self-defense, and the body was burned to destroy the spirit. It seems likely that windigo beliefs arose due to certain actual experiences of starvation and cannibalism - experiences which were embellished by fearsome stories until the belief became fully entrenched in the lives of the people.

This chapter has attempted to show only a fraction of the were-creature beliefs present throughout the world to show how really widespread and often closely parallel to one another such beliefs are, despite being widely separated

in time and space. How such beliefs relate to one another, and to those in Europe, in terms of function and usage will be examined in the following chapter.

VI. (C) FUNCTIONS:

It has been shown that the concepts of vampires and werewolves are not exclusive to one place at one time, but rather have been in evidence over much of the world during many phases of history. In order to have such sustenance in so many widely separated areas and times, one would have to assume some very concrete basis for the survival of the beliefs - some very basic functions which would cause people to retain them even though they initially appear to be so unpleasant and fearful.

It should be obvious at this point that structurally vampire and were-creature beliefs are very similar in many areas widely removed from one another in time and space. Although hypotheses on diffusion of the beliefs are not within the scope of this paper, certain similarities will be noted which suggest that a great deal of diffusion has taken place.

A fair amount of data has been put forward by researchers on the subject of man and his concepts of the supernatural (Levi-Bruhl 1935; Frazer 1960; Lévi-Strauss 1963 and others). One feature all seem to have in common is a fear of the unknown world of supernaturals and a desire to protect themselves at all cost. Many authors stress that of all fears, fear of the dead is often of overriding concern.

Of all those unseen powers there is no doubt that those presenting to his imagination the most clearly defined traits are evidently the dead (Levi-Bruhl 1935: 21).

In order to combat the fear, people everywhere have devised practices such as magic, rites of passage, taboos and rituals of all kinds to ward off the dangers.

In non-European countries, as in Europe, vampires and were-creatures fall into the category of malevolent supernatural creatures whose singular goals are to prey on men. Such beliefs in simple societies seem to relate more to larger belief systems such as ancestor worship and totemism than do their counterparts in Europe, where the concepts were largely molded into their final shape by the Church. The non-western concept of the soul varies from culture to culture, but in general people who were outside of western influence did not confine their idea of the immortal soul to humans alone. Instead, it was very often true that they extended the concept to other living things. Thus if one slayed an animal in some cultures one could expect the beast to retaliate in some way after death. The notion of metempsychosis is also very prevalent in non-western cultures, and often animals were viewed as being actuated with the spirits of dead humans. This idea was noted among the Malaysians, for example, who saw all tigers as being endowed with human souls and thus refused to kill them due to fear of retaliation. The doctrine of soul transfer is especially evident in religions such as Buddhism, and this idea - that ancestors can come back in the form of an animal - may help to explain the commonness of were-belief over much of Asia. The notion of totemism, where a

group traces its incipience back to a totem beast or object, may closely relate to were-creature belief in some societies. If a group of people believe that they themselves are ancestral to something non-human, it is not unlikely that they may also view their ancestors as being able to return in animal form, or see their sorcerers as being able to transform themselves into beasts. Transformation appears, to such groups, a natural thing. While one may propose that belief in an ancestor returning in a beast's body does not really constitute a 'were-creature' as defined for this study, it is argued here that the two concepts are the same. Whether a living person changes into an animal, or whether one's soul enters one after death the result may be the same - a feared creature having the savagery and cunning of a beast and the intelligence and soul of a human being. The vampire concept must also be mentioned here, as once again we see the notion of people living in fear of the retaliatory malevolence of the angered dead. The most important feature to note at this point is that everywhere man believes in vampires and were-creatures he also believes in the concept of the soul and its survival after physical death.

One question which should be looked at regarding were-creature beliefs is why only certain animals in each area are stressed as potentially dangerous were-creatures.

As has been shown, in Europe the wolf was the animal most often associated with transformation; in India and Malaysia there were tiger-men; in Japan and China, were-foxes; in Africa, were-leopards, were-hyenas and lion-men; in South America, were-jaguars; in North America, human wolves and bear walkers. Every area seems to have one animal in particular which is seen as most likely to be a potential malevolent were-creature. It is immediately obvious that each of the beasts mentioned is among the most savage, strong and/or cunning animals inhabiting each area. Lévi-Strauss, in a discussion on totemism, makes an observation on that subject which may be relevant to the question of what animal a group selects as its potential were-creature (1963: 89):

The animals in totemism cease to be solely or principally creatures which are feared, admired or respected: their perceptible reality permits the embodiment of ideas and regulations conceived by speculative thought on the basis of empirical observations.

He goes on to quote Radcliffe-Brown who says that (ibid:89):

The resemblances and differences of animal species are translated into terms of friendship and conflict, solidarity and opposition. In other words the world of animal life is represented in terms of social relationships similar to those of human society.

Simply by looking at a list of the were-creatures most common in each area it seems likely that the animal chosen in each area is usually the one most feared, envied or admired. In no case is the animal most often associated with the were-syndrome considered 'inferior' in any way- it is only those animals which are themselves highly regarded that

are seen as being somehow able to become endowed with human souls and act malevolently towards human beings. It is thus concluded that where no particular animal is greatly feared and/or respected, no large-scale fear of were-creatures will exist. This is supported by the fact that England, where all wolves were killed off early in history, never experienced fear of the werewolf, although the concept of human/animal transformation did exist here. As far as the author could determine there are no particularly ferocious or cunning predators in Australia, and this may account for the paucity of reports on true were-creature fears here.

As has been shown, shamanistic activities were often closely associated with were-transformations. While the shaman transformations discussed here are all of a malevolent nature, it can be noted at this point that not all such transformations were for evil purposes. Some North American shamans, for example, were believed to travel in the form of any number of animals.

Another group of phenomena relevant to these beliefs is that of dreams, delusions and trance experiences. Some references to this have already been noted with regard to Europe, such as the trance experiences of the Benandanti witch-hunters. Dreams are possibly a major source for belief in supernatural creatures. McNally (1974: 117) brings up an interesting point when he notes that dreams

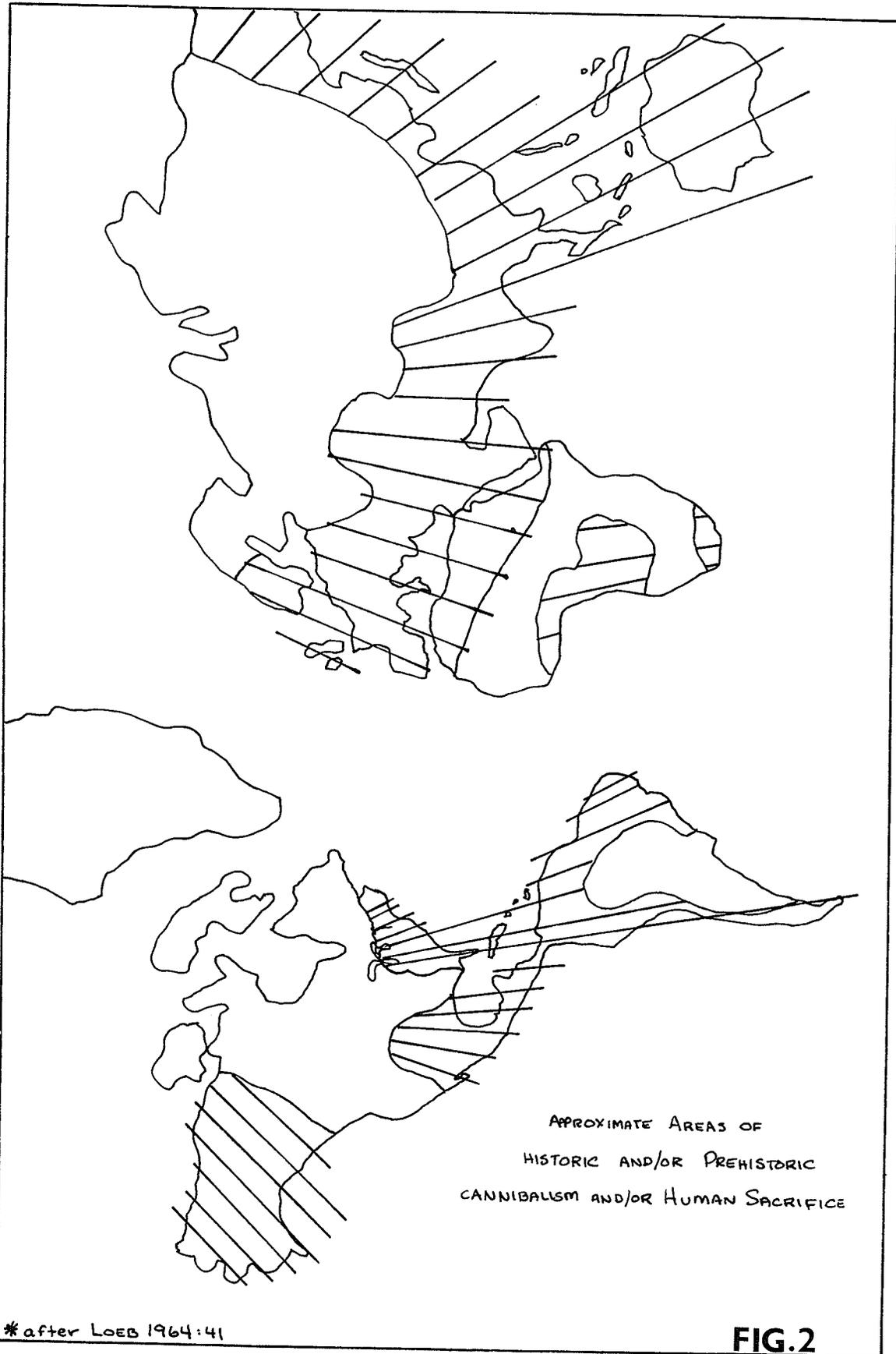
have been a major source for horror literature. Frankenstein was penned after a vivid nightmare by Mary Shelley; Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde was written by R.L. Stevenson after he experienced a dream during an illness; Dracula itself was directly the result of a nightmare experienced by Stoker. Dreams may even account for a feeling many of us have felt, which was expressed succinctly by the Marquis du Deffant in the eighteenth century: "I do not believe in ghosts, but I am afraid of them" (ibid: 117).

Nightmares, as has been indicated, are in many areas of the world seen as being caused by supernatural creatures. The concept of the vampiristic 'mara' creature which sits on one's chest at night is widespread in many areas of Europe and Asia, being responsible for the term 'nightmare'. Trance experiences are not uncommon on any continent, and such experiences, like those admitted by the Benandanti, may sometimes have been the result of catalepsy. This is further supported by the anthropological work done by Crawford (1967) in Rhodesia, and Benedict (1956) in California. The Shasta Indians of California were seen to value such cataleptic conditions, as noted. The natives of Rhodesia who confess to witchcraft are usually women, as are Shasta shamans, and say that their bewitching often comes to them "in a dream" (Crawford 1967: 64). It is thus clear that dreams, delusions and trance experiences may be brought on by hallucinogens, mental seizures such as

catalepsy, malnutrition or other such means. The idea of 'spirit possession' is also related to such experiences (i.e. windigo).

Non-western beliefs in vampires and werewolves are also likely closely linked to concepts of cannibalism and blood sacrifice in some areas. Both of these practices have existed over most of the inhabitable world, as can be seen in Figure 2 on the following page. Before the days of modern medical knowledge people everywhere likely believed that blood had magical properties, observing that its loss could lead to death. It would therefore perhaps not be difficult for them to deductively arrive at the notion that if blood loss could bring death, then perhaps smearing oneself with it, or drinking it could provide one with the vitality which the person had in life. Such notions are consistent with the idea of ritual cannibalism, where the dead are consumed so that the living may take on their vitality. Some groups, notably in South America, consume human remains in order to put the dead to rest, or banish the soul to its distant abode and prevent it from harassing the living (Dole 1974). Cannibalism is, of course, an integral part of were-creature beliefs, and also vampire beliefs, as human blood is seen as being essential to their survival.

The Kwakiutl Indians have been referred to as 'vampiristic' (Masters 1972: 50), and accused of attacking corpses and living people for blood. This is not exactly



valid, for although the group did possess a 'cannibal society' where members fell upon onlookers and tore mouthfuls of flesh from them, and ate prepared corpses, "the Kwakiutl felt an unmitigated repugnance for the eating of human flesh" (Benedict 1956: 165).

The very repugnance which the Kwakiutl felt towards the act of eating human flesh made it for them a fitting expression of the Dionysian virtue that lies in the terrible and the forbidden (ibid: 165).

Perhaps vicious and feared were-creatures may have functioned in much the same way, allowing for the expression of forbidden behaviour within a socially-sanctioned framework.

The central characters involved in vampire and were-creature complexes are generally much the same in non-European countries as they are in Europe. In many areas, where sorcery is seen as being the main force behind vampire or were-creature transformations, three complimentary features must be present (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 162): 1) the sorcerer must believe in the efficacy of his methods; 2) the victim must believe in the power of the sorcerer; 3) the other members of the group must have certain expectations and faith, as this is the gravitational field where the relationship between the sorcerer and victim is located and defined. Accusations are generally made by the same kinds of people as were noted in Europe - children, neurotic women, jealous individuals and so on. Victims are often believed to be members of the creature's own

family. Were-creatures as well as vampires are sometimes seen as being animals into which the soul of a dead person has entered, so deceased relatives are often blamed. While were-creatures the world over are feared, it has been observed that the non-European creature is generally much more respected and highly regarded, possibly due to the idea that non-westerners are closer to nature and often see animals as being more closely related to man. While in Europe it is generally socially marginal individuals who are accused, in many other areas were-creatures are believed to be either transformed sorcerers or animals with the souls of dead humans. The vampire concept is basically the same, being seen all over as either a demonic spirit or malevolent human soul which is seeking revenge on the living, gaining sustenance from human blood. In all areas it seems that certain individuals confessed to being supernatural beings, and often greatly contributed to national level beliefs in such creatures. Possibly many of the same types of mental aberrations as were demonstrated for Europe, sometimes brought on by malnutrition or other somatic problems, were responsible for such conditions. Confessions were likely also, on a worldwide basis, sometimes a chance for insecure individuals to gain recognition. In Rhodesia, for example, most confessions to practicing witchcraft come from women (Crawford 1967: 62).

There are few avenues open through which she can increase her status and the temptation to enhance it by calling herself a witch and earning the respect that fear brings must exist. (ibid: 62).

Confessions can thus be seen to sometimes function as reflections of social tensions within a group; tensions which might otherwise create more serious problems on a larger scale if not released.

The Christian Church, as noted, gave the vampire and werewolf their stereotyped forms in Europe, leading some authors to suppose that the true concepts of the creatures could not exist anywhere the Church had no influence (i.e. Volta 1965). Such is obviously not the case, as the concepts existed widely throughout the world even prior to coming into contact with Christianity. What is possible however, is that at least in a few cases, non-Western groups, when confronted by missionaries and the like, grasped on to certain biblical accounts and interpreted them within their own frames of reference, possibly reinforcing their belief in things such as vampirism. One example is the doctrine of transubstantiation - an idea present in both Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches stating that in the Eucharist (communion) the substances of bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ with only the accidents of bread and wine remaining.

The doctrine of transubstantiation itself, symbolic and spiritual as it is, bears considerable resemblance to sacrifice, cannibalism and ancestor worship and led to misunderstandings amongst primitive converts to Christianity...Christianity not only perpetuated some of the established pagan taboos but also created some of its own (Masters 1972: 176).

Numerous other Christian writings, such as the aforementioned promises of Christ (chapter IV (B)), also may have led to misconceptions on the part of non-Western peoples. Buddhist dogma, like others, also supports the idea of metempsychosis and thus of vampires and were-creatures.

While anthropologists have not yet covered much ground in the area of how physical disease relates to certain behaviours, they have more often discussed neuroses among certain non-Western groups and how these relate to behaviour patterns (Crawford 1967; Teicher 1960; Kluckhohn 1970 and others). Certain fairly obvious patterns emerge here: happy people are much less likely to confess to being supernatural creatures; women appear to be more susceptible than men to trance experiences and confessions in many areas; many accusations, particularly during the European and Salem witch trials, were made by publicity seekers, often children (Kluckhohn 1970: 223); neurotic seizures, causing people to believe, for example, that they are victims of a supernatural creature, are most common among people who see themselves as inferior and so on. In some cultures highly unstable human types, such as cataleptics among the Shasta, may be socially available and seen as valued variants (Benedict 1956: 249).

At this point many correlations between vampire and were-creature beliefs on a universal scale should be obvious, both from structural and functional vantage points. Some

of the major structural similarities which exist can be summed up as follows: most such creatures are seen as being 'polluted' or 'unclean'; most represent upsets in the natural order of things; most female vampires are seen as being the result of dying in childbirth (i.e. the Mexican 'civateteo' and the Malaysian 'langsuir'); most vampires and many were-creatures are believed to prey on their immediate families; all such creatures are seen as 'transitional', and thus potentially dangerous - they are feared because of their indefinite nature; very often the individuals involved in accusations and confessions are similar in character; practices to keep the dead from 'walking' show up in many areas; the concept of cross-roads being powerful places emerges in surprisingly diverse areas. Perhaps most importantly of all, it has been indicated that the basic set of beliefs which the author proposed must exist in a culture before belief in vampires or were-creatures can occur (chapter II), do indeed exist in all groups where vampires or were-creatures were believed to be present.

The uses and functions of the beliefs worldwide are, it is proposed here, very similar in most respects. The beliefs were often 'used' by certain sub-groups in non-Western society to cover up for other acts of aggression and as a guise under which they could vent their grievances against other members of the group. This feature does not

appear to be as applicable to European society, where those accused of being vampires and werewolves were usually members of the immediate social group. The Human Leopard Society of Sierra Leone and the 'lion-men' used the people's fear of were-creatures to carry out ritual murders and cannibalism, the former cult members raking their victims with three-pronged knives to make them appear as if they were attacked by leopards. It seems possible that in Ethiopia, hyenas shot wearing earrings were actually the result of shamans who put the jewelry on the animals, using the people's belief in were-creatures to capitalize on a superstition which was profitable to them (Fielding 1945: 163). Bear shamans in North America also sometimes used people's fears of were-bears as legitimization for their cruel acts of vengeance on their enemies. Navaho 'human-wolves' were also likely individuals who used the belief towards their own ends.

Since the fear of the werewolf goes back as far in the Navaho tribal tradition as witchcraft itself, any white person could understand how a local witch could exploit that fear indefinitely and unbeatably (Eisler 1969: 161).

Thus it can be clearly seen that in a number of non-Western groups belief in were-creatures was 'used' by certain members of a group in a complex ritual or retaliatory capacity, and as part of some other activity. Such internal sub-groups (i.e. 'werewolf societies') may also have existed in Europe during werewolf 'epidemics', although no evidence of this has been discovered. In Europe, groups such as

the Norse 'berserkirs' may have led to were-creature beliefs becoming more entrenched in a society, while in these non-Western groups mentioned it would appear that the belief itself had to become fully entrenched in a society first before these sub-groups could arise to capitalize on them. The beliefs then - the stereotypes - had to exist and be fully developed and recognized within a group before others could use it to their own advantage. Perhaps this is more evidence for Cohn's assertions (1975) that witch sects did not exist in Europe at the time of the great witch-hunts. Both vampire and were-creature beliefs could possibly have been 'used' in many groups as a threat with which to discipline children and promote conformity to social norms. Among the Navaho, for example (Kluckhohn 1970: 232)...

It is probably no accident that the bogeymen who are used to socialize children have so many characteristics in common with the were-creatures dreaded by adults.

The manifest functions of the beliefs are, it is proposed, the same as those noted for Europe: they help define what is evil and they sometimes help to explain the otherwise unexplainable. Even the more latent functions are almost identical in many respects to those described for Europe, suggesting that these beliefs, and others related to them have some very basic functions which are vital to people as individuals and as members of a society. All such creatures act as 'scapegoats' - fabricated

aggressors which are blamed for many problems - and thus function to relieve stress on a group. Aggressions are usually displaced away from the immediate members of a group, although in some areas sorcerers or other members of the society may be thought of as potential were-creatures. Thus were-creatures and vampires generally can be said to function towards promoting group solidarity. Socially marginal or exceptional individuals can express their repressed desires through such beliefs, and gain recognition for themselves. Vampire and were-creature beliefs also likely function as social control mechanisms in all areas where they exist. The displacement of aggression enters in here, as the vampire and were-creature facilitate such aggression with perhaps less social disruption than might occur otherwise. It might also be noted that such beliefs are dysfunctional in some respects, sometimes causing mass fear or intra-group hostilities and providing a basis for the existence of groups such as the Human Leopard Society. The functional aspects however appear to outweigh the negative ones, providing crucial outlets for individual and social aggressions and protecting the group from psychological disorganization by allowing for transitional-type scapegoats towards which one can legitimately be aggressive. On a universal level, it is impossible to state that vampire or were-creature beliefs are 'more functional' in one area as opposed to another, although such a conception may sometimes appear to be true because the belief is 'used' in a greater variety of situations.

VII. CONCLUSIONS:

As has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, vampire and were-creature concepts on a worldwide scale can be seen to be similar both functionally and in structure in many respects. This chapter will conclude by focusing on some of the behavioural aspects related to such concepts.

In Europe, the Church had a great deal to do with creating the vampire and werewolf stereotypes, thus greatly influencing the behaviour of the masses and encouraging them to follow certain rules. Not all people believed in such creatures however, as is evidenced by this passage written in 1772 by D'Holbach (1965: 59):

Man has been forced to vegetate in his primitive stupidity; nothing has been offered to his mind but stories of invisible powers, upon whom his happiness was supposed to depend. Occupied solely by his fears, and unintelligible reveries, he has always been at the mercy of his priests, who have reserved to themselves the right of thinking for him, and directing his actions.

Even though such opinions must have existed during the periods of vampire and werewolf epidemics, such beliefs still flourished. Perhaps it is man's basic imitateness which allows masses to be led astray; perhaps it is the solace that comes with belief in immortality; perhaps it is man's basic need for order. "If order is human, chaos characterizes the margins of human life" (Lessa and Vogt 1965: 180).

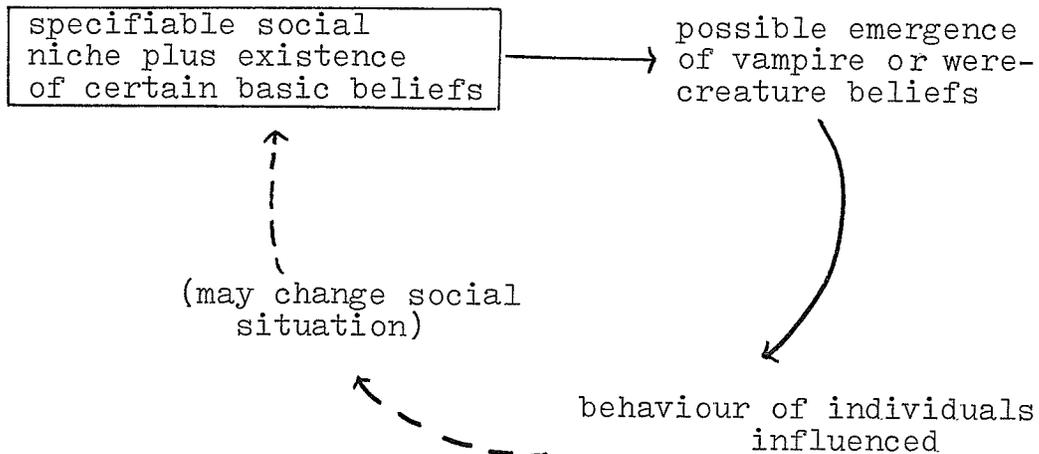
One fact which cannot be argued is that man is a very dangerous animal, and one of the few which sometimes preys on his own kind.

History has shown that the most bloodthirsty urges and an almost unlimited capacity for cruelty are latent in most men and can come to the surface at certain times, due to combinations of circumstances...Human ferocity becomes worse under the stress of a widely held belief or a fear (Rudorff 1968: 9-10).

Furthermore, as has been suggested by Morgan (1936: 6):

The distorted subjective imagery which represents acts of human cruelty has a way of becoming semi-human so that animal elements are added, and the manifestations of these may be a human-wolf.

It would seem that vampire and werewolf beliefs are best explainable in terms of the natural and artificial setting of a group, rather than vice-versa. In other words, it is proposed here that the beliefs emerge as a result of certain situations, rather than initially creating them. With regard to behaviour, it would appear that the beliefs, once established, can affect and even control behaviour, thus perhaps changing the social setting somewhat. Such a model can best be illustrated diagrammatically as follows:



It is possible that such a heuristic model, if refined, may have some degree of predictive value. In sum, it is suggested that vampire and werewolf beliefs condition behaviour, which in turn may affect a society.

Vampire and were-creature concepts vary from region to region but nonetheless maintain certain basic characteristics which distinguish them from other beliefs. They provide an index to very real social concomitants, conflicts and tensions, and illustrate vividly "both the power of the human intelligence to build up a stereotype and its reluctance to question the validity of a stereotype once it is generally accepted" (Cohn 1975: 255).

The data presented in this thesis indicates perhaps that in terms of these concepts at least, there are really very few fundamental differences in the logic of non-scientific man worldwide. Everywhere they exist the beliefs help to explain certain kinds of behaviours, act as a framework within which hostilities may be reduced, provide prescribed ways of dealing with certain misfortunes and so on. All the beliefs have very real manifestations, even if sometimes imaginary, and are anything but irrational. The stability of the beliefs is explained perfectly by the three criteria set up by Polanyi with regard to Azande witchcraft (1970: 334-337): 1) objections can be met one by one, by the reasoning of the people; 2) the belief has a self-expanding capacity to cover a whole range of eventualities; 3) denies to any rival

conception the ground it might take, demanding a series of relevant instances as proof of the new explanation.

Most of the conclusive data has been clearly indicated in the chapters on functions. Clearly, belief in vampires and were-creatures acts as a 'purge valve' through which hostilities are eliminated from a group. Enduring structural and functional relationships must be present if such ideas are to survive. Somatic as well as psychic causal mechanisms and manifestations are obvious in all areas where such ideas exist. It is thus clear that the vampire and were-creature concepts are not as incredible as one may initially suppose.

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