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Attitudes toward the Destruction of Vampire Bodies in the Hapsburg Empire

It was January, the middle of winter, 1732. The Treaty of Passarowitz, by which the Hapsburg Monarchy had annexed the Banat, Western Walachia, Belgrade, and her surrounding territory from the Ottoman Empire, had been in place for fourteen years.¹ Prior to 1732 there had been two major documented outbreaks of strange incidents, one in the surrounding territory of Belgrade, whereby people, assumed to be dead, had purportedly risen from their graves and had killed members of the living by sucking out their blood. The first incident of this nature was in the Serbian village of Kisilova in 1725.² The second case occurred 1731-32 in Medwedja (Medvegja), a Serbian village slightly north-east of Tulare on the border of present-day Kosovo, on the River Jablanica³. In January of 1732, Austrian medical officer Johann Flückinger disinterred and examined the bodies of seventeen people in the Serbian village of Medwedja. Of all the bodies exhumed, eleven were found to be in an uncorrupted state.

Admittedly it was the middle of winter. It is not hard to imagine how a short while “on ice”, as it were, could have left a dead body looking reasonably fresh; however, a ten-year old girl whose body was found to be uncorrupted, for example, had been in the ground for two months; and the body of a sixty-year-old invalid named Miliza, also in this condition, had been buried for three months.⁴

In 1739 Belgrade was lost to the Ottomans, and in 1740 Maria Theresia became ruler of the Habsburg territories. The severe political, economic and military difficulties surrounding the Kaiserin’s ascent to power provided the matrix from which emerged her reformist agenda.⁵ This programme in fact comprised the modernization of the Habsburg Monarchy in areas as diverse as medicine and state finance. Part of this agenda included the suppression of so-called superstition within the Habsburg lands. This was engineered largely by Maria Theresia’s personal physician, Gerard van Swieten. As Gabor Klaniczay has demonstrated with regard to the top-down attack on practices associated with witchcraft, van Swieten was in many respects an Enlightenment person.⁶ In his roles as director of the Imperial Library and as a member of the Censorship Commission, “he earned fame for exercising a kind of counter-censorship in the name of the new ideas of the Enlightenment: it was not Voltaire and Rousseau whom he put on the index, but the literature of the esoteric, demonological and magical.”⁷ Although not disputing the fact that van Swieten’s contributions to the Theresian reforms were in part fuelled by Enlightenment ideals, I would like to make note of the fact that his function was also that of a senior bureaucrat. In 1755 Maria Theresia issued a rescriptum banning practices associated with the so-called *magia posthuma*, largely at the urging of van Swieten.⁸

In this paper I would like to examine some of the contours of the shift in policy regarding vampire executions from the 1720s/1730s and the 1750s. It is clear that a change in official attitudes and policies took place over the roughly twenty years between the Medwedja incident and the Theresian reforms. While it is certainly feasible to couch this about-face within a narrative of Enlightenment reform and progress, there were also other significant changes taking

place within the Habsburg realm during this period. In the 1720s and 1730s the institution of the *Militärgrenze* (military border) was of the utmost importance in maintaining Habsburg claims to areas acquired under the Peace of Passarowitz. It will be suggested that a significant reason as to why the Habsburg state allowed the vampire executions to take place in the 1720s and 1730s rested upon the pursuit of policies in tandem with the national interest (ie. policies designed to preserve the *Militärgrenze*). It will likewise be examined how the programme to eradicate superstition in the 1750s rested not entirely on Enlightenment ideals, but also on a pragmatic desire to modernize, and thereby strengthen, the state in the face of internal and external threats. In conjunction with these two episodes, I will argue that in fact the representatives of the Habsburg state – military officers and surgeons – facilitated inadvertently the construction of the vampire in the 1720s and 1730s. It is in this way that the Habsburg state was party to the construction of a special type of evil.

I will first discuss the broader conceptual framework of my research, followed by an examination of the ways in which the vampire, in the 18th century, was configured according to the attributes of the medieval corporeal revenant. It is the role both of agency and of structure, of individuals and of discourse, which helped to forge this nexus between regional folklore and western, central and northern European beliefs regarding the wandering dead. I will then turn to some of the ways in which reason of state, both during the 1720s and then in the 1750s influenced heavily the policies directed toward so-called vampire bodies. In suggesting that these different policies have typically been ascribed to somewhat arbitrary motives – such as a passive credulity, and a not-entirely medically substantiated claim that uncorrupted bodies were in fact dead bodies, respectively – I will draw attention to ways in which the Habsburg state in fact relied upon the national interest to guide its pronouncements on the destruction of dead bodies. I extend this discussion not as a condemnation of what Maria Theresia, Gerard van Swieten or the various military functionaries actually did, neither do I mean to imply some sort of conspiracy theory. Within the Donau Monarchie in the 18th century individual political convictions and ambitions were significantly curtailed.⁹ A result of this was a lack of popular input into whether reason of state *should* in fact guide policy decisions. My question is how, now, in a democratic polity, one's personal political convictions regarding the destruction of human bodies – *whether living or dead* – can be reconciled with policies influenced largely by reason of state.

The main preoccupation of my doctoral work centres on the question, 'to what extent was the vampire a construct of 18th-century learned writers?' A key argument of mine is that eighteenth-century German-speaking academics largely constructed the vampire as it came to be known in Europe and beyond.¹⁰ The genesis of this construction was in fact the military reports sent to Vienna from the southern and eastern reaches of the Habsburg Monarchy. Although I think that it is a completely worthwhile project to examine the mythology and folklore of different cultures, I also think that it is important not to read a unified, coherent "idea" into the various (and often disparate) supernatural entities of southern and eastern European cultures. Scholars who talk about the "myth" of the vampire completely miss the point – which is that there is no origin myth.¹¹ There is an array of entities that scholars have often referred to as vampires, even though these entities don't necessarily possess what we would normally think of as vampiric attributes.

In continuing my argument that the vampire was a construct of eighteenth-century learned writers I will draw attention to the types of characteristics with which the newly-emerging vampire was imbued. It has been my contention that the cultural specificity of the different supernatural entities described amongst southern and eastern European peoples precludes the use of the term "vampire" by modern scholars. The vampires of rural communities were in many ways different

from the blood-sucking monsters imagined by eighteenth-century western and central European writers. In diverging from David Keyworth's argument, I will argue that one of the defining features of the vampire as a product of learned discourse was not only its penchant for fresh blood,¹² but its human corporeality. While "vampires" of southern and eastern European regions were often mentioned to have possessed physical bodies, a common theme that emerges is the possibility for a fluidity of form. Vampires may take on human form, they may even travel, have children, and own small businesses¹³; alternatively, they may appear as shapeless, mobile sacks of blood,¹⁴ animals, or vegetables.¹⁵ My point is that the vampire of eighteenth-century learned discourse was by its very nature a corporeal, grave-dwelling, blood-sucking, incorruptible human body. The construction of the vampire drew upon a long tradition of writing about corporeal revenants in western, central, and northern Europe.

Accounts of corporeal revenants appear in twelfth-century England¹⁶ in the writings of Walter Map, William of Newburgh and the anonymous Byland abbey monk.¹⁷ While I won't delve into Jacqueline Simpson's study of corporeal revenancy in medieval England in great depth, what I would like to do is to draw attention to some of the attributes of the dead who were purported to walk. As Simpson makes clear at the outset of her analysis, there were differing views as to the origin of the walking dead: William of Newburgh, according to Simpson, maintains that corporeal revenants came about, for the most part, because of the possession of a dead body by the Devil,¹⁸ whereas the Byland abbey monk holds that such revenants are reanimated by their former souls.¹⁹ Walter Map refers to the wandering corpse destroyed by knight William Laudun as a "demon". This latter theme is taken-up in Continental accounts of the wandering dead. The thirteenth-century *Life of Ida of Louvain* recounts how the Devil enters the flesh of a dead man and approaches a young virgin:

One time at night she beheld as if a bier was placed before her... and on it... the corpse of a certain deceased man. Leaping into it, the skin-changing inventor of all evil stood the body on its feet, and thus moving forward inside it and together with it, he approached the maidservant of God.²⁰

Another thirteenth-century account, this time related by Thomas of Cantimpre, of a virgin at prayer shows how the woman is able to "exorcise" a dead body possessed by a demon:

The virgin therefore crossed herself and bravely shouted to the Devil, "Lie down! Lie down, you wretch, for you have no power against me!" Suddenly the Devil rose up with the corpse and said, "Truly, now I will have power against you, and I will revenge myself for the frequent injuries I have suffered at your hands!" When she saw this, she was thoroughly terrified in her heart, so with both hands she seized a staff topped with a cross, and bringing it down on the head of the dead man she knocked him to the ground. Through such faithful daring she put the demon to flight.²¹

While Nancy Caciola, from whose study I draw these examples, maintains that this interpretation of the genesis of corporeal revenancy was "distinctly a minority viewpoint",²² I would like to draw attention to the fact that there is an image that she doesn't consider in her study. Indeed, while she draws attention to visual depictions of the Danse Macabre, she does not examine medieval illuminations. It is perhaps mere coincidence that I happened to come across an early fourteenth-century illumination of the tales of Saint Ladislav. The particular image that I'm interested in appears in the *Anjou Legendarium*. In three sequential images, it depicts the

Hungarian Saint Ladislav confronting the demon-infested corpse of an unknown man. In the first panel, the corpse is sitting upright before Ladislav. In the second image, the corpse is now standing before Ladislav and striking him with its funeral bier. In the third and final image Ladislav is wielding a crucifix, the corpse is lying inanimate and putrid on the floor, and a small winged devil is flying away from the saint. Very little is written on these images, although the scene is referred to as “dyabolus in forma mortui”.²³

The attributes of corporeal revenants that emerge from a variety of accounts are in many ways closely related to the characteristics of the vampire as set out by the French Benedictine monk Augustine Calmet. The reason for this is not due to the fact that the vampires of peoples from peripheral regions are simply understood as reanimated corpses. It is clear from Dömötör’s study that Hungary has its fair share of wandering cadavers, whilst “vampires” are largely absent from the folklore there. The reason that the vampire of the eighteenth century so closely resembles the corporeal revenants of European tradition is because this is the framework in which learned writers couched their responses to utterly foreign beliefs. It is this framework that helps to explain such similarity between the vampire as it emerged in the 1720s, and the corporeal revenants of lore.²⁴

I would like to draw your attention to a famous account – indeed, one of the very earliest accounts – of a vampire exhumation and “execution”. It takes place in the Serbian village of Kisolova, the year is 1725. A man by the name of Peter Plogojowitz died ten weeks ago. He now returns from the grave to visit certain people in their sleep. According to the narrative, he “laid himself on them, and throttled them, so that they would have to give up the ghost.”²⁵ The provincial administrator named Frombald explains in his report to regional command at Belgrade that the village inhabitants were unwilling to wait for a response from Belgrade on whether they were to be allowed to exhume Plogojowitz. In Frombald’s words:

And although I at first disapproved, telling them that the praiseworthy administration should first be dutifully and humbly informed, and its exalted opinion about this should be heard, they did not want to accommodate themselves to this at all, but rather gave this short answer: I could do what I wanted, but if I did not accord them the viewing and the legal recognition to deal with the body according to their custom, *they would have to leave house and home*, because by the time a gracious resolution was received from Belgrade, perhaps the entire village – and this was already supposed to have happened in Turkish times – could be destroyed by such an *evil spirit*, and they did not want to wait for this.²⁶

My central case study comes to us from Serbia in 1732. In the autumn of 1731, inhabitants of the village of Medwedja began to die of unexplained causes. Effectively, this region of Serbia was an Austrian military-occupied zone (known as the Militärgrenze, or Military Border²⁷), and its native inhabitants were comprised of, amongst others, hajduk farmer-soldiers. Owing to previous rounds of military conflict and political instability – and the ensuing Serbian Migration of 1690 – this territory had become rather depopulated.²⁸ In this remote community, an Austrian special diseases specialist named Glaser was sent in to check for evidence of an epidemic. This makes sense, given that the Militärgrenze had already been tipped to become the institutional foundation for the 1000-mile Sanitary Cordon.²⁹ This region was prone to outbreaks of the Bubonic plague. However, Glaser was unable to find anything to suggest a contagious disease.³⁰

Glaser's report also mentioned, in this village, the practice of the so-called *magia postuma*, or the digging-up and decapitation, staking and burning of corpses thought to be troubling the living. This practice, and the inconclusive report, maintained the attention of regional command in Belgrade. Another medical person – a military field surgeon named Johann Flückinger – was commissioned to investigate the matter in January of 1732. This time, instead of investigating the living members of the village, the military commission was charged with examining the troublesome corpses, or so-called vampires.

Flückinger performed rather grisly autopsies on all of these seventeen corpses. Some of the bodies had been in the ground for as long as three months, and yet still had pliable limbs, growing hair and nails, fluid blood and fresh internal organs. The report that he wrote was sent from Belgrade to the Vienna, and it appeared shortly thereafter in the *Commercium Litterarium*. Almost immediately upon its publication, German-speaking scholars took an interest in the discussion of whether vampires did exist, or whether, for example, they were merely hallucinations.³¹ Flückinger never commented on whether he believed that he was performing autopsies on *vampire* bodies.

My point here, when considering these two historical incidents, is that one can see evidence to suggest a narrative involving Realpolitik and reason of state. Arguing, as Paul Barber does, that people such as Frombald (along with the village inhabitants) did not entirely comprehend the natural processes of decomposition is a far too simplistic interpretation. As Peter Kreuter maintains, the nexus between the vampire and the act of blood-sucking may very well be ascribed to a misinterpretation of Frombald's.³² Frombald, in linking the blood in Plogojowitz's mouth with blood-sucking, spawns the notion of the vampire as blood-drinker. His report was published in the *Wienerisches Diarium*, and thus would most likely have circulated widely throughout the Continent.³³ The most famous vampire case was based on Flückinger's report, published in 1732. The report was reprinted in numerous treatises on vampirism, and appeared as far afield as London, in the Friday, March 10 edition of *The Grub Street Journal*. It is from this point onward that the vampire enters learned European discourse as a blood-sucking corporeal entity capable of destroying whole communities. It is within this discourse that the vampire is fleshed-out, as it were, according to the prototype of the corporeal revenant.

A key question with regard to these incidents, especially the Plogojowitz case, pertains to the reasoning underpinning the military authorities allowing the vampire bodies to be exhumed and destroyed. I cannot stress enough that the fabric of daily life on the military border depended upon local inhabitants who were able both to defend the border and to engage in agriculture.³⁴ As Rothenberg mentions, it was not financially viable for regular troops of the Habsburg Monarchy to be stationed along the military border.³⁵ A result of this was the creation of an institution that depended on local human capital. The preservation of the *Militärgrenze* was of considerable importance in maintaining the gains of the Habsburg state after the Peace of Passarowitz. Added to this was the perceived threat of plague from the Ottoman Empire. This, in turn, precipitated the gradual construction of the Sanitary Cordon based on the *Militärgrenze*.³⁶ With this in mind, it becomes easier to see the crucial link between periphery settlements and the survival of the Habsburg state in southern Europe. A telling note is that in the Plogojowitz case of 1725, Frombald implies that emigration from the village of Kisolova was a central concern in allowing the villagers to go ahead with the proposed exhumations (and executions). A similar theme emerges in the Medwedja case. While the strange deaths are not understood by the Austrian authorities, of great importance is maintaining viable, functioning communities on the outskirts

of the Empire. The destruction of “vampire” bodies, it is clear, serves to pacify the inhabitants of these communities.

By the mid-1750s a significant shift in policy toward the so-called vampire bodies had taken place. The move from allowing vampire executions, on the one hand, to banning all practices associated with the treatment of vampire bodies can be contextualized within the discourse that reflected the changing preoccupations of domestic policy, broadly speaking. More specifically, it was the modernization and political centralization of the Habsburg Monarchy under Maria Theresia that facilitated the emergence of a programme designed to suppress superstition. As mentioned previously, I do not mean to imply that Enlightenment ideals had little to do with this agenda. Rather, I want to highlight yet another discursive trope that factored into the decision to ban the annihilation of suspected vampires. From my own research I have observed that many known cases of the *magia posthuma*, from all across Europe, from different time periods³⁷, were largely vigilante efforts on the part of local communities, or even small groups within these communities.³⁸ Oftentimes with regard to medieval revenants, members of the clergy were involved in various apotropaic rites designed to prevent the dead from wandering. When we turn to the issuing of the 1755 rescriptum, what becomes apparent is that that the imperial condemnation falls largely upon the clergy. The rescriptum, while stating that many credulous people take dreams and hallucinations for evidence of ghosts and witchcraft, lays the blame on the clergy, who are admonished for encouraging such beliefs and associated practices, such as the *magia posthuma*.³⁹ The directive is simple: all cases of suspected vampirism are to be referred not to the clergy, but to the political authorities, whereupon medical investigations will take place.⁴⁰ The background to this document was the Rosina Polakin case from the village of Hermersdorf near the Silesian-Moravian border. Maria Theresia had had two of her court physicians investigate the case of Rosina Polakin, a suspected vampire. Upon their, and van Swieten’s advice, the Empress issued the rescriptum.⁴¹

While this episode has generally been couched in terms of Enlightenment rationalism, I think that one also needs to consider the anti-Jesuit, if not overtly anti-clerical context of the measures designed to eradicate superstition from within the Habsburg lands. As part of the University reforms, van Swieten promoted ardently the abolition of Jesuit privileges within the University:

... Learning has languished and deteriorated in the university ever since the Society became involved there. The deplorable condition of the university at the beginning of Your Majesty’s glorious reign is only too well known... it is clear that the Society has not fulfilled the aim which the two emperors (Ferdinand I and II) had in mind. On the contrary, all the universities which they have dominated have been completely ruined... Certainly it would have been infinitely better if the Society had never been brought into the university.⁴²

Owing to van Swieten’s initiative the University was brought under the control of the state.⁴³ With regard to censorship, van Swieten maintained that the Jesuits were “more concerned with their selfish interest than with the state’s interests”.⁴⁴ As discussed earlier, he ultimately won the censorship war with the Jesuits. It is my view that van Swieten’s campaign against vampires, and by connection, superstition, was a microcosmic component of a macrocosmic push to oust the Jesuits from political and social influence. A contemporary source, Augustine Calmet, refers to there being two factions at court in Vienna – one that opposed the existence of vampires, and another that supported their existence.⁴⁵ Given the historical links between the Jesuits and a belief

in corporeal revenancy⁴⁶, I would like to suggest that we can read an anti-Jesuit stance into van Swieten's attack on vampirism as well.

As a last note, I think it is important that we situate van Swieten's contention that any number of natural factors can account for the apparent incorruptibility of supposed vampire bodies⁴⁷ within a discourse of medical death in 18th-century Europe. Prior to the development of Germ Theory, the debate during the Age of Reason on the signs of death centred around two main camps: one, the Jacques Winslow/Jean-Jacque Bruhier school of thought, maintaining that decomposition was the only sure sign of death; and the other, the Antoine Louis school, holding that rigor mortis and changes in the cornea of the eyes, for example, were more reliable signs of death than putrefaction.⁴⁸ In the case of bodies that were presumed dead, but that did not decompose, a device known as *Der Doppelbläser* could be used.⁴⁹ It was an enema pump that administered tobacco smoke, with the understanding that this would revive someone who was not really dead. My point here is that van Swieten, while correct by today's standards, ultimately made a pronouncement on the "vampire" bodies that was not entirely substantiated by the medical science of his era. Anecdotal evidence could support either side of this debate. While I don't doubt that van Swieten was sincere in his judgement, I think that it is also worth considering the implications of policy decided upon not by fully substantiated argumentation, but by the apparent necessities of *raison d'État*.

Conclusion

The vampire, largely a construct of eighteenth-century learned writers, first emerged in the reports of Habsburg military officials after the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718. Encountering utterly foreign burial customs, the officers and surgeons who investigated the unusual cadavers were unsure of how to classify them. Their reports contributed to the earliest discussions in mainstream European literature on a new type of evil – the vampire. In condoning the execution of the vampire bodies, the state inadvertently contributed to the propagation of this evil. By the mid-1750s, however, the Theresian reforms had banned the practice of exhuming, decapitating, impaling and burning the bodies of those believed to be vampires. While dominant narratives have stressed the emergence of Enlightenment rationalism as the determining influence in the suppression of practices associated with the *magia posthuma*, I have indicated that this was by no means the only influence on policies concerning the destruction of vampire bodies. In many respects, the policies of the 1720s/1730s and the 1750s took the national interest as one of their guiding lights. In this way, reason of state *did* help to justify policy regarding the destruction of dead bodies in both situations in the Habsburg Monarchy; whether or not it *should have* done so is irrelevant within the context of the absolutist state. Within this socio-political framework individual political convictions were significantly curtailed. As Elizabeth McCarthy suggests, the narratives surrounding the destruction of vampire bodies, "...on the surface, seem to suggest that power and truth belong to those who can most radically inscribe the body through violence and mutilation".⁵⁰ Authoritarian states aside, the broad question is perhaps whether or not the national interest should be allowed to vindicate policy regarding the violent "inscription" of the body within a pluralist, democratic system where individual political convictions really do matter.

¹ P Kreuter, *Der Vampirglaube in Südosteuropa: Studien zur Genese, Bedeutung und Funktion; Rumänien und der Balkanraum*, Berlin, Weidler, 2001, p. 81; M Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence, 1683-1797*, London: Pearson Education Ltd., 2003, p.195-196.

² W.S.G.E., *Actenmässige und umständliche Relation von denen Vampyren oder Menschen-Saugern, welche sich in diesem und vorigen Jahren, im Königreich Servien herfürgethan. Nebst einen Raisonement darüber und einen Hand-Schreiben eines Officiers, des Printz Alexandrischen Regiments, aus Medvedia in Servien an einen berühmten Doctorem der Universität Leipzig*, Leipzig, Augusto Martini, Buchhändl. auf dem Alten Neumarckt an der Ecke des Gewand-Gässgens, 1732, p. 36; P Barber, *Vampires, Burial and Death: Folklore and Reality*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1988, p.6-7. The Leipzig document places Kisilova in Hungary; however, as Paul Barber has indicated, the location is actually in Serbia.

³ The village, now its own municipality, lies south-west of Leskovac; the latter sits on the intersection of the South Morava River and one of its tributaries, the Jablanica River.

⁴ W.S.G.E., *Actenmässige und umständliche Relation*, p. 12-13.

⁵ F Brechka, *Gerard Van Swieten and His World: 1700-1772*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1970, p. 98-105.

⁶ G Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, Susan Singerman (trans.) and Karen Margolis (ed.), Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990, p. 174. Cf. Trial of Magdalene Heruczina.

⁷ Klaniczay, p. 173.

⁸ Klaniczay, p. 170.

⁹ For a similar discussion of the ways in which the Habsburg state in the 19th century delimited policy regarding dissection and anatomy, see T Buklijas, 'Cultures of Death and Politics of Corpse Supply: Anatomy in Vienna, 1848-1914'. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, vol. 82, 2008, pp. 570-607.

¹⁰ This approach differs from practically anything done so far in terms of Anglo-American historiography. Many scholars who I have encountered tend to understand the vampire as some sort of cultural constant. One example is Harry Senn, who maintains that one must look back to the ancient, and sometimes not-so-ancient past in order to find examples of vampiric supernatural creatures who fed off of the living. H Senn, *Were-wolf and Vampire in Romania*, Boulder, Colorado, East European Monographs; New York, Columbia University Press, 1982, vii-viii. See also: B McClelland, *Slayers and Their Vampires: A Cultural History of Killing the Dead*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2006, p. 64; A Murgoci, 'The Vampire in Roumania'. *Folklore*, vol. 37, no.4, Dec. 31, 1926, p.342.

¹¹ Etymologically, no one really knows entirely where the word "vampire" comes from. For a background knowledge of the word "vampire", see Katharina M. Wilson, 'The History of the Word "Vampire"'. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 46, no.4, Oct.-Dec. 1985, pp. 577-583. She puts forward several different theories, emphasizing the Bulgarian origin of the word. For a detailed genealogy of the word "vampire" within this framework, see McClelland, pp. 187-191: "The earliest written reference to the term *vampir* is Old Russian, appearing in the margin of a partially Glagolitic text of the *Book of the Prophets (Kniga prorokov)* dated to 1047, a reproduction of which was made in 1499." Contrary to the Slavic-origin theory, Peter Kreuter enunciates the Turkic-origin theory in 'The Name of the Vampire', in *Vampires: Myths and Metaphors of Enduring Evil*, P Day (ed.), Amsterdam; New York, Rodopi, 2006, p.57: "Ute Dukova... prefers the loaning of a Turkic word and denies any direct loaning from Ottomanic or modern time Turkish language. Dukova's own favourite is the Chuvash word *vapar* with the meaning 'bad ghost of a witch, appearing in different forms.'"

¹² D Keyworth, 'Was the Vampire of the Eighteenth Century a Unique Type of Undead-corpse?'. *Folklore*, vol. 177, Dec. 2006, pp. 241-260.

¹³ T.P. Vukanovic, 'The Vampire', *Vampires of the Slavs* in J Perkowski (ed.), Cambridge, Massachusetts, Slavica Publishers, 1976, p. 210.

¹⁴ McClelland, p. 66. This creature is called a *plâtenik*.

¹⁵ Vukanovic, 'The Vampire'.

¹⁶ Actually, accounts of revenant-monsters appear in Norse sagas prior to the 12th century. I begin with the English cases mainly because the narratives are less anecdotal than the Norse ones.

¹⁷ J Simpson, 'Repentant Soul or Walking Corpse?: Debatable Apparitions in Medieval England'. *Folklore*, vol. 114, 2003, p. 389-402.

¹⁸ Simpson, p. 392.

¹⁹ Simpson, p. 389.

²⁰ N Caciola, 'Wraiths, Revenants and Ritual in Medieval Culture', *Past and Present*, no.152, Aug., 1996, pp. 6-7 [page numbers are those of the full text copy though Gale].

²¹ Caciola, p. 5.

²² Caciola, p. 10.

²³ E Tatai, 'An Iconographical Approach to Representations of the Devil in Medieval Hungary' in *Christian Demonology and Popular Mythology*, G Klaniczay and É Pócs, Budapest, Central European University Press, 2006, p. 64.

²⁴ Augustine Calmet draws upon anecdotal material from many different sources and time periods in order to define the figure of the vampire in his *Dissertations*; this figure is ultimately dependent upon the prototype of the corporeal revenant. See, for example, *Dissertations* p.97, compared with the account of William of Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs*, Book V, Chapter 24, edited and translated by Paul Halsall (October 24, 2000), *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, available online: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/williamofnewburgh-five.html>. Accessed June 9, 2008.

²⁵ Barber, *Vampires, Burial and Death*, pp. 6-7.

²⁶ Ibid. Also, W.S.G.E., pp. 38-40.

²⁷ G Rothenberg, 'The Austrian Sanitary Cordon and the Control of the Bubonic Plague: 1710-1871', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, vol. 28, January, 1973, p. 17: "The operation of the cordon was based on a special military institution, the Military Border or *Militärgrenze*. Founded early in the sixteenth century by the Habsburg rulers to defend their southeastern lands against Turkish raids, the institution had slowly been expanded until after the middle of the eighteenth century it stretched for a thousand miles from the Adriatic to the mountains of Transylvania. In this narrow belt of territory along the southern frontiers of Croatia and Hungary the central military authority in Vienna, the *Hofkriegsrat*, superseded all civil government and organized the region 'into regiments instead of counties, so that it is one vast camp, every soldier being a peasant and every peasant a soldier.'"

²⁸ See S Cirkovic, *The Serbs*, (trans.Vuk Tosic), Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

²⁹ Rothenberg, p.17-18.

³⁰ Kreuter, *Der Vampirglaube in Südosteuropa*, p. 82; I take my statement here from Kreuter, who maintains, on page 83, that Glaser and Schnezzler didn't really know what to make of the "outbreak", and of the incorrupted bodies that Glaser observed.

³¹ Augustine Calmet restates D'Argens' interpretation of Johann Christian Harenberg's treatment of the matter thus. See Calmet, *Dissertations*, p. 205.

³² P Kreuter, 'Vom 'üblen Geist' zum "Vampir": Die Darstellung des Vampires in den Berichten österreichischer Militärärzte zwischen 1725 und 1756', in *Poetische Wiedergänger: Deutschsprachige Vampirismus-Diskurse vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, J Bertschik and C Tuczay (eds.), Francke Verlag, Tübingen, 2005, p.116.

³³ Michael Ranft in fact utilizes the Plogojowitz case in his 1727 doctoral dissertation at Leipzig⁷, which is evidence to suggest the wide dissemination of the story.

³⁴ Rothenberg, p.17.

³⁵ Rothenberg, p.17.

³⁶ Rothenberg, p.17-18.

³⁷ Excluding the Plogojowitz and Medwedica cases.

³⁸ An excellent example of the latter is detailed in an ecclesiastical court transcript from Dubrovnik in 1737-1738.

See A Liepopili (trans. Croatian), 'Vukodlaci', *Sbornik za narodni život: Obicaje juznih slavena*, vol. 23, 1918, pp. 277-290. In Jan Perkowski (trans. English), *The Darkling: A Treatise on Slavic Vampirism*, Columbus, Ohio, Slavica Publishers, 1989, pp.85-100.

³⁹ T Von Pöck, *Codicis Austriacis oder Chronologische Sammlung, aller vom 20ten Oktober 1740, vom Anbeginne der angetrerenen glorreichsten Regierung der Allerdurchlauchtigst-Grossmaechtigsten Roemischen Kaiserinn zu Hungarn und Boehmen Koeniginn, Erzherzogin zu Oesterreich Mar. Theresiae, bis letzten Dezember 1758*, Wien, 1777, p.935.

⁴⁰ Von Pöck, p.936.

⁴¹ Klaniczay, p. 170.

⁴² Brechka, p.136.

⁴³ M Kidd and I Modlin, 'Van Swieten and the Renaissance of the Vienna Medical School', *World Journal of Surgery*, vol.25, no.4, April 2001, pp. 447.

⁴⁴ Brechka, p.124.

⁴⁵ Calmet, p.356.

⁴⁶ J.S.W. Helt, 'The "dead who walk": materiality, liminality and the supernatural world in François Richard's 'Of false revenants'', *Mortality* vol. 5, no.1, 2000, pp. 7.

⁴⁷ Klaniczay, p.174.

⁴⁸ J Bondeson, *Buried Alive: The Terrifying History of Our Most Primal Fear*, New York; London, W.W. Norton and Company, 2001, p. 75.

⁴⁹ Bondeson, p. 75; 139-40.

⁵⁰ E McCarthy, “‘Death to Vampires!’: The Vampire Body and the Meaning of Mutilation’, in *Vampires: Myths and Metaphors of Enduring Evil*, P. Day (ed.), Amsterdam; New York, Rodopi, 2006, p.204.